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STOCKHOLM



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GRAMMATA SERICA

SCRIPT AND PHONETICS OF CHINESE AND SINO-JAPANESE

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

INTRODUCTION

A scientific study of the structure and evolution of the Chinese and Sino-Japanese script is impossible without a constant application of linguistic methods. Too many students, Chinese and Western, have studied the archaic characters as a kind of amusing rebus without keeping in mind sufficiently that they are, after all, and always were, a script, a medium to represent a living, spoken language; a language with its own phonetic system, a peculiar system, which is the key to the composition of the characters. It was monosyllabism that encouraged the creation of word-characters as against an analytical sound-script. It was the great phonetic similarity, sometimes homophony, of large groups of monosyllabic words that gave rise to the principle of phonetic loans (kia tsie), the character for one word being applied, as a loan, to a totally different word that was identical or similar in sound, a principle which in its turn, by the elucidating addition of determinatives (»radicals»), led to the creation of the great, even dominating category of characters known as hie sheng, phonetic compounds, consisting of one »Radical» and one »Phonetic». The investigation of the Yin and Chou script is a hopeless task so long as you do not take into account the archaic pronunciation of the characters. This is the only reliable key to the loan (kia tsie) application of the simple ideograms (siang hing) or composite ideograms (huei i), and the archaic phonetic system is indispensable to everyone who would understand the series of phonetic compounds (hie sheng) which grew out of the loans (kia tsie). Hence an historical study of the Chinese and Japanese script must consist of two principal parts: on the one hand, the ideograms must be studied as completely as possible from their earliest appearance down to the siao chuan, "small seal" characters, on which the modern script is based; on the other hand, we must study the application of these primary ideograms by loan to words with identical or similar archaic pronunciation, and the series of characters with one and the same Phonetic thus created must be established and linguistically explained.

It is only in recent times that it has become possible to tackle this double problem. Thanks to the oracle bones on the one hand and the great number of inscribed bronzes on the other, a fair percentage of the pre-Ts'in graphs have be-

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come attainable. And thanks to a systematic study of various sources it has been possible to reconstruct the principal features of the phonetic system of Archaic Chinese.

In regard to the pre-Ts'in graphs on oracle bones and bronzes, I have not attempted to include in the present work all the forms and variants known. There are various comprehensive works supplying this need, e. g. the Ku chou p'ien (Kochühen) by T. Takata, or the Kin shī ta tsī tien by Wang Jen-shou. On the contrary, I have selected only what I needed for my present purpose, in a somewhat similar way to selective works like the Kin wen pien by Jung Keng or the Ku wen sheng hi by Sun Hai-po. But my selection follows principles somewhat different from theirs. On the one hand, I have excluded all early forms that have no direct descendants in the regular script of Han and later times. For hun 'marriage' there was the bronze form a, but this form became obsolete and was replaced by a form based on totally different principles 婚. Thus, since the former has no bearing on the present script, I do not incorporate it. In other words, I adduce only such pre-Ts'in forms as are the ancestors of our present characters, the latter being technical modifications only (or sometimes misunderstood corruptions) of the former. On the other hand, while, like Jung and Sun, I do not incorporate all early variants but only a selection, I have tried, in contradistinction to them, to follow, at least to a certain extent, a chronological principle. When I have a good and reliable form from circa 1000 B. C., I leave out variants from e. g. 400 B. C. or 250 B. C., if they do not tell us anything of special interest or anything more than the early graph; in other words, I try to adduce as early forms as possible. For this purpose I have arranged the inscriptions, as far as I have been able to do so, in chronological groups, and for my points d'appui in this respect I refer to my work Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes (BMFEA 1936); moreover, as a result of that work, many inscriptions can now be placed in time by aid of the style of the vessels that bear them. An inscription can often be dated within fairly narrow limits. My signum »Chou I» in the dictionary below means that the inscription in question falls within the period circa 1122 — circa 950 B. C. »Chou II» means c. 950 — c. 770 B. C.; »Chou III» means c. 770 — c. 450 B. C.; »Chou IV» means c. 450 — c. 250 B. C. In other cases we have to be satisfied with wider limits: »Chou I/II» means that the inscription in question falls within the period c. 1122 — c. 770 B. C., but that it is unknown whether early or late within that space of time. »Chou II/III» means that the inscription falls within the period c. 950 — c. 450 B. C., but it is unknown whether early or late within those dates. »Chou III/IV» means that the inscription falls within the period c. 770 — c. 250 B. C., but it is unknown whether early or late. »Chou» (not followed by Roman figures) means that we can only know that it falls within the Chou era, »Pre-Han» not even that, but only that it is anterior to the normalization of the script in 213 B. C.

I have taken great pains over the references for the bone and bronze forms, and as far as the latter are concerned this is really a new departure. In none of the Chinese and Japanese repertories are references given to books and sections where the inscriptions occur, but simply the conventional name of the vessel (Mao kung Ting, Ts'in kung Kuei etc.), and this has great disadvantages. In the first place, different authors often use different names for one and the same vessel; in the second place, even if the name is unambiguous, to find it in one of the albums requires a tedious and sometimes protracted search, in reference lists such as Wang Kuo-wei's and Lo Fu-i's San tai Ts'in Han kin wen chu lu piao. Instead of this, I give full particulars (see the list below) which will make it possible to locate an inscription directly in one or other of the better known epigraphic albums.

The other principal side of the script study, the linguistic (phonetic) study of the archaic graphs, demands some more extensive introductory notes. It has to be carried through in, so to speak, two stages. By a lucky chance, rich sources of highly varying kinds (rime dictionaries, foreign transcriptions, Chinese loan words in Korean and Japanese and the testimony of strongly diverging daughter dialects) combined to throw light on one definite stage of the evolution of the Chinese language: the language spoken in Ch'ang-an, the capital, in Suei and early T'ang time (6th and early 7th c. A. D.). This language, the s.-c. Ancient Chinese, most fully represented by the dictionary Ts'ie yün (published in 601 A. D.) has been reconstructed by me in Études sur la Phonologie Chinoise (1915—26) and The Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese (T'onng Pao XXI, 1922). For the methods and results of this reconstruction see these works and those of other scholars cited therein. I shall not repeat the arguments and deductions fully set forth there, but shall make use of the results as faits acquis.

After this reconstruction of Ancient Chinese had been carried through it was possible to take a great step forward, the second stage: by another lucky chance, there was another period of the Chinese language in which sources of two entirely different kinds, the rimes of the Shī king and the kia tsie and hie sheng of the script (both studied in the light of the Suei time »projections» of the Archaic readings) and bearing upon essentially the same language epoch made it possible to reconstruct the main features of the pronunciation of the Chou capital in early Chou time, the s.-c. Archaic Chinese. Here again I shall only refer to three papers, in which I have set forth my reconstructive principles and deductions: Shī king Researches (BMFEA IV, 1932) Word Families in Chinese (BMFEA V, 1933) and On the Script of the Chou Dynasty (BMFEA VIII, 1936). The first two deal with the reconstruction of the Archaic readings of the rime words in the Shī king. The third one shows the reasons why these results (thanks to the kia tsie and hie sheng) can be applied also to the characters not occurring as rime words in the Shī king.

Briefly summed up, these latter reasons are as follows. It is a fact that the rimes of the Shī king (roughly 800—600 B. C.) allow of such a syste-

matic and consistent grouping in fixed rime classes (as will appear later on in the present book), that we can see that, though there was a number of varying dialects in early and Middle Chou time, and though some of the Odes were collected from various feudal courts, yet they had been worked over and normalized in the language of Royal Chou, the capital of the Chou kingdom; hence all the Shī king, on the whole (there are of course some exceptions), presents a homogeneous phonetic material. On the other hand, the phonetic loan characters (kia tsie, or if elucidating Radicals had been added, hie sheng), if we arrange them in phonological groups, bringing together words with the same Phonetic (sound-indicating part), reveal quite the same phonological categories (with a few exceptions to be discussed further on) as those of the Shī king; they do not reveal the phonological categories of any other, or later, stage of the language. From this we can conclude that though the phonetic loans (kia tsie and hie sheng) were in some cases somewhat older than the Shi king, in others probably somewhat younger, yet on the whole they are built up on the same language, that spoken in Royal Chou in early Chou time. And therefore, in regard to words that exist in pre-Han texts without occurring in the Shī king, it is nevertheless possible under certain conditions to reconstruct their Archaic readings. This happens: 1) when they have a Phonetic the place of which in the Shī king rime system is known; and 2) when at the same time their Suei time »projection» (the reading in the Ancient Chinese of Ts'ie yun) is such as regularly belongs to the words of the said Shi king category, and we can therefore see that the word is "regular", belonging to Royal Chou Chinese, and not, by any irregularity in the Ts'ie yün reading (falling outside the range of what this Shī king rime category should give in Ancient Chinese), reveals itself as an archaic dialect word diverging from the language of Royal Chou. For full details I must refer to the said paper The Script of the Chou dynasty.

These are the general principles that justify a reconstruction by aid of the Phonetic (sound part in a hie sheng) and the Suei time projection (Ts'ïe Yün reading) even of characters not existing in the Shī king. But they are general principles only, and are not necessarily conclusive in every individual case. In reconstructing the archaic reading for a character unknown in the Shī king and culled from Chuang-tsī or Mo-tsī or K'ü Yüan, according to the place of its Phonetic in the phonological groups of the Shī king, we always run two risks: first, that the word, in spite of all, did not exist in the Royal Chou dialect and that the character was constructed (i. e. that the Phonetic was chosen) provincially; and secondly that in Chou time a totally different graph was used for this word, and that this graph was invented (i. e. that this Phonetic was chosen) only in Han time. Indeed, even in regard to uncommon words in the Shī king itself we are not entirely out of danger. For since in the present work we cannot take into account the entire apparatus of variants concerning the Shī king and other Chou literature, but must necessarily — as e. g. the compilers of the Thesaurus Linguae

Latinae have done — base ourselves on certain standard versions (the Mao version for the Shī king, disregarding the Han, Lu and Ts'i versions), we can never be quite sure that a rare word in the Mao version was the current form in middle Chou time: a Han or Lu version variant may have been the true one

In view of all these risks I have had to take certain precautions in order not to be too bold or positive. My reconstructions of Archaic forms are, to my mind, safe and conclusive only for such very common characters as occur in a whole series of pre-Han texts, like jen 'man', mu 'eye', lai 'come', chi 'know' etc. Their Chou readings are given in the dictionary, without any reservation, merely preceded by an asterisk indicating that they are Archaic reconstructions. But as soon as a character is even slightly uncommon or peculiar, not obviously a t'ung hing hua, a ubiquitous word in Archaic Chinese, I shall place the reconstructed archaic form This means that the reconstruction is only in parenthesis. potentially true: it is conclusive provided the word actually occurred in the Royal Chou dialect and had its graph invented (i. e. its Phonetic chosen) in a region where the language of Royal Chou was spoken, or in a region with a dialect in which this word was read just as in Royal Chou (we should remember that an archaic dialect may have diverged considerably from Royal Chou on certain points and yet have been identical with in on a good many other points).

This once stated, I am confident that I shall prove to have been extremely overcautious with my numerous parentheses. The very fact that the phonetic series turn out to be so admirably regular once we have reconstructed the archaic forms according to the Phonetics of the characters and their Suei time projections supports my opinion that the great majority of the characters in our pre-Han texts were in principle already invented (in the choice of Phonetics) in Middle Chou time and in the Royal Chou language. That so many of them have to be placed in parenthesis, because they are not known from numerous texts, is largely due to the fact that the Chou time literature we have in our possession is, after all, very limited in quantity.

It clearly follows from what I have said that the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese is greatly dependent for its correctness on a reliable knowledge of its Ancient Chinese *projection*, one of its principal daughter languages, that of Ts'ie yün. Hence a successful study of Archaic Chinese and its script is possible only on the condition of a strict and methodical knowledge of Ancient Chinese. To enable us to choose Ancient Chinese word-material which will help us to attain to a satisfactory knowledge of Archaic Chinese it is absolutely essential that we work with homogeneous materials, ancient phonetic glosses based on one and the same 6th century dialect. If we draw upon the fan-ts'ie spellings incorporated in the ordinary current dictionaries, we run a great risk of placing readings side by side which are not really comparable, since they are drawn from early sources representing different dialects of the ancient language. If, for instance, we go to the K'ang-hi dictionary, we shall find a great

number of characters under which there are given two or three or a whole series of different early readings expressed in varying fan-ts'ie spellings. These double readings are due to two different phenomena.

On the one hand, they may be bona fide double readings, expressing really parallel readings of one character in one and the same dialect. This is sometimes due to the character's covering two variants of the same word stem, e. g. \pm Mand. chang 'grow up' and Mand. ch'ang 'long'; but it is for the most part due to the fact that a character, already in the earliest periods, had been employed as a loan character for a word other than the original one, which was not identical but only similar in pronunciation (s. c. kia-tsie *loans*), e. g. \pm Mand. nu and ju, in the latter reading meaning 'you' and being loan for \pm ju. Such double readings are in no way detrimental to the homogeneity of our materials.

On the other hand, we find many characters under which there are two or several different fan-ts'ie readings in one and the same sense. Here, again, these are sometimes bona fide parallel readings in one dialect — the Ts'ie yun has many instances in which one word in its normal sense vacillates between two readings in the language of Ch'ang-an itself. But in a great many cases these double readings in one sense are very insidious and deceptive. They represent early glosses by different authors, expressed in various text commentaries, and they may be based on entirely different ancient dialects. glosses have been collected and syncretistically incorporated in Sung-time dictionaries, especially in the Tsi yun, and from there carried over into later dictionaries, notably the K'ang-hi tsī tien, and in modern time the Chung kuo ta tsī tien and Couvreur's Dictionnaire. This is really quite fatal. Let us take a concrete example. The character 婉 occurs in the Shī king (ode Tsing nü), and the oldest commentaries disagree as to its true meaning. Shuo wen translates it 順 'docile', Mao Heng defines it as 美 'beautiful'. The Ts'ie yün reads it exclusively 於 阮 i. e. iwon (= Mand. y ü a n) but repeats both the early translations s h u n, 'docile', mei 'beautiful'. Lu Tê-ming (King tien shī wen) to this same Shī king ode glosses it thus: 迂 阮 反 順 也 徐 於 管 反 which means: »Read · jwon [= modern Mand. y ü a n] 'docile'; Sü Miao read it 'uân [= modern Mand. wanl».

Thus Lu has preferred Shuo wen's interpretation 'docile', and he reads it himself wn, in accord with the Ts'ie yün, but he expressly mentions that Sü Miao read it differently: uân (yet without any different sense).

If we now proceed to the K'ang-hi tsī tien, we find:

- 1) Kuang yün 於阮 切順也 (= Kuang yün iwon [Mand. yüan], 'docile');
- 2) Tsi yün 烏管切美也 (= Tsi yün ·uân [Mand. w a n], 'beautiful'). Here a most extraordinary thing has happened. The lexicographers have found on the one hand two different translations in the early commentaries, on the other hand two different readings, that of Ts'ie yün = Lu Tê-ming (·iwm) and that of Sü Miao (·uân). They have unblushingly tampered with this and cut up the word



into two: one reading 'iwm (Mand. y ü a n) to which they attributed the sense 'docile', and one reading 'uân (Mand. w a n) to which they attributed the sense beautiful!¹) But this is entirely unwarranted. We cannot know whether Sü Miao's 'uân (Mand. w a n) was not the reading in his dialect which corresponded his torically to the reading 'iwm (Mand. y ü a n) of the Ts'ie yün. To place the two readings side by side as alternative pronunciations of this word is not allowable, for the two forms are not comparable, deriving from such different sources that they cannot be treated as existing within one homogeneous group of materials.

And yet this methodically unsound syncretistic heaping of heterogeneous and non-parallel fan-ts'ie readings is carried through to an appalling extent, not only in the Tsi yün but also in modern dictionaries; none is worse and less scholarly in this respect than the great Chung kuo ta tsï tien.

Still worse is it, of course, when Couvreur incorporates, as real ancient readings, the *rime readings * invented by Sung authors in order to make the Shī king rime properly, e. g. *\vec{\vec{\vec{\vec{\vec{v}}}}}\ moh \rightarrow \text{a reading that is a pure construction and has no foundation whatever except the imagination of a Sung reformer.

For all these very serious reasons we shall have to be extremely cautious in regard to the sources we draw upon. It would seem natural to limit ourselves strictly to one source, the Ts'ie yün, and disregard every fan ts'ie that does not occur in that work. That will not do, however, for many of the most important loan readings (kia tsie) are never given in the Ts'ie yün but are to some extent indispensable in our present work. Moreover, from the point of view of the desirability of checking the readings of the Ts'ie yün it is advisable to draw — with every caution — up on yet another early source. Our materials will therefore be as follows:

1) Our principal source will be the Ts'ie yün, composed by a committee of scholars under the leadership of Lu Fa-yen and published in 601 A. D. I need not expatiate on this work, since it has been treated in an extensive literature and forms the basis of all my earlier researches into the phonetics of Ancient Chinese. It is sufficient to point out here that, though it was lost for centuries and known only through its enlarged and modified Sung-time version, the Kuang yün, it is now accessible in its major part thanks to important finds of ancient manuscripts, either of the Ts'ie yün itself or its slightly enlarged T'ang version, the T'ang yün. Above all, there are the epoch-making finds of Stein and Pelliot at Tun huang, but there are also other early manuscripts found in China to complete our picture of the document. Two Chinese scholars, Lo Ch'ang-pei and Wei Kien-kung, have recently published a combined edition of a considerable number of Ts'ie yün manuscripts, to which is added an edition of the Kuang yün with textual criticism. Their excellent and most scholarly work, Shī yün huei pien, contains, inter alia, the best Pelliot manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale and also a very extensive and im-



¹⁾ Couvreur and Giles have both followed this example and given two readings and two meanings.

portant Stein manuscript of the British Museum (= "Ts'ie yün III" of the said Chinese publication, there erroneously stated to belong to the Paris library). My phonetic interpretation of the phonological categories in the Ts'ie yün language, its initials, medial vowels, finals is given in my works quoted above.

2) The other early source for the Ch'ang-an language to which I alluded above is the King tien shī wen by Lu Tê-ming (dead cirka 630 A. D.). This is a series of consecutive glosses on twelve of the Thirteen classics (Meng-tsī is not treated) and on Lao-tsī and Chuang-tsī. Thanks to the T'ang manuscripts of this work, found by Pelliot and partly edited by him (Pelliot, Le Chang chou en caractères anciens et le King tien che wen, 1916), we can verify how far the current editions (the best critical edition being that of Lu Wen-ch'ao in the Pao king t'ang ts'ung shu) correctly render the original. We find that the work has been somewhat abbreviated, but the phonetic glosses are very faithfully preserved, and thus we have an important and very extensive collection of sound glosses from practically the same time as the Ts'ie yün. In what relation does it stand, linguistically, to that work?

A thorough examination of its fan-ts'ie has brought me to the following results. The King tien shi wen is an extremely mixed and heterogeneous work which can only be used with utmost caution, but to a certain extent it can render valuable service. In the first place, it is clear from thousands of fan-ts'ie contained in it — all the most frequent and normal words there glossed and spelt by Lu without reference to earlier authors — that Lu Tê-ming, though not himself a native of Ch'ang-an, nevertheless has based his work on the very same Ch'ang-an dialect of Suei and early T'ang time as the Ts'ie yun. Exactly the same distinctions in regard to initials and finals etc. as in the Ts'ie yun are observable in his language. There are a few points which form exceptions. Before the finals where Ts'ie yun had \hat{t} -, \hat{t} '-, \hat{d} '- Lu regularly has t-, t'-, d'-; he often confuses dz- and z-; he sometimes confuses iën, ien and ien; occasionally he is not quite certain in regard to the distinction -ië: i. If one keeps this in mind and following strict rules discounts these divergences, his gloss material forms an excellent check on the Ts'ie yün. For he has worked quite independently of the Ts'ie yün. He chooses other spelling characters than the Ts'ie yun — though the result, recalculated in modern phonetic symbols, will give exactly the same pronunciation of the words.

So far so good. If Lu had limited himself to his own readings, he would have been invaluable. But he has detracted from the value of his work by quoting extensively the fan-ts'ie spellings of a great number of earlier writers, above all Sü Miao. And it is clearly apparent that they spoke a language which was not that of the Ts'ie yün. Their fan-ts'ie are often impossible according to Ts'ie yün norms: initials are combined with finals with which they cannot combine in the Ts'ie yün language (e. g. 渎; Lu says: Sü and Liu read it 色 造).

It would therefore seem natural and easy to disregard all glosses in his work in which he quotes earlier writers. But that is more easily said than done. This is

due to his way of making use of his predecessors. Sometimes he quotes another author in order to show a difference from his own fants'ie reading — we have seen an example of this above; sometimes in order to accept and agree with him. And in the latter case he does not always mention his source. Take the word 插. Küan 9:21 (Chou li, Hia kuan) Lu says: 劉徐初輒反戚初治反 which means: »Liu and Sü read tṣ'iāp, Ts'i reads ts'ăp». And then küan 10:10 (I li) he says simply, without quoting any predecessor,初治反 »read ts'ǎp». Here, then, he agrees with Ts'i, whose reading ts'ap is also that of Ts'ie yun. However, it is not only when he accepts a predecessor's reading that he may leave out the namereference. It occasionally happens that he reproduces, without mentioning his source, a reading which we know is not his own. There is e. g. the char. 撥. Küan 9: 28 he says: 必 末 反 沈 蒲 末 反 »read puût, Shen reads b'uût». Here Shen's b'uât is put as against his own puât, which is also the reading of Ts'ie yün. But küan 7:14 (Mao Shī) he says simply 蒲 末 反 »read b'uât» — thus giving here a reading which, when sponsored by Shen, did not meet with his approval. When we witness cases like this we can understand how it is that, in the middle of scores of fan-ts'ie which tally nicely with Ts'ie yun and evidently represent the Ch'ang-an language, we may suddenly come across a fan-ts'ie which runs quite counter to the Ts'ie yun system: it is because Lu has simply copied an earlier gloss in a source that is incompatible with the Ts'ie yun language, yet without recording his authority. For 垮 he says (Ili, Ta shê) k'uo and k'zu. The former agrees with Ts'ie yun, the latter seems very irrational — we should never expect a final -qu with this Phonetic. And in another place (Chou Yi, Hi ts'ï, hia) he tells us that he has taken over the reading k'qu from Sü Miao, whose dialect, as we have already seen, can be proved to have been different from that of the Ts'ie yün.

To sum up: whether Lu mentions his predecessors or not does not prove anything; a fan-ts'ie of Lu's with the earlier source given may suit his own language admirably, or it may not; a fan-ts'ie of Lu's without the name of an earlier writer may be his own, in the Ch'ang-an dialect, but it may also be an earlier gloss, deviating from the Ch'ang-an dialect.

It would seem, then, that Lu Tê-ming is useless for our purpose, being a much too composite and troubled source. Yet we can make use of him to a certain extent, and to great advantage.

It must be remembered that the Ts'ie yün gives thousands of words, many of which were not living and current words in its time but dead words, occurring only in the archaic texts and never spoken in the Ch'ang-an language of Suei and T'ang time. That the Ts'ie yün can give their readings in the terms of the Ts'ie yün language may seem strange. Yet the matter is very simple. If in early times there was a living word 这 'to meet' which in Archaic Chinese (early Chou) was pronounced *g'iôg, it was then homophonous with the common word 本 Arch. *g'iôg 'to pray' and several others. Gradually the phonetic evolution altered the pro-

nunciation of 求 Arch. *g'iôg to Ancient Chinese (Suei) g'igu, and of course the homophonous 逑 had to follow suit. Even when the latter gradually disappeared from the living colloquial, every reader of the Shī king (where it occurs in the 1st ode) all the time, at all stages of the gradual phonetic change, knew that 逑 was read like 求, and so when the scholars of Suei and T'ang time read their Shī king, they pronounced 速 g'igu just like 求. In this way the Ts'ie yün reading 速 g'igu is, so to speak, a Suei time projection of the Chou time *g'iôg, resulting from the parallelism between 速, 來 and other primary homophones. Therefore, in regard to words existing only in archaic literature and obsolete in the living language of Suei and T'ang time, the reliability of the Ts'ie yun readings depends on the faithfulness with which successive generations of scholars kept up the reading of the archaic texts, so that the uncommon words could duly share in the gradual phonetic change which their living and current homophones underwent.1) In this respect the fate of the different words varied considerably. Some archaic words, no longer colloquially used, were extremely well known to all literati because they occurred in constantly read classics. Their Suei and T'ang time projections (their fan-ts'ie spellings in the Ts'ie yün) are perfectly safe, just as reliable as the readings of the words then still current in the colloquial. But in regard to very rare words, occurring only once or a few times in the classics, or perhaps never in the Shī san king but only in Chuang-tsī or Sün-tsī or Mo-tsī, the tradition of successive generations of scholars was not so strong and uninterrupted. There are greater chances, then, that the Ts'ie yun readings for them are not such reliable projections as in cases like 逑. The true reading of a character may have been forgotten for some generations, and later scholars may have been tempted to invent suitable readings for them by aid of the Phonetics of the characters.

Here Lu Tê-ming serves a very valuable purpose. We have seen that he has worked quite independently of the commission of scholars who wrote the Ts'ie yün, though he builds on the same dialect as they did. When Lu reads words differently from the Ts'ie yün, it may, as we have seen, mean that he quotes predecessors with a different dialect. But in the numerous cases where Lu reads uncommon, obsolete characters in exactly the same manner as the Ts'ie yün, his glosses are extremely valuable, for then they corroborate the Ts'ie yün readings as true and faithfully handed down Suei and T'ang projections of the Archaic words.

And there is yet another advantage in his work. The Ts'ie yun is a dictionary which is extremely brief in its definitions of the meanings of the characters. In



¹⁾ The nature of the script, which is not a phonetic alphabetic script like ours, giving the separate pronunciation elements: $b \cdot e \cdot d$, $d \cdot u \cdot s \cdot t$, prevented a preservation of the Archaic pronunciation of uncommon words. When \Re had changed from $*g'i\hat{o}g$ to $g'i\hat{\varrho}u$, no one knew any longer that it had once been read $*g'i\hat{o}g$, and no alphabetic script: $g' \cdot i \cdot \hat{o} \cdot g$ was there to tell the scholars that \Re had once been $*g'i\hat{o}g$. It had slowly gone through the same evolution $*g'i\hat{o}g > g'i\hat{\varrho}u$ as \Re in the mouths of successive generations of Shī king readers.

a great many cases the very commonest kia tsie (loan) uses of a character are not given in it. Lu Tê-ming, on the contrary, gives a very extensive record of such loan applications throughout the classics; indeed, a very great number of the cases where his readings deviate from those of the Ts'ie yün are due to this perfectly legitimate cause, and not to a quotation of earlier sources in different dialects: he records loan applications, skipped in the Ts'ie yün, to other words which are not homophonous but merely similar in sound. Here Lu Tê-ming may sometimes fill a serious gap.

In consequence of what has been expounded here, my principle will be the following. For the readings of Ancient Chinese I base myself on the Ts'ie yun (or its T'ang version the T'ang yun). After each such form, which I have drawn from one or other of the manuscripts published in the Shī yün huei pien, I add a signum T; only in the rare cases in which a character does not exist in these manuscripts I draw upon the enlarged Sung version of the same dictionary, the Kuang vun, and then I mark the form by the letter K. When Lu Tê-ming in his King tien shī wen has a phonetic gloss which agrees with the Ts'ie yun (not necessarily having the identical fan-ts'ie spelling characters, but resulting in the same Anc. Chinese form) I add a signum L; yet for very common words, still living in modern colloquial, I have not deemed it necessary to add the Lu Tê-ming »control», since the modern form suffices to check the correctness of the Ts'ie yun reading. When, on the contrary, Lu Tê-ming has a reading that deviates from that of the Ts'ie yün, if it is in the same sense of the character as that of the Ts'ie yün, it means that he builds on an earlier glossist with a different dialect, and then I disregard his divergent reading, leaving it out altogether. But if it is in another sense, a loan application of the character which the Ts'ie yun has not found space to incorporate, I shall of course take it up, always marking it by the letter L,1) if it is a sufficiently common and important loan sense.

This brings us to a very important practical question: which characters are to be included in our present study, and which meanings of the characters are to be incorporated?

In my Analytic Dictionary of Chinese (1926) I selected some 6000 of the most common characters. Here the selection must follow other principles, since the purpose is to verify which sound variations are possible within the series of one Phonetic of the script, such as it was created in Archaic times, and built on the Archaic language. This means that a good many characters invented in the Chris-



¹⁾ I should have liked to add full reference figures to the passage in the King tien shī wen in which the gloss occurs, but considerations of space forbid such an arrangement. The reader who desires to find the exact place must go to the concordances to the classics and general dictionaries and find the passage in which the character occurs and has been treated by Lu (often in a dozen places!). I hope some day to publish a special study on the King tien shī wen, and I shall then incorporate the index to it which I have made for my own benefit.

tian era and now quite current have to be left out, because they are built on a later and quite different language, and would seriously lead us astray in our investigation of the Archaic principles. On the other hand, it is desirable to incorporate a really comprehensive body of material for the earliest periods. It would seem natural to take the Shuo wen kie tsī as our point of departure and incorporate all its characters and to add the remaining characters that are not to be found in the Shuo wen but which exist in texts of the pre-Christian era and in the dictionaries Er ya, Fang yen, Kuang ya and the Han time commentaries to the classics. Such a scheme, however, is not recommendable. Both in the Shuo wen and in the Er ya, for instance, there are a great many characters which we do not know from a single text. This, of course, does not mean that they are mere »dictionary words, which never existed in real texts, for many documents from Chou, Ts'in and Han times now lost are recorded in the I wen chi of the Han shu, and those characters may have occurred in one or other of these early writings. But, apart from the fact that they interest us less, since we do not find them in literature,1) they form a dangerous material; it is a risky thing to guess at their meanings. A short dictionary definition is often quite misleading. Let us illustrate this by a single example. The character 務 wu is defined in the Shuo wen by 趣 ts'ü. Ts' ü means 'to run', and if we did not possess 務 in texts, and simply had to follow Shuo wen, we should, of course, translate wu as meaning 'to run' - which would be absolutely wrong. The definition in Shuo wen is due to the following extensions of meaning. Ts' ü means 'to run' and hence 'to run after, to strive for, to be bent on'. Wu means 'to apply one's force' and hence 'to attend earnestly to, to be bent on'. This example glaringly demonstrates the risk of dictionary definitions. Consequently I shall invariably follow the rule of incorporating only such words as occur in Chou and Ts'in texts, in a few exceptional cases also such as are found in early Han texts.2)

There is the further difficult question as to which meanings of a character should be registered here. Since the present book is a study on script and phonetics, I could of course give the list of characters with their Archaic and Ancient pronunciation without any translation at all. This, however, would not be satisfactory, for it would not explain the ideograms, nor the choice of Radicals in the hie sheng. A brief definition is therefore indispensable.



¹⁾ Couvreur's Dictionnaire Classique and Giles's Chinese-English Dictionary both include a great many characters never occurring in texts, merely picked up from the K'ang-hi tsī tien. On the other hand, a considerable number of characters which do really occur in early texts are not incorporated in these dictionaries.

²) I reckon, of course, the Li ki and the Ta Tai li as Chou texts, since their documents, brought together into collections only in Han time, are Chou time works. — Characters occurring exclusively as names of persons or places I have left out, with the exception of a few very common and important ones.

The ideal would be to give to each character its primary sense, the sense for which the character was created.1) This ideal, however, is in many cases quite unattainable. It has been generally admitted for hundreds of years among Chinese scholars that Hü Shen in his Shuo wen gives the primary sense of every character and his definitions have been regarded by every palaeographer as Bible words. But how could Hü possibly know the primary sense of the characters? He could in regard to a great many of them, such as 目 eye, 口 mouth, 馬 horse, etc. But for just as many he had no means whatsoever of determining the original sense of the character. The character 菁 tsing he defines as 'leek flower'. That is quite reasonable — a well attested early meaning; and since the Radical is ts'ao herb, it seems quite safe. Yet this character is attested also in the sense of 'turnip' and in the sense of 'a kind of sedge', and then again — already in the Shī king! — in the sense of 'luxuriant growth'; all of these tally equally well with this Radical, and any of them might be the primary sense of the character, the one for which the graph was first invented. How can we take an authority who published his dictionary in 100 A. D. as a guarantee that 'leek flower' was the first meaning of the character? That is, of course, out of the question. In some cases, again, Hü Shen gives meanings which are invented by him by aid of the characters themselves but never supported in real literature, e. g. for the characters 幺 死. Actually, therefore, Hü Shen is not a reliable guide for determining the primary sense of the characters.

Is it possible, on the other hand, for a modern philologist to do it better? In some cases, it is true, we may correct obvious mistakes of Hü's, but in the majority of ambiguous cases we are no better placed than he was. It might seem to be a sound principle to ascertain the earliest place in Chinese literature in which a character occurs and give its sense there the preference. But this would be entirely erroneous. Since a considerable amount of Chou literature has been lost, we have no reason to believe that a meaning occurring in Confucius' Lun yü is necessarily older than one we find in the Lü shī ch'un ts'iu — there may have been dozens of odes or other early documents now lost and older than Confucius which had the character in its Lü shī ch'un ts'iu sense.

of a word (word-stem of the language, quite irrespective of the script) and primary sense of a character (the Chinese ideograph). They are by no means always identical, and this is a very common error committed by both Chinese and Western authors to take it as an axiom that the fundamental sense of the graph also gives us the basic sense of the word. On the contrary, the Chinese script inventors, who found it difficult to depict abstract notions, often chose very special and secondary concrete applications of a word-stem for their graph. An example is 11. The word-stem 11 means 'in, inside', and it is only in a very special, secondary, derivative concrete sense that it has come to mean 'inside of a garment'. But the Chinese script inventor has seized upon this depictable special sense in order to find a suitable graph, and this has then by extension come to serve for the whole range of the stem 11 'inside'. Here the primary sense of the word is 'inside', not 'inside of a garment', but the primary sense of the character is 'inside of a garment', not 'inside'.

The only efficient method, therefore, would be to record for every character all the various meanings in which it has been used in Chou and Ts'in literature. But since thousands of characters have been used, not only in their primary sense but in long series of extended meanings, and then again as phonetic loan characters for many other words, that method would mean that we should have to make an Oxford Dictionary of the Chinese language in a score of stout volumes. Such a work falls entirely outside the scope of the present book. Since I cannot always limit myself to a »primary sense of the character», I shall give a brief selection of the most important meanings of each character as attested in pre-Han works. And since many kia tsie loans are phonetically very instructive and interesting,¹) I shall add a few of the most important ones. Yet it must always be remembered that the present work is not meant to be a diction ary and that my translations of the characters are very incomplete, being only summary indications of the most important meanings.

I always indicate the source of the meanings given (Shī, Shu, Lunyü etc.), though considerations of space have prohibited full references. They can mostly be supplied by the reader with the aid of other reference works. A great many of them may be culled from the indices in Legge's Shī king, Shu king, Ch'un ta'iu, Lun yü and Meng-tsī editions, from Couvreur's Li ki edition, from Stuart Lockhart's index to the Tso chuan.²) But references not obtainable in these indices can in most cases be found in the excellent Shuo wen t'ung hün ting sheng of Chu Tsünsheng.

FROM ARCHAIC CHINESE TO ANCIENT CHINESE

The phonetic evolution in Chinese, right from earliest to modern times, has followed the way of simplification, nivellation, reduction: what was once a language which, in spite of its monosyllabism, was extremely rich in its phonetic garb, with a great variety of different syllables, has gradually been brought, by constant wear and tear and simplification, through which earlier well-distinguished phonemes coincided, to an extreme phonetic poverty, so that modern Pekinese has only about 420 different syllables; and in order to reach that figure we have to take into account also the tones (musical accents), and count t'an,¹ t'an,² t'an,³ and



¹⁾ When, in the Shu king, 害 hai is used as loan for 曷 ho, this is phonetically interesting, for 害 was Arch. *g'âd and 曷 was *g'ât.

²⁾ It should be observed that my translations sometimes deviate from those given in the said works. This is because Couvreur invariably follows the orthodox Sung commentaries, and Legge chooses, at his own discretion, between the proposals of various expounders of recent times, whereas I always follow the earliest Han commentators.

t' a n⁴ as four different syllables. To these 420 modern Pekinese syllables would correspond thousands of Archaic ones, if we only knew the tones of Archaic Chinese. This, unfortunately, is not possible, for the *hie sheng* take no account of any difference in tone, and the Shī king rimes do so only to a certain extent, not regularly. Therefore, whereas the tone system of Ancient Chinese is well known, we are not in a position to reconstruct that of Archaic Chinese, and consequently in the present work the tones are left entirely out of the discussion (but for a few exceptional cases) and are not marked in the dictionary. The homophone words in Archaic Chinese were therefore not nearly so numerous as would appear from our word lists below; it should always be borne in mind that there were tone distinctions which unfortunately are out of our reach.

THE INITIALS.

Archaic Chinese possessed a rich set of simple initials:

Gutturals: k, k', g, g', ng, χ ;

Palatals: \hat{t} , \hat{t} , \hat{d} , \hat{d} , \hat{n} , \hat{s} ;

Dentals: t, t', d, d', n, l, s, z, ts, ts', dz, dz';

Supradentals: s, ts, ts', dz';

Labials: p, p', b', m;

Laryngal: '(as in 'ang, laryngal explosive, the »Knacklaut» of Germ. Ecke). This scheme of simple initials in Archaic Chinese was radically changed by the evolution from Archaic to Ancient Chinese.

The gutturals:

The palatals:

All the explosives changed into affricates, in the way so common in various languages:

 \hat{t} > tś, e. g. 章 * \hat{t} iang > tśiang;

 $\hat{t}' > ts'$, e. g. $\exists *\hat{t}'iang > ts'iang$;

 $d > d\hat{z}$, and this again > voiced fricative \hat{z} , e. g. $\vec{m} * \hat{d}ian > \hat{z}i\ddot{a}n$; the last stage of this change took place fairly late, for in Buddhistic transcriptions \vec{m} stands for Sanskr. $dhy\bar{a}na$.

 $d'>d\hat{z}$, e. g. $m *d'ia>d\hat{z}ia$.

 \acute{n} also received a parasitic homorganic fricative, first as a »glide» (transition sound), then as second element of a »nasal affricate», e. g. \not * \acute{n} \not

The dentals:

Unaspirated d, which existed only before i, was entirely lost, e. g. $k \approx diu > iu$. z, which likewise existed only before i, was in the same way entirely lost, e. g.



羊 *ziang > jang. t, t', d', n before i were palatalized, e. g. 展 *tian > $\hat{t}i\ddot{a}n$, 敕 *t' $i\dot{a}k$ > $\hat{t}'i\dot{a}k$, 長 *d'iang > d'iang, 女 *nio > niiwo. The same change took place before certain other Anc. Chinese vowels (of various Arch. origins), namely: open a, \check{a} , n, ε and \mathring{a} , e. g. 站 *tam > $\hat{t}am$, 擇 *d' $\check{a}k$ > $\check{d}'vk$, 摘 *tek > $\hat{t}\varepsilon k$, 撞 *d' $\check{u}ng$ > $\check{d}'ang$. This transformation took place in late Liu ch'ao time.

dz changed into z, e. g. $\vec{n} = *dziang > ziang$.

s, ts, ts', dz' became supradental before the same vowels just mentioned, i. e. Anc. a, a, v, ε , a, e. g. 山 *san > san > san > san > tsvan > tsva

The rest of the Archaic simple initials remain unchanged in Ancient Chinese. The system of initials in Ancient Chinese which thus grew out of the old stock was consequently as follows:

Gutturals: k, k', g', ng, χ , γ ;

Palatals: \hat{t} , \hat{t} ', \hat{d} ', \hat{n} , \hat{j} , \hat{s} , \hat{z} , $t\hat{s}$, $d\hat{z}$ ', $\hat{n}\hat{z}$;

Dentals: t, t', d', n, l, s, z, ts, ts', dz';

Supradentals: ş, tş, tş', dz';

Labials: p, p', b', m;

Laryngals: $(type \cdot \hat{a}ng)$, o (type iu).

It should then be remembered that:

The guttural γ derives from *g'.

The palatals \hat{t} , \hat{t}' , \hat{d}' , \hat{n}' derive from *t, t', d', n; j from *g; \hat{z} from * \hat{d} ; $t\hat{s}$, $t\hat{s}'$, $d\hat{z}'$ from * \hat{t}' , \hat{t}' , \hat{d}' ; $\hat{n}\hat{z}$ from * \hat{n} .

The dental z derives from *dz.

The supradentals derive in part from original supradentals, in part from *s, ts, ts, dz.

The laryngal o (smooth vocalic ingress, type iu) derives from *d- (*diu).

Besides the simple initials, Archaic Chinese possessed various consonant combinations at the beginning of words. These are often very difficult, sometimes impossible to determine, for the only source to which we have access in this respect is the *hie sheng* characters, and there may be many cases of consonant combinations which do not happen to be revealed by *hie sheng*. Thus our reconstruction of the Archaic initials is more liable to show lacunes than that of the Archaic finals, where Shī king rimes and hie sheng characters combine to give very complete results. Examples of initial consonant combinations will be found (passim) in the dictionary below.

THE MEDIAL VOWELS.

The "medial vowels" play an extremely important part in the Chinese word-structure. In Archaic as well as in Ancient Chinese there were consonantic i and w, e. g. kian, kwang, and there was vocalic i, e. g. kien. These elements have been

but little changed from Archaic to Ancient Chinese. Two phenomena deserve special attention.

In the first place, there is a series of categories in which consonantic w has been strengthened into vocalic u. This happens, in the first place, in certain groups before the vowel \hat{a} : 戈 * $kw\hat{a}$ > $ku\hat{a}$, 官 * $kw\hat{a}n$ > $ku\hat{a}n$, \Re * $kw\hat{a}d$ > $ku\hat{a}i$, 括 * $kw\hat{a}t$ > $ku\hat{a}i$; on the other hand before the vowel \hat{a} : 昆 * $kw\hat{a}n$ > $ku\hat{a}n$, 君 $kiw\hat{a}n$ > * $kiu\hat{a}n$, 骨 * $kw\hat{a}t$ > $ku\hat{a}t$. The contrast between such strong vocalic u of Anc. Chinese and its consonantic w is still felt in certain daughter dialects. Thus, for instance, in Cantonese Anc. 官 $ku\hat{a}n$ has given $k\bar{u}n$, but Anc. 圖 kwan has given $kw\bar{a}n$.

THE FINALS.

We shall divide the finals of Archaic Chinese into 26 phonological classes, which on the whole correspond to the rime classes of the Shī king (the few exceptions will be indicated *in loco*).

Class I.

Archaic finals: 1. â, 2. wâ; 3. a, 4. wa; 5. ia; 6. ia, 7. wia.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	歌 *kâ	$k\hat{a}$	5. 蚱 *d';ia	dź' įa
2.	過 *kwâ	kuâ	6. 皮 *b'ia	b'jie
3.	加 *ka	ka	7. 唐 *k'wia	k'jwig
4.	化 *χwa	χwa		

The \hat{a} grave (Fr. p \hat{a} t e) as well as a aigu (Fr. p at t e) remained unchanged, both when standing alone and when preceded by w and i; but after the strong, vocalic i there was Umlaut: *b'ia became b'jie. That ia with consonantic i kept its a down to Anc. Chinese is remarkable, for we shall see presently that in c l ose e d syllables there was Umlaut: *kian > kian.

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Class II.

Archaic finals: 1. å, 2. wå, 3. įå; 4. o, 5. wo; 6. įo, 7. įwo.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	家 *kå	ka	4. 古 *ko	kuo
2.	瓜 *kwå	kwa	5. 🛝 *kwo	kuo
3.	且 *ts'iå	ts'ia	6. 居 *kio	kįwo
	•		7. 吁 *χiwo	χiu

In this class, the changes from Archaic to Ancient Chinese have been considerable. The \mathring{a} rimes (\mathring{a} is a very open o), which still had their \mathring{a} preserved well into the Christian era, then changed their \mathring{a} into open a (Fr. patte). That this was not a gradual opening of the articulation: $\mathring{a} > \mathring{a} > a$, is proved by class I, the Arch. \mathring{a} of which was maintained in Anc. Chinese — if \mathring{a} on its way to a had passed through a stage \mathring{a} , the original \mathring{a} would have followed suit and become a as well, which was not the case. We have therefore to imagine the evolution as a kind of »breaking», with a gradual loss of the first element: $*k\mathring{a} > k\mathring{a} \times k\mathring{a} > ka$. This is quite compatible with the spirit of the Chinese language. In modern Mandarin the -o: lo, so, to etc., has in many dialects entered upon the first stage of such a breaking, e. g. in Shantung: $l \circ \check{a}$, $s \circ \check{a}$, $t \circ \check{a}$.

The Arch. o (ordinary o, less open than d) was subject to a similar breaking: *ko > kuo, cf. Lat. novum > Ital. nuovo; with this also the original wo coincided: *kwo > kuo. In the io final the existence of yet another subordinate vowel, i, caused a reduction of the breaking vowel u into w: *kio > kiwo.

The Archaic final with two subordinate vowels, iwo, went its own way: here the w swallowed the o: * $\chi iwo > \chi iu$. This last point is interesting; we can realize that the transition * $\chi iwo > \chi iu$ must have taken place earlier than *kio > kiwo, for otherwise the secondary iwo (6. Anc. kiwo) would also have passed on into iu. We must therefore establish two successive stages of the change:

The second stage took place only in Liu ch'ao time.

Class III.

Archaic finals: 1. u; 2. ju.

Archaic Ancient
1. 口 *k'u k' 2u2. 駒 *kiu kiu.

The fate of this class is very simple: whereas iu remained unchanged, there was introduced, between the initial and -u, a parasitic short vowel: *k'u > k'2u, cf. Germ. $h\bar{u}s > h^aus$ (H a u s).

Class IV.

Archaic finals: 1. ân, 2. wân; 3. an, 4. wan; 5. ian, 6. iwan; 7. ian, 8. iwan; 9. ăn, 10. wăn; 11. iăn, 12. iwăn.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	于 *kân	kân	7. 見 *kian	kien
2.	官 *kwân	kuân	8. 涓 *kiwan	kiwen
3.	顏 *ngan	nga n	9. 閒 *kăn	kăn
4.	關 *kwan	kwan	10. 患 *g 'wăn	ywăn
5.	展 *tjan	<i>t</i> jän	11. 言 *ngjǎn	ngipn
6.	轉 *tjwan	î įwän	12. 原 *ngiwăn	n gįwon

We have to observe here the fundamental difference between a series (1—8) with long principal vowel and a series (9—12) with short principal vowel. Yet both series rime freely in the Shī king. The long-vowelled series has finals both with *a grave* (1,2) and with *a aigu* (3—8), but they likewise interchange freely in the Shī king rimes.

The changes from Archaic to Ancient Chinese are not very strong. There is Umlaut after i and i in the long a, but of graduated strength: the short i has only turned the a into an *open e* $(\ddot{a}$, Germ. B \ddot{a} r): ${}^*tian > \hat{t}i\ddot{a}n$; the long, strong i has turned it into a *narrow e* (e, Fr. \acute{e} t \acute{e}): ${}^*kian > kien$.

The short \check{a} , after \check{i} (here, as in class II, words with \check{i} evolve differently from those without), has been »muddled» into the slack sound of Engl. b u t (bvt): *ngiān > ngiwn, *ngiwān > ngiwvn.

Class V.

Archaic finals: 1. ât, 2. wât; 3. at, 4. wat; 5. iat; 6. iwat; 7. iat; 8. ăt, 9. wăt; 10. iăt, 11. iwăt; 12. âd, 13. wâd; 14. ad, 15. wad; 16. iad, 17. iwad; 18. iad; 19. ăd, 20. wăd; 21. iăd, 22. iwăd.

Properly, these should form two classes, one ending in -t and one in -d; but since they rime freely with each other in the Shī king, I have combined them into one class. It is easily seen that each of the two series forms an almost perfect parallel to the -n series of class IV above. We examine the -t series first:

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	葛 *kât	kât	8. 🗱 *g'ǎt	γăt
2.	括 *kwât	kuât	9. 刮 *kwăt	kwăt
3.	殺 *sat	șat	10. 掲 *kjǎt	kįpt
4.	八 *pwat	pwat	11. 蕨 *kiwăt	kįwot
5 .	桀 *kiat	kįät		
6 .	悦 *diwat	įwät		
7.	截 *dz'iat	dz'iet		

Here, as in the $\hat{a}n$ class (IV), there are long principal vowels (1—7) and short ones (8—11), and among the former there is both \hat{a} grave (1, 2) and a aigu (3—7).

The changes into Anc. Chinese are exactly the same as in the dn class: Umlaut, weak after consonantic i: *g'iat > g'iat, strong after vocalic i: *dz'iat > dz'iet. And just as the \check{a} after i was turned into the slack v (* $k_i\check{a}n > k_i\check{v}n$), so it happened here: * $k_i\check{a}t > k_i\check{v}t$.

Then we have the corresponding -d series:

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
12.	帶 *tâd	tâi	19. 瘵 *tsǎd	tṣăi
13.	外 *ngwâd	nguâi	20. 拜 *pwǎd	pwă i
14.	蛰 *t'ad	$oldsymbol{\widehat{t}}$ 'a $oldsymbol{i}$	21. XIJ *ngįăd	ngị vi
15.	噲 *k'wad	k'wai	22. 吠 *b'iwǎd	b'įwvi
16.	萬 *liad	lįäi		
17.	帨 *śiwad	ś įwäi		
18.	端 *tiad	tiei		

First, we observe that the final -d has regularly been vocalized into -i: * $t\hat{a}d$ > $t\hat{a}i$ etc. Once this has been taken into account, the parallelism with the $\hat{a}n$ class (IV) and the $\hat{a}t$ series of the present class is perfect: there are long vowels (12—18), both \hat{a} and a, and short vowels (19—22), there is Umlaut (* $l\dot{a}ad$ > $l\dot{a}\ddot{a}i$, *tiad > tiei) and there is the passage of \ddot{a} into \ddot{v} after \dot{a} (* $ng\dot{a}ad$ > $ng\dot{a}$).

Class VI.

Archaic finals: 1. âr, 2. wâr; 3. jar, 4. jwar; 5. jăr, 6. jwăr.

	Archaic	Ancient		Arc	haic	Ancient
1.	₩ *d'âr	d ' \hat{a}	5.	邇	*ńįăr	ńźię
2.	播 *pwâr	$pu\hat{a}$	6.	鬷	*xįwăr	χjwię
3.	鱓 *tiar	tśię				
4.	瑞 *diwar	źwie				

This class is represented by few words, and they seldom occur as rimes. Their final -r is proved by occasional contacts, in rimes and hie sheng, with -n, like * $w\hat{a}r$: * $w\hat{a}n$, *i $w\hat{a}r$: *ipr.

After \hat{a} , a, \check{a} the r dropped without leaving any trace at all (in contrast to the r of the r class, see below): $*d\hat{a}r > d\hat{a}$, $*pw\hat{a}r > pu\hat{a}$. But if we drop the r of 3. $\hat{t}iar$ and 5. $\hat{n}i\check{a}r$, we should expect them to coincide with the ia of class I above (\hat{a} class, $\bigstar *d\hat{i}'ia > d\hat{z}'ia$), and then they should give Arcc. 3. $t\hat{s}ia$, 5. $\hat{n}\hat{s}ia$. But they do not. Hence we can see that in combination with the dropping of the r in $*\hat{t}iar$, $*\hat{n}i\check{a}r$, there was a deplacement of quantity: i became principal vowel, a became subordinate; and then there followed the ordinary Umlaut: $*\hat{t}iar > \hat{t}ia > t\hat{s}ia$, $*\hat{n}i\check{a}r > \hat{n}ia > \hat{n}ia$. The reason for this deplace-

ment of quantity in connection with the loss of r is an influence of analogy from the strong category with Archaic ia (Anc. ig) in the \hat{a} class (I above), e. g. 皮 *b'ia > b'jig.

And this analogy has a very important effect on another point: it entails a highly interesting metathesis. In the syllables with w: 4. *diwar, 6. * $\chi iwar$, we should expect an Anc. Ch. sequel of sounds 4. diwe, 6. χiwe , but we find that i and w changed place; this was due to the same influence of analogy from class I. There we had the type E + k'wia > k'jwig, in which w precedes i from the origin. In analogy with this k'jwig, our k'jwig, in which k'jwig, and k'jwig, and k'jwig, and k'jwig, and k'jwig.

Class VII.

Archaic finals: 1. ien, 2. iwen; 3. ien, 4. iwen.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient	
1.	天 *t'ien	t'ien	3. 人 *ńiĕn	ńźjĕn	
2.	滑 *·iwen	$\cdot iwen$	4. 均 *kiwěn	kiuĕn	

Here, as in the dn class, there is an important distinction between a category with long and a category with short principal vowel. In the former, the finals remained unchanged in Anc. Chinese, in the latter the w was strengthened into u: * $k_i w \tilde{e}n > k_i u \tilde{e}n$, for the rest, all was maintained unaltered.

Class VIII.

Archaic finals: 1. iet, 2. iwet; 3. iet, 4. iwet; 5. ied; 6. ied.

Here, as in the dt class (V), words ending in -t and in -d are combined into one class.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	結 *kiet	kiet	5. 嚏 *tied	tiei
2.	欠 *g'iwet	yiwet	6. 至 *t̂iĕd	tśi
	吉 *kjet	k <u>i</u> ět		
4.	hm *siwět	siuĕt		

In this class, as in several preceding ones, there is the fundamental difference between long-vowelled and short-vowelled types.

In the -t group, there was no change at all from Archaic to Ancient Chinese, except for w > u in type 4. In the -d group, we again meet with the same phenomenon studied in the $\hat{a}t$ class (V) above: the final -d was vocalized into -i. Thus *tied > tiei. But in 6 * $\hat{t}i\check{e}d$, when d became i, the short \check{e} between the two i ($\hat{t}i\check{e}i$) could not maintain itself, it was swallowed, and the result was a single Anc. -i: * $\hat{t}i\check{e}d > \hat{t}i\check{e}i > t\acute{s}i$.

Class IX.

Archaic finals: 1. 2n, 2. w2n; 3. i2n, 4. iw2n; 5. i2n, 6. iw2n; 7. en, 8. wen; 9. ien, 10. iwen.

This class is characterized by its invariably short principal vowel, either θ (as in Germ. Knabe), or ε (as in Engl. bad). That they are combined into one class is because they rime freely in the Shī king. Though the difference in timbre is considerable, yet they were evidently deemed to be sufficiently similar acoustically to be allowed to rime.

A	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	跟 *kən	k eg n	4 a. 君 *kjwən	kįuən
2.	昆 *kwən	ku in n	4 b. 春 *î'jwən	tś' juěn
3 a.	勤 *g'jən	g ' i ə $m{n}$	5. 先 *siən	sien
3 b.	振 *fjən	tśjěn	6. 犬 *k'iwən	k'iwen

It is first to be observed that in this group with short v as Arch. principal vowel the medial v always gained strength and turned into vocalic v: *kwn > kun etc.

For the rest, the evolution was determined by an influence of the initials. It is illustrated by the following scheme of syllables in Ancient Chinese:

After the vocalic i, the a was likewise palatalized: *sian > sien, *k'iwan > k'iwen.

A	Archaic	Ancient
7.	艱 * kεn	kăn
8.	鰇 *kwεn	kwăn
9 a.	詵 *tṣįεn	tșien
9 b.	If $ki\epsilon n$	kįĕn
10.	隕 *gįwεn	jįwěn.

The ε of this group, a short and slack sound (something like Engl. b a d) has undergone various changes. In the words without i it turned into \check{a} — a phonetically very kindred phonem. After i, the palatal quality was preserved, sometimes even strengthened, and here, just as in the \imath words just studied, the evolution was influenced by the initials, but according to a different scheme. It is only after the gutturals, with the laryngal, that ε passed into \check{e} : * $ki\varepsilon n$ > $ki\varepsilon n$, * $i\varepsilon n$ > $i\check{e}n$, * $giw\varepsilon n$ > $jiw\varepsilon n$.

Class X.

Archaic finals: (1. ət, not represented), 2. wət; 3. int, 4. iwnt; 5. int, 6. iwnt; 7. ɛt, 8. wet; 9. iet, 10. iwet; 11. od, 12. wod; 13. ind, 14. iwnd; 15. ind, 16. iwnd; 17. ɛd, 18. wed; 19. ied, 20. iwed.

As in the dt class (V), there is one series ending in -t and one in -d, combined into one class because they rime in the Shī king. It is easily seen that each of these series forms an exact parallel to the series ending in -n in the ∂n class (IX). Like that series, both contain ∂ words as well as ε words.

A	Archaic	${\bf Ancient}$	Arc	ehaic	Ancient
1.	(not represer	ited).	4 a. 月	∄ *k'įwət	k' j uət
2.	本 *tswət	tsuət	4 b.	∐ *t'įwət	tś' įuĕt
3 a.	訖 *kiət	kį̇̀ət	5.	≹ * p'i∂t	p' iet
3 b.	鲎 *fiət	tśįĕt	6.	男 *k'iwət	k'iwet

The evolutional phenomena are here exactly the same as those studied in the in class: w became u, except after vocalic i (6); and in the iit, iwit finals the initials determined the fate of the principal vowel; gutturals (with laryngal) and labials with w preserved the iit: iit

A	Ancient	
7.	戛 *kεt	kăt
8.	滑 *g'wet	γwăt
9 a.	瑟 ∗si€t	ș <u>i</u> €t
9 b.	暨 *kįεt	kįĕt
10.	橘 *kiwet	kįuĕt

As in the ∂n class (IX), ε not preceded by i became \check{a} : * $k\varepsilon\epsilon t > k\check{a}t$; after i it is palatalized after gutturals, but not after supradentals: * $ki\varepsilon\epsilon t > k\check{i}\check{e}t$, but * $si\epsilon t > si\epsilon t$. The parallelism with the ∂n class is exact.

1	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
11.	严 *kəd	kậi	14 a. 貴 *kiwəd	kjwei
12.	退 *t'wəd	t'uậi	14 b. 類 *liwəd	ljwi
13 a.	氣 *k'iəd	k'jei	15. 戾 *liəd	$oldsymbol{liei}$
13 b.	利 *liəd	lji	16. 惠 *g'iwəd	γiwei

At first sight, the Ancient Chinese derivates appear to be very confused and unsystematic, but a closer scrutiny shows that there is a perfect parallelism with the at series above and the an class (IX). The same evolution laws were at work as in them and in the at class (V). In order to bring out this more clearly, I give below the successive stages in the evolution:



Archaic		Stage 2	Stage 3	Ancient
11.	* k ə d	kəi	k eg i	kậi
12.	*t'wəd	t'wəi	t'wə i	ť uậi
13 a.	*k' $i eg d$	k' į ə i	k'iə i	k'jęi
13 b.	*liəd	$oldsymbol{l}oldsymbol{i}oldsymbol{arepsilon}$	l <u>į</u> ĕi	$oldsymbol{lji}$
14 a.	*kįwəd	kįwəi	kįwəi	kjwęi
14 b.	*liw > d	lįuəi	lįw ĕi	ljwi
15.	*liəd	$oldsymbol{li}{oldsymbol{i}}$	$oldsymbol{liei}$	liei
16.	*g'iwəd	g' iw ə i	g'iwei	$\gamma iwei$

The first change was a wholesale vocalization of final -d into i, just as in the at class. In the next stage we observe exactly the same changes as in the an class and the at series above. In the types with i, the a was maintained after gutturals (with laryngal) and after labials with w: 13 a remained k'jəi, 14 a kiwəi, 費 (*p'jwad) p'jwai; but after palatals, dentals and after labials without w, the a passed into ĕ, thus bringing the words to coincide with those of the et class (VIII): 13 b lizi > liži, 14 b liwzi > liwži. On the other hand, the vocalic i gave rise to the same Umlaut a > e, quite irrespective of the initial: 15 lisi > liei, 16. g'iwsi > g'iwei, just as in the an class and the at series. In the last stage, there was, to begin with, one more transformation to which we have already had an exact parallel in the et class (VIII): the short palatal ĕ between two palatal i could not maintain itself, it was absorbed: 13 b liži > lji, 14. liwěi > ljwi (just as 至 *fijed iii ji ji ji ji ji ji But at the same time as this short ii disappeared, a new one was in process of being created, out of the 2, standing between two i, of the guttural class (13 a. k'in, 14 a. kiwn); we saw just now that, thanks to the influence of the initials, this class tarried in the evolution $a > \check{e}$, but quite late, probably in Liu ch'ao times, it had to follow suit, and thus we find in this group Anc. Chin. 13 a k'jgi, 14 a kjwçi, at a period when the 13 b liži of the dental class had already had time to pass on to lji.

That (*kijd)) kiji had really obtained a palatal vowel: kjgi, in Anc. Chinese, is shown by the Sino-Japanese Go-on, which has 13 a ke. Later on, as we shall see in the next chapter, a f t e r the era of Anc. Chinese, this kjgi in its turn quite consistently passed on to kji. Thus the evolution was quite the same in the *k'ijd words (gutturals etc.) and the *lijd words (palatals, dentals etc.) only it was more rapid in the latter:

Archaic	Stage 2	Stage 3	Ancient	Middle Chinese
*k'i>d	k' į́əi	k ' i ∂i	k'jęi	k'ji
*lį́əd	lį̇̀əi	l <u>į</u> ĕi	lji	lji

¹⁾ This means a difference in this group from the evolution in the n and n categories studied above. kin, kin carried their n into Anc. Chinese, whereas kin became (kin) > ki. The difference is due to the palatalizing effect of the final i, produced out of i.

Finally, in the transition from *stage 3* to Ancient Chinese, we meet for the first time an extremely important phenomenon which we shall come across in many of the subsequent classes. The short vowel \hat{z} , when not preceded by \hat{z} or \hat{i} , was transformed into \hat{a} before the finals \hat{i} , -m and -p (not before -n, -t, or -ng, -k). This \hat{a} , deriving from Arch. \hat{a} , was always short, in contradistinction to the Anc. \hat{a} deriving from Arch. \hat{a} ($\hat{a}t$ class, V) which was always long. Consequently, we find 11. (* $k\hat{z}d$ >) $k\hat{z}\hat{i}$ > $k\hat{q}\hat{i}$, 12. (* $t\hat{z}$ * $w\hat{z}d$ >) $t\hat{z}$ * $w\hat{z}\hat{z}$ > $t\hat{z}$ * $u\hat{q}\hat{z}\hat{z}$.

Thus we see that the Ancient Chinese derivate forms of our ad table above are far from confused or unsystematic, they are the logical outcome of certain definite laws, of which the majority were known to us already from earlier classes. The same laws are at work likewise in class XI below.

We now pass on to the series with ε as principal vowel, belonging to this same Shī king class.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
17.	屆 * $k \epsilon d$	kăi	19. 棄 *k'i̞εd	k'ji
18.	\mathfrak{F} *k'wɛd	k' w ă i	20. 匱 *kjwed	kjwi

The parallelism with the corresponding types ending in -t (7—10) above is perfect, but the vocalization of -d into -i — in the way already familiar to us — has influenced certain types still further.

When not preceded by i, the ε became \check{a} (just as $7 *k\varepsilon t > k\check{a}t$). But when preceded by i, there was a stronger palatalization: 19. $*k'i\varepsilon d$ first became $k'i\check{\varepsilon}i$ (just as $\dag 1 *ki\varepsilon n > ki\check{\varepsilon}n$), and then, in the way witnessed in several preceding groups, the short $\check{\varepsilon}$ between two i was absorbed: $ki\check{\varepsilon}i > kji$. Similarly 20. $*kiw\varepsilon d > kiw\check{\varepsilon}i > kjwi$.

Class XI.

Archaic finals: 1. ∂r , 2. ∂r , 3. ∂r , 4. ∂r , 5. ∂r , 6. ∂r , 7. ∂r , 8. ∂r , 9. ∂r Here, as in the ∂r class (IX) and the ∂r class (X), we have one series with ∂r as principal vowel and one with ∂r , combined into one class because they rime in the Shī king.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	哀 *·ər	·ậi	4 a. 歸 *kiwər	kjwęi
2.	已 *g'wər	γuậi	4 b. 追 *t̂iwər	tświ
3 a.	幾 *kjər	kjei	5.	tiei
9 h	#£ *fiar	tći		



same difference in treatment between words with guttural (laryngal, labial with w) initials and those with palatal and dental initials:

After vocalic i there was likewise Umlaut: tirgetarrow r Point by point the evolution was the same as in the gd series.

The only detail that calls for some remarks is the vocalization of -r into -i. It may seem phonetically far-fetched to pose such a transformation, for genetically r is rather inimical to i. The former is an apical sound, articulated by the tip of the tongue against the alveoli; the i is a dorsal sound (a »palatal», »mouillé») sound, articulated by the front surface of the tongue against the alveoli and præpalatum. Yet it must be remembered that a »palatalized r» is not an unknown phenomenon. In the Russian tsar, teper we have a typically mouillé r. And there is another phenomenon which is even more suggestive. The phonem r is a *tremulant*, it is true, consisting as a rule of several vibrations, rapid beats of the tip of the tongue, but it sometimes occurs that these are reduced to two, or even one single beat. The difference, in the latter case, between this r and a d is small, consisting in the greater mobility and rapidity of the r »beat» than of the d occlusion. Thus in Japanese, for instance, the r regularly has a very strong tendency to such a reduction, and very often has only one rapid beat, closely reminiscent of a d. Indead, $ry\bar{o}$ $(ri\bar{o})$ often sounds practically as if it were $di\bar{o}$. Now, if we suppose that the r of r etc. had been strongly reduced through its position as final consonant, being limited to one single rapid beat, it would have very nearly coincided with the final d of ∂d etc. and it is only natural that the $*\partial d$, $*i\partial d$, $*i\partial d$ series and the $*\partial r$, $*i\partial r$, *iər series obtained exactly the same evolution from Archaic to ancient Chinese by an identical vocalization of the final consonant: Anc. \$\tai\$, \$i\text{gi}\$ (and \$ii\$), \$i\text{ei}\$.

One more point should be observed. We have seen earlier that the final d was vocalized into i, not only after ϑ , as in the ϑt class (X), but also after original long d: *dd > di (dt class, V). Here we find that $*\vartheta r$ etc. became ϑi , but we saw (dr class, VI) that on the contrary *dr (with original d) became Anc. -d, with l os s of r. It did not become Anc. -di. There is a divergence on this point which reveals a chronological difference. After the long d: *dr, the r was reduced and dropped at a time d efforce the corresponding *dd turned into di. But when it followed upon short d: $*\vartheta r$, the r maintained itself longer, so that $*\vartheta r$ became ϑi simultaneously with $*\vartheta d > \vartheta i$; hence both the latter became Anc. di:

Archaic	Stage 2	Stage 3	Ancient
$*\hat{a}d$	$\hat{a}d$	$\hat{a}i$	$\hat{a}i$
*âr	â	\hat{a}	â
* əd	∂d	$m{\imath}$	ậi
*ər	∂r	$m{\imath}$	ậi

We now pass on to the εr series.

	Arc	Ancient	
6.	旹	*ker	kăi
7.	懐	* g'wεr	ywăi
8.	几	*kier	kji
9.	葵	* g'iwε r	g'jwi

The r, as before, was vocalized into i, and after that the evolution was exactly identical with that of the corresponding εd series (class X), the -d of which was equally vocalized into i. There we found:

- *ked became Anc. kăi;
- *k'wed » » k'wăi;
- *kiwed * * kjwi.

The identity of treatment is absolute, and the laws expounded under the ϵd series in class X above fully apply here.

Class XII.

Archaic finals: 1. âm, 2. am, 3. iam, 4. iam; 5. ăm, 6. iăm, 7. iwăm.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic		Ancient
1.	甘 *kâm	kâm	5. 陷	* g'ăm	γă m
2.	芟 *sam	șam.	6. 欠	*k'įăm	k'ipm
3.	拑 *g'jam	g'įäm	7. 鈴	*b'įwăm	b'įwom
4.	玷 *tiam	tiem			

There is a perfect parallelism between this class and the dn class (IV). Like there, we have one series with long principal vowel, both d and a, and one series with short principal vowel. When not preceded by i or i, the d as well as a and d were preserved in Anc. Chinese. After consonantic i, the a underwent a weak Umlaut: *g'iam > g'iam, after vocalic i, a strong: *tiam > tiem. d after i has turned into slack n: k'idm > k'imm. These are, point by point, the phenomena already witnessed in class IV.

Class XIII.

Archaic finals: 1. dp, 2. ap, 3. iap; 4. iap; 5. ap, 6. iap, 7. iwap; 8. db, 9. iab.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	職 ∗lâp	lâp	5. 插 *ts'ǎp	ť șă p
2.	甲 *kap	kap	6. 怯 *k'jăp	k'ipp
3.	獲 *liap	l <u>į</u> äp	7. 法 *pįwăp	piwop
4.	類 *kiap	$oldsymbol{kiep}$	8. 蓋 *káb	kâi
	-	<u>-</u>	9. 去 *k'jǎb	k'iwo

The words ending in -p form a perfect parallel to the am series of the preceding class, and call for no further remarks; the laws of evolution are exactly the same.

The last two types, 8 and 9, are more complicated. There are, on the whole, only faint traces of words ending in -b in Archaic Chinese. In the Shī king none, for, as we shall see, in its language they have already been modified in one way or another. But the script reveals some -b words. There is char. 8 蓋 which has the Anc. double readings γap and kai. This must reasonably mean Arch. *g'ap and kab, and *kab has first passed over into the -d class (we shall see in the next class several reliable examples of this b > d), and then shared the fate of original Arch. ad: *kab > *kad > kai. Again, Anc. k'iwo, is Phonetic in several Anc. k'ivp, i. e. Arch. *k'iap, e. g. char. 6 above, and may therefore be expected to have been an original k'iab. A confirming parallel is nappat, which when read nappatherefore be expected to have been an original nappathe sides, to rifle nappathen read nappathen read

Class XIV.

Archaic finals: 1. 2m, 2. 12m, 3. 12m; 4. Em, 5. 1Em; 6. um, 7. 1um.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
ı.	南 *nəm	nậ m	4. 咸 *g'εm	γăm
2.	今 *kiəm	kį́əm	5. 潛 *dz'įεm	dz' įäm
3.	墊 *tiəm	tiem	6. 芃 *b'um	b'ung
			7. 風 *pjum	piung

We have here three series, one with short \mathfrak{d} as principal vowel, one with short ε , and one with u (possibly \check{u} ?), combined into one riming class in the Shī king. Most of the evolutional laws in this class we have already met with before.

Arch. ε , not preceded by i, gave i before i, m and p (see class X above), and hence *nom became Anc. $n\hat{q}m$. After i, on the other hand, the o was preserved: * $k\hat{q}om > k\hat{q}om$. After the vocalic i there was Umlaut (just like *sion > sion in cl. IX): *tiom > tiom.

Arch. ε , not preceded by i, became \check{a} (just as $*\varepsilon n > \check{a} n$, cl. IX): $*g'\varepsilon m > \gamma \check{a} m$. But after i there was Umlaut: $*dz'j\varepsilon m > dz'j\check{a} m$.

The few words ending in Arch. -um, ium changed into Anc. -ung, iung by dissimilation: u and m are both labial phonems, and were not allowed to remain standing together; the second was velarized into ng.

Class XV.

Archaic finals: 1. ∂p , 2. ∂p , 3. ∂p ; 4. ∂p , 5. ∂p ; 6. ∂p , 7. ∂p .

Archaic		naic	Ancient	Archaic		Ancient
1.	納	*nəp	$n\hat{q}p$	4.	給 *g'εp	$\gamma \check{a} p$
2.	給	*kį p	kį́əp	5.	慴 tiep	tśjäp
3.	褶	*d'iəp	d' iep	6.	内 nwəb	nuậi
		-	-	7.	教 t̄jəb	tśi.

Here, as in the $\hat{a}p$ class (XIII), there is one -p series and one -b series. In the former, as in the preceding ∂m class (XIV), there were words with ∂ as principal vowel and others with ε . The evolutional laws governing the -p series (1—5) are quite the same as in the preceding ∂m class; the parallelism is exact. The ∂ , without preceding i, became d: * $n\partial p > ndp$; with preceding i it was preserved: * $ki\partial p > ki\partial p$; after vocalic i there was Umlaut: * $d'i\partial p > d'iep$. The ε , without preceding i, became d: * $g'\varepsilon p > \gamma dp$; after i there was Umlaut: * $\hat{t}i\varepsilon p > t\hat{s}i\ddot{a}p$.

The words with -b seem very irregular but are less so than they would appear to be at first sight. As stated under the dp class (XIII), in Archaic Chinese there were only a few words ending in -b, and in the Shī king language there seem to be none at all; they had already been transformed in the Shī king dialect. But the script reveals a few certain cases. There is $n + n \cdot p > n \cdot p$ 'to bring in' as against $n + n \cdot p > n \cdot p$ 'to bring in' as against $n + n \cdot p > n \cdot p$ 'to grasp' as against $n + n \cdot p > n \cdot p$ 'to grasp'. The original final -b in these cases is certain. And their evolution tallies with the -b case we found in the $n \cdot p > n \cdot p$ class (XIII). There we saw that the b became d, later vocalized into i in the regular way:

蓋
$$*k\hat{a}b$$
 > $*k\hat{a}d$ > $k\hat{a}i$.

Here we find exactly the same:

The intermediate stage *nwəd had already been reached in the Shī king language, for there $\not\vdash$ rhymes in the ət class (X). The transformation *nwəd > nuṣi (vocalization of d into i, ə becoming ā before i) is perfectly regular according to the laws already established in the ət class (X) above.



¹⁾ This is supported by other pairs of cognate words: 合 *g'əp (> γập) 'to join': 會 *g'wəb (> g'wəd > γuậi) 'to join'; 荅 *təp (> tập) 'to answer': 對 *twəb (> twəd > tuậi) 'to answer'.

Class XVI.

Archaic finals: 1. ang, 2. wang; 3. jang, 4. jwang; 5. ang, 6. wang; 7. jang, 8. jwang.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic		Ancient
1.	剛 *kâng	kâng	5. 身	€ *kăng	kvng
2.	光 *kwâng	kwâng	6. 樟	*g'wăng	$\gamma w p n g$
3.	疆 *kiang	kiang	7. 房	🕻 *kįăng	kįvng
4.	筐 *k'iwang	k' įwang	8. 兄	. *xiwăng	χįwong

As in many preceding classes, there is one series with long principal vowel (\hat{a} or a) and one with short (\check{a}). Whereas the former was maintained in Anc. Chinese, the latter turned into the slack vowel of Engl. b u t: knng etc.

Class XVII.

Archaic finals: 1. $\hat{a}k$, 2. $w\hat{a}k$; 3. $\dot{a}ak$, 4. $\dot{a}wak$; 5. $\check{a}k$, 6. $w\check{a}k$; 7. $\dot{a}\check{a}k$; 8. $\hat{a}g$, 9. $w\hat{a}g$; 10. $\dot{a}g$, 11. $\dot{a}wag$; 12. $\check{a}g$, 13. $w\check{a}g$; 14. $\dot{a}\check{a}g$.

As in several preceding classes, there is one group of finals ending in -k and one in -g. In each of them there is the already familiar distinction between one series with long principal vowel (\hat{a}, a) , one with short \check{a} . The parallelism with the ang class is perfect, though the series are not quite so complete.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	鹤 *g'âk	$\gamma m{\hat{a}} m{k}$	5. 百 *pǎk	p p k
2.	郭 *kwâk	kwâk	6. 號 *kwăk	kwpk
3.	若 *ńįak	ńźjak	7 a. 逆 *ngịǎk	ngivk
4.	矍 *kiwak	kįwak	7 b. 昔 *siǎk	sįäk

In regard to the long-vowelled series (1—4) and the short-vowelled without medial i, the parallelism with the ang class (XVI) is absolute. As to the final $*i\check{a}k$ (a $*i\check{w}\check{a}k$ does not seen to have existed), there is a divergence in the development determined by the initials (cf. classes X, XI above). After guttural, Arch. $*i\check{a}k$ gave Anc. ivk (as in the ang class): $*ng\check{i}ak > ng\check{i}vk$. But after dentals and palatals there was Umlaut: $*si\check{a}k > si\check{a}k$.

Archaic		Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
8.	度 *d'âg	d'uo	12. 怕 *p'ǎg	p' a
9.	讙 *g'wâg	γuo	13. 檴 *g'wăg	ywa
10.	寫 *siag	sįa	14. 射 *śiǎg	śįa
11.	焦 *śiwag	śįwo		

In all this class, i. e. after Arch. \hat{a} , a, \check{a} , the final g has been lost without any such vocalization of it as took place in other classes with other principal vowels

(see further below). The short-vowelled series (12—14) is very simple: the Arch. **a** was maintained in Anc. Chinese, though of course lengthened, as a final vowel.

In the series with long principal vowel (8—11), matters are somewhat more complicated. The open a, not preceded by w, i. e. type 10 3 *siag kept its a: Anc. sia. But the a grave (8 d'ag, 9 g'wag) as well as the a after w (11 a) were *darkened* into a; and after this, types 8 and 9 shared the fate of original Arch. -a0 and -a0, as described in class II:

These facts, however, which appear quite simple, do not reveal the considerable historical difficulties of this class. For this is a category in which dialectal differences had already obtained in the Archaic stage. The *hie sheng* characters clearly indicate the final g and the d, d, d vocalism of the whole of this group. But already in the Shī king dialect the -g had been reduced and replaced by a glottal stop, 1) and at the same time the vowel changed into d. Shī king dialect:

This is the reason why the words of this -g series of our dk class here do not as a rule rime with the dk series in the Shī king but with the -o words of our -o class (II, type $\pm *ko$) above.

Yet powerful sister dialects to that of the Shī king evidently preserved the $\hat{a}g$, $w\hat{a}g$ etc. of the *hie sheng* stage, for we can attest the full vigour of the final -g in these types as late as middle Han time. And furthermore the Anc. Chinese of Ts'ie yün, which in nearly all other categories is a direct descendant of the Royal Chou (Shī king) language, on this point reveals that its direct ancestor was a sister dialect to that of the Shī, which never turned \hat{a} , a, \check{a} into o in the categories 10, 12—14: \hat{a} *siag > Anc. sia, \hat{b} *p'ăg > p'a etc., nor dropped the -g at an early stage.²)



¹⁾ That transformation took place only in this a class, not after other vowels, ag, ag etc., which had their ag in full force in the Shi language. The glottal stop as a substitute for final guttural is very common in modern Chinese dialects.

^{2) 11.} \not * $\acute{s}iwag$ has not become $\acute{s}iwo$ at an early epoch, for then it would have become Anc. $\acute{s}iu$, just as \not * $\acute{s}iwo$ became Anc. $\acute{x}iu$, see class II above.

Class XVIII.

Archaic finals: 1. ěng, 2. wěng; 3. jěng, 4. jwěng; 5. ieng, 6. iweng.

	Archaic	Ancient		Archaic	Ancient
l.	耕 *kĕng	$k \varepsilon n g$	5.	經 *kieng	kieng
2.	蠑 *g'wĕng	γωεης	6.	蛰 * g'iweng	γiweng
3.	輕 *k'iĕng	k' įäng		•	
4.	傾 *k'iwĕng	k' įwäng			

Here, as in many preceding classes, there is one series with a long principal vowel e, and one with short, \check{e} . The former, existing only with medial vocalic i, remained unchanged from Arch. to Anc. Chinese (5, 6). The short vowel, on the other hand, underwent an opening of the articulation: after i it became the \ddot{a} of Germ. hätte: $k'i\check{e}ng > k'i\ddot{a}ng$; without any preceding i it proceeded still further in the direction of a more open and slack sound: * $k\check{e}ng > keng$.

Class XIX.

Archaic finals: 1. ĕk, 2. wĕk; 3. įĕk; 4. iek, 5. iwek; 6. ĕg, 7. wĕg; 8. įĕg, 9. įwĕg; 10. ieg, 11. iweg.

In this class, as in several other, there is one series ending in -k, and one in -g. They are brought together into one class because they rime in the Shī king.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	青 *tsěk	tșek	4. 擊 *kiek	kiek
2.	畫 *g'wĕk	$\gamma w \varepsilon k$	5. 鶪 *kiwek	kiwek
3	₩ *diĕk	iäk		

The parallelism with the preceding $\check{e}ng$ class is perfect, though the -k series is not quite so complete as the -ng series. The evolution from Archaic to Ancient Chinese was exactly the same: no change in the long e: *kiek > kiek; opening of the short \check{e} into \ddot{a} after \dot{i} , * $d\check{i}\check{e}k$ > $i\check{a}k$, into ε when there was no medial \dot{i} , * $ts\check{e}k$ > $ts\check{e}k$.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
6.	解 *kĕg	kai	10. 帝 *tieg	tiei
7.	挂 *kwĕg	kwai	11. 圭 *kiweg	kiwei
8.	知 *tiĕg	îig	•	
9.	跬 *k'įwĕg	k'jwię		

Here matters appear more complicated, but many of the laws at work we have met with before.

In the first place, we shall set apart the category 8. $t \not i \not e g$, 9. $k' i \not e g$, because already at a very early date it has been absorbed, by analogy, into another powerful group and therefore did not share in the evolution of the rest. The final -g of type $t \not e g$, $k' i \not e g$ is well attested in the Shī king rimes and in hie sheng characters

belonging to this category. But already in late Chou time it was incorporated in the -ia group of class I above, riming with ia, -a in Chuang-tsī, Lao-tsī, Sün-tsī etc., and hence it has shared in the evolution of e. g. class I,6 $\not \subset$ *b'ia > b'jig. Thus 8 *tieg > late Chou tiā > Anc. $\hat{t}ig$. Similarly in analogy with #5 *k'wia > k'jwig, the 9. *k'iweg > late Chou k'wiā > Anc. k'jwig (with the same metathesis iw > wi as that we have witnessed in the $\hat{a}r$ class, VI, above).

The other types are more easily accounted for. As in all other -g classes, the g has been lost, and here, after the palatal principal vowel, it was vocalized into i. This is enough to account for the long-vowelled types: *tieg > tiei, *kiweg > kiwei. But in the short-vowelled types, thus turned into f kěi and f kwěi, the evolution did not stop there. The important phenomenon known as *differentiation* now started operating here. We know this phenomenon from many languages. In German, for instance, the diphthong ei has become ai through differentiation: bei pronounced bai, Geist pronounced gaist. What has happened here is really that two vowels standing together and phonetically very cognate (e and i both strongly palatal vowels with but a short step leading from the articulation of one to that of the other) were felt to be too similar; there was a wish to set them off more clearly against one another, to bring out a more decided contrast, and so one of them was drawn back to a less palatal position: ei > ai. This is exactly what happened here in our eg series, and we shall meet with the same phenomenon in several subsequent classes: f kee f kee f kee f kee f kee f kwee f

It is puzzling that the short \check{e} has given Anc. long a: kai, not, as one might expect, short \check{a} : $k\check{a}i$. I cannot explain this phenomenon, but have only to state the fact.¹)

Class XX.

Archaic finals: 1. əng, 2. wəng, 3. iəng; 4. ɛng, 5. wɛng; 6. iŭng. We have here the same three principal vowels in one class as in the əm class (XIV) above.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	登 *təng	təng	4. 橙 *d'εng	\hat{d} ' $arepsilon$ n $oldsymbol{g}$
2.	队 *kwəng	kw = ng	5. 宏 *g'wεng	$\gamma w \varepsilon n g$
3.	兢 *kiəng	kįəng	6. 弓 *kiŭng	ki̯ung

The types with ∂ and ε for principal vowels call for no comment; they remain unchanged in Anc. Chinese. Type 6, $k \underline{i} \underline{u} n g$, on the contrary, needs an explanation.

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¹⁾ It was the Anc. Chin. length of the a that caused e. g. 挂 Anc. kwai to become Pek. kua, not kuai (see next chapter).

all rime together in the Shī king, we find that only *ung, *iung and *ŭng rime together, but that *iūng (type \vec{r}) does not rime with the other three finals of class XXV below, but with our *ng etc. here in class XX. This shows that after i the short \vec{u} of iung (but not the long u of iung) had obtained a more open, slack timbre, somewhat like the English u in value, which caused it to come acoustically nearer to i0 (Germ. Knabe) than to the firm, narrow i10 of *ung, *iung, *ung, *ung

This phenomenon obtained not only in the Shī king but also in other poetry of Chou time, and consequently we have placed the Arch. final *iŭng here in our XXth class, following the grouping of the Shī king rimes, thus transferring it here from the XXVth class, where it really belongs historically and genetically. In Ancient Chinese the original distinction between long and short u before ng was lost, and so *kiŭng became Anc. kiung.

Class XXI.

Archaic finals: 1. $\ni k$, 2. $w \ni k$; 3. $\not \models k$, 4. $\not \models w \ni k$; 5. $\not \models k$, 6. $w \not \models k$; 7. $\not \models u \not \models k$; 8. $\not \ni g$, 9. $w \not \ni g$; 10. $\not \models g$, 11. $\not \models w \not \models g$; 12. $\not \models g$, 13. $w \not \models g$; 14. $\not \models u \not \models g$.

Here, as in many preceding classes, there is one series ending in -k and one in -g, combined into one class because they rime with each other in the Shī king. We have the same three principal vowels, \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{e} , \mathfrak{u} , as in the $\mathfrak{d} ng$ class just studied.

	Archaic	Ancient		Archaic	Ancient
1.	得 *tək	$t ilde{o} k$	5.	革 *kεk	$k \varepsilon k$
2.	國 *kwək	kwak	6.	麥 *mwεk	mw arepsilon k
3.	政 *kjək	k <u>i</u> ək	7.	囿 *gįŭk	jiuk
4.	域 *giwək	jįwək			

This series forms a perfect parallel to the ∂ng class just studied (XX). The $*\partial k$ finals (1—4) and $*\varepsilon k$ finals (5—6) remained unchanged in Anc. Chinese. From the uk class (XXVI) below, which historically should contain *uk, *iuk, *iuk, *ik, *ik, the last one, *iik, has been transferred to the present class because, just as in the *iing of the preceding class, the short iing after iing had a more open and slack sound than the rest, and therefore in Archaic poetry rimes with the iing series. Arch. iing has given Anc. iing, the difference between long and short iing being lost.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
8 a.	該 *kəg	kậi	10. 基 *kjəg	kji
8 b.	母 *məg	$m ot\equiv u$	11. 🐔 *kiwəg	kjw i
9 a.	灰 *χwəg	χuậi	12. 戒 *kεg	kăi
9 b.	梅 *mwəg	muậi	13. 怪 *kweg	kwăi
			14.	kį $ otau$.

In our analysis of this apparently very confused series let as start with the last type, 14. *k i i g. It forms a parallel to the i i n g of the i n g class (XX) and the i i k



of the ∂k series just treated: $\underline{i}\underline{u}g$ should properly and genetically belong to class XXVI below, together with *ug, * $\underline{i}ug$, * $\underline{u}g$; but because of the slack and open variety (Engl. u of value) of the short \underline{u} after \underline{i} , it rimes in the Shī king with our ∂g finals here, and has therefore been transferred to the present class. In this $\underline{i}\underline{u}g$, after the velar vowel \underline{u} , the final g was vocalized into -u, and $k\underline{i}\underline{u}u$ became $k\underline{i}\underline{u}u$.

Type 14. k i i g having thus been disposed of, we revert to the ∂g finals 6—9, * ∂g , * ∂g . Their derivates in Anc. Chinese appear at first sight to be very confused and unsystematic; but most of the evolutional laws at work have already been met with before. We leave 8 b and 9 b (words with labial initials) aside for the moment and concentrate upon types 8 a * ∂g , 9 a * ∂g , 10. * ∂g , 11. * ∂g , As in all other classes, final ∂g disappeared, and here, after ∂g , in the same way as after ∂g , ∂g in the ∂g class above (XIX), it was vocalized into ∂g . The result was first:

8 a. kəi

10. kjai

9 a. zwei

11. kiwəi

And then we come to the types 8 b 母 *məg and 9 b 梅 *mwəg, i. e. the *əg, *wəg finals after labial initials. It is important to observe that the labial initial in type 8 b *məg caused a quite different development from that in words with other initials. Whereas *kəg > kəi > kāi, our 8 b *məg here had the vowel labialized through the influence of the m: it became *mug at an early stage; thus it coincided with the -ug type of class XXVI below and shared in its evolution. Just as type 贵 *kug there became Anc. kzu, so our 8 b *məg here, via *mug, became Anc. mzu.

We might expect that 9 b *mwəg would have undergone a similar change, but it has not. Evidently the rising diphthong w kept the type *mwəg within the bounds of the general scheme of that diphthong, and so, in spite of the labial initial, mwəg became mwəi > mu\$i in just the same way as * χw əg $> \chi w$ əi $> \chi u$ \$i.

And then finally we have in our class here the finals ϵg , $w\epsilon g$. Just as we have seen above that ∂n : ϵn , ∂t : ϵt , ∂d : ϵd , ∂ng : ϵng , ∂k : ϵk rime in the Shī king system, so ϵg rhymes with ∂g etc. After ϵ the ∂g was vocalized into i: $\Re k k \epsilon g > k \epsilon i$, $\ker k k \epsilon g > k k \epsilon i$, and then the differentiation influence set in: $\ker k \epsilon i > k \delta i$, $\ker k k \epsilon i > k \delta i$.



¹⁾ Observe that the evolution here was different from that in the ∂t class above (X), where we had $(x) \cdot k' i \partial \lambda k$

Let us sum up these variegated developments in a table, showing the successive stages:

```
8 a.
       *kəg
                      > kəi
                              > kåi
8 b.
       *məg (> mŭg) > mu
                              > mzu
9 a.
       *xwəg
                      > xwəi > xudi
9 b.
       *mwəq
                      > mwəi > muği
                      > kiəi
10.
       *kiəg
                              > kji
       *kiwəg
11.
                      > kiwəi > kiwi
12.
       *kεq
                      > kei
                              > kăi
13.
       *kweg
                      > kwεi > kwăi
14.
       *kįŭg
                      > kiŭu > kizu.
```

Class XXII.

Archaic finals: 1. ông, 2. iông; 3. ông.

	Archaic	Ancient	
1.	冬 *tông	tuong	
2.	宫 *kįông	kįung	
3.	降 *kộng	kå ng	

Here, as in most of the preceding classes, there is a difference between types with long principal vowel (1, 2) and those with short (3); the brevity of the vowel is, for typographical reasons, indicated here by a dot under the letter, not by a curve above it.

The δ of * δ ng was broken into Anc. uong, just as in class II $\preceq ko$ became Anc. kuo. After i, on the other hand, the articulation of δ was narrowed: * $ki\delta$ ng > kiung — we have often seen above that the evolution was different in words with and without medial i.

The short $\hat{\rho}$ was opened and slackened: * $k\hat{\rho}ng > k\hat{a}ng$, just as in the $\check{e}ng$ class (XVIII) \check{e} was opened and slackened into ε (* $k\check{e}ng > k\varepsilon ng$).

Class XXIII.

```
Archaic finals: 1. \hat{o}k, 2. \hat{i}\hat{o}k, 3. \hat{i}\hat{o}k; 4. \hat{o}k, 5. \hat{o}g, 6. \hat{i}\hat{o}g, 7. \hat{i}\hat{o}g; 8. \hat{o}g.
```

As usual, we have one series ending in -k, and one in -g, and in both there are types with long principal vowel, and such with short.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	酷 *k'ôk	k'uok	4. 學 *g'ộk	γak
2.	菊 *kįôk	kįuk		
3.	戚 *ts'iôk	ts'iek		

The categories 1, 2 and 4 form an exact parallel to the $\hat{o}ng$ class just studied (XXII). Just as * $t\hat{o}ng$ became Anc. tuong by breaking, so * $k'\hat{o}k'$ here became Anc. k'uok; just as, after i, \hat{o} was narrowed into u: * $k_i\hat{o}ng$ > k_iung , so here * $k_i\hat{o}k'$ > k_iuk ; and just as the short \hat{o} was opened and slackened into \hat{a} , so here * $g'\hat{o}k$ > $\gamma\hat{a}k$.

The -k class had one type more than the -ng class: a final with vocalic i: 3 *ts'iôk. When we see how it appears as Anc. Chin. ts'iek, we should hesitate to pose an Arch. δ in this category, were it not that the Shī king rimes as well as the hie sheng characters clearly indicate its δ vocalism. It is after all not very difficult to see how *ts'iôk became Anc. ts'iek. The strong, vocalic i (in contrast to the short, consonantic i) entailed an Umlaut: *ts'iôk > ts'iôk, and by a delabialization common in many languages (cf. Germ. dial. schon > schen) ts'iôk became ts'iek.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
5 .	告 *kôg	kâu	8. 珩 *k'ộg	k' au
6.	求 *g'iôg	g' <u>i</u> zu		
7.	蕭 *siôg	sieu -		

In several preceding series, the -g categories have offered startling Anc. Chinese derivates of the Archaic types, apparently very confused and unsystematic, but a closer scrutiny has revealed that they are the results of well-defined and reasonable evolutional laws, attested in various other connections. It is just the same here. The Ancient types $k\hat{a}u$, $g'i\hat{z}u$, sieu, k'au seem at first to be entirely impossible derivates of the strict Archaic series $k\delta g$, $g'i\delta g$, $si\delta g$, $k'\delta g$. And yet they turn out to be quite natural and consistent products, once we analyse the evolutional laws that have led up to them.

In the first place, here as always the final g disappeared; in this class, after the velar δ vowel, it was vocalized into u: $k\delta g > k\delta u$ etc. And then the evolution was different in types with and without medial i.

In those without: long 5. $k \delta u$ and short 8. $k' \delta u$, we witness again the important phenomenon studied already in the δk class (XIX).

We saw there that by differentiation an ži became Anc. ai, just as Germ. Geist > gaist. e and i were too cognate, too similar sounds, both palatal vowels; in order to emphasize a contrast they were differentiated: ži > ai. Exactly the same phenomenon crops up here. δ and u, both strongly velar and labialized vowels, were felt to be too closely cognate and similar to form a clear and suitable phonem combination, they were differentiated by the first vowel's being opened and advanced into some kind of *a* vowel. The long-vowelled $k\delta u$ became $k\delta u$ (with δ grave), the short-vowelled $k'\delta u$ became k'au (with δ aigu). That the latter type obtained a more open vowel than the former is quite in accord with the tendencies well known from our earlier classes, where we have witnessed how short vowels tend to become more open: * δng (XVIII), δng > δng (XXII). Our $k'\delta u$ > k'au here is a new example of the same tendency.

The types with medial i and i: 6. *g'iôg, 7. *siôg had a somewhat different his-

tory — that words with medial *i*, *i* proceed in a different way from those without it is a phenomenon which we have witnessed in several preceding classes.

Type \Re *g'iôg, once it had its final g vocalized into u: g'iou, was now phonetically sufficiently similar to the type \bigwedge *kiŭg of the ək class (XXI) to fall in with its evolution and lead to an identical Anc. Chinese result. Whereas \bigwedge *kiŭg became first kiŭu and then Anc. kiżu, \Re *g'iôg became first g'iôu and then g'iżu. So Anc. Chinese iżu had two different Archaic origins, *iŭg and *iôg.

We have thus arrived at the following evolutive steps in this highly complicated series:

- 5. * $k\hat{o}g > k\hat{o}u > k\hat{a}u$ 8. $k'\hat{o}g > k'\hat{o}u > k'au$ 6. * $g'\hat{i}\hat{o}g > g'\hat{i}\hat{o}u > g'\hat{i}\hat{i}u$.
- 7. *siôg > siöu > sieu

Class XXIV.

We have seen above that the words ending in -ng had only one *o* class, class XXII, with a narrow \hat{o} (as. Fr. beau): $*\hat{o}ng$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}ng$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}ng$. In the categories ending in -k and -g, on the other hand, the Archaic language was richer: there were two classes. One had narrow \hat{o} , the class XXIII just studied, which contained the finals $*\hat{o}k$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}k$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}k$, $*\hat{o}\hat{p}$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}g$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}g$, $*\hat{i}\hat{o}g$, $*\hat{o}g$. The second class had an open o, like Germ. Sonne, Gott. This class, though on the whole distinguished from the \hat{o} class both in the Shī king rimes and in the hie sheng characters, was in its structure very much akin to the \hat{o} class, and phonetically very close to the latter, and therefore not a few exceptional contacts between the two classes in rimes and hie sheng can be observed. Moreover, as is but reasonable, their evolution from Archaic to Ancient Chinese runs remarkably parallel, and in most types they have coincided altogether in identical Anc. Chinese values.

Archaic finals: 1. ok, 2. iok, 3. iok; 4. δk , 5. δk ; 6. og, 7. iog 8. iog; 9. δg . Thus we find the usual distinction between one -k series and one -g series, and the usual distinction between long-vowelled and short-vowelled types.

Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1. 沃 *·ok	$\cdot uok$	4. 較 *kŏk	${m k}$ å k
2. 虐 *ngjok	ngį ak	5. 樂 *låk	låk
3. #1 *tiok	tiek		

It is easily seen that no less than three categories, 1, 3 and 4, have suffered exactly the same fate as the corresponding types in the δk class (XXIII):

1. *·ok became ·uok by breaking; 3. *tiok became first tiök by Umlaut and then



tiek by delabialization; 4. * $k\check{o}k$ became $k\mathring{a}k$ by a further opening and slackening of the short o. The parallelism is here perfect.

The remaining two types, on the other hand, call for some remarks. Whereas the narrow, $*dark* \delta$ in type $\# *k i \delta k$ of the preceding class was closed still further and resulted in $u: *k i \delta k > k i u k$, our open, *bright* o of the present class went the other way and was delabialized after consonantic i: 2. *ngiok became Anc. ngiak, thus coinciding in Ancient Chinese with the -iak of the δk class (XVII) above. Type 5. $*l \delta k$ has no direct correspondence in the δk class. It was a short, very open *o* sound (something like Engl. got) and it was gradually still more opened and passed into Anc. $l \delta k$, thus coinciding with the $-\delta k$ of the δk class (XVII).

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
6.	高 *kog	kâu	9. 郊 kŏg	kau.
7.	矯 kiog	k <u>i</u> äu	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
8.	皎 kiog	kieu		

The final g, after the velar vowel, was vocalized into u, just as in the δk class, and for the rest we have only to apply the laws with which we are already familiar from the δk class and from the -k series of the present -k class just studied.

The types 6, 8 and 9 underwent exactly the same fate as the corresponding types $(\hat{o}g, i\hat{o}g, \hat{o}g)$ in the $\hat{o}k$ class and resulted in precisely the same Anc. Chinese finals. 6 *kog became kou and by differentiation $k\hat{a}u$, 9 *kŏg became kŏu and by differentiation kau; 8. kiog, with vocalic i, became $ki\ddot{o}u$ by Umlaut and then kieu by delabialization. It is exactly what we have already found in the $\hat{o}k$ class.

Again, type 7. kiog follows our already established laws. We have seen that whereas the narrow-vowelled 期 *kiok of the ok class became kiuk, the open-vowelled 地 *ngiok of the present class became ngiak through delabialization. Now we find quite the same phenomenon in the -g series: whereas the narrow-vowelled nk *g'iog of the ok class became g'iou and then g'iou, the open-vowelled nk *kiog here became first kiou through delabialization (o > a), and then kiou through Umlaut. Observe that exactly as in class IV the Umlaut gave open nk after consonantic i (*kiou > kiou) but narrow e after vocalic i (*kiou > kiou), so we find here *kiou > kiou > kiou (consonantic i), as against *kiou > kiou > kiou (vocalic i).

Class XXV.

Archaic finals: 1. ung, 2. jung; 3. ŭng.

As usual, there is the difference between long-vowelled, and short-vowelled types (3). We should expect a 4th type $i \bar{u} n g$ corresponding to 3. $\bar{u} n g$. Indeed such an Archaic type $*ki \bar{u} n g$ did exist (type \vec{r}), but for reasons fully explained above it has been transferred to the n g class (XX).

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	\perp *kung	kung	3. 🏋 kŭng	${\it kång}$
9	# *kinna	kiwona		

Type 1. *kung remained unchanged. Type 3. *kung follows the general tendency of the Ancient language to open and slacken the short vowels. We have seen that e. g. *eng > eng, that ong > ang, that ong > ang etc. Our type 3 here, *kung, fell into the same current, so to speak, and together with *ong and *ong it resulted in Anc. ang.

Type 2 *kiung > kiwong is more intricate. The breaking of u into wo through the insertion of a *glide*: $kiung > kiu^ong > kiwong$ is nothing phonetically surprising; nor is it any serious difficulty that the breaking has affected only words with medial i (type *kiung) and not those without (type 1 *kung), for we have had many examples in the preceding classes of words with and without medial i following different courses of evolution. The real difficulty is the time problem, for we have proved that the *iông of the ông class (XXII) became Anc. iung (i *kiông > kiung); and here we now pose an evolution i *kiung > kiwong. Evidently, in the line of the language leading from the Archaic Chinese of the Shī king to the Ancient Chinese of Ts'ie yün the latter development took place at an earlier, and the former at a more recent, epoch:

```
*kiông > kiông > kiông > Anc. kiung;
```

In other words, there must have been a stage in which $\boxtimes k i \hat{o} n g$ and $\not\equiv k i w o n g$ coexisted; whereas the narrow \hat{o} of $i \hat{o} n g$ went on to i u n g,, the open o of i w o n g, born from a parasitic glide (k i u n g > k i u o n g) maintained itself in Ancient Chinese.

Class XXVI.

Archaic finals: 1. uk, 2. iuk; 3. iuk; 4. ug, 5. iug; 6. iug.

As usual, we have one -k series and one -g series, and in both there are long-vowelled and short-vowelled types. The reason why we have no types $*i\check{u}k$ and $*i\check{u}g$ corresponding to 3 $\check{u}k$ and 6 $\check{u}g$ has already been explained above: they undoubtedly existed in Archaic Chinese ($\mathbf{m} *g_i\check{u}k$, $\wedge *k_i\check{u}g$) but have been transferred to the ∂k class (XXI) because they rime in that class in the Shī king, owing to the special open timbre of \check{u} after i.

	Arch.	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
1.	谷 *kuk	kuk	3. 角 kŭk	k ak.
2.	# *k'iuk	k'iwok		

The evolution forms an exact parallel to that of the ung class (XXV). What has been said there may be applied directly here: the maintaining of type 1 unchanged, kuk; the opening of the short $*k\check{u}k$ into $k\hat{u}k$; the breaking, by a glide, of *k'iuk into (k'iu'k) k'iwok.

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^{*}kjung > kjuong > kjwong > Anc. kjwong.

	Archaic	Ancient	Archaic	Ancient
4.	替 *mug	mzu	6. 數 kŭg	kzu.
5 .	11 *p'iua	p'iu		

As always, the final g dropped; here, after u, without leaving any trace. The result was:

- 4. mu 6. ku
- 5. p'iu

But through this loss of -g these types coincided with the -u and -iu types of our u class (III) above, and quite consistently evolved according to their pattern, the types without medial i obtaining a parasitic a (cf. III $\Box *k'u > k'au$):

4. *mug > mu > mon 5. *p'iug > p'iu > p'iu 6. *kūg > ku > kon *kūu.

In the preceding survey of the phonological classes we have started from A rc haic Chinese and summarily sketched their evolution into Ancient Chinese. We shall now sum up the results in an inverse order, starting from the rimes in Ancient Chinese and showing, in a table, the various Archaic finals from which each of them derives. The Ancient rimes are those of the Kuang yün.¹) To the left on each line is an Arabic figure, which refers to the table of Kuang yün rimes (in Chinese characters) given below. When there are three Kuang yün rimes corresponding to one Arabic figure, it means that there were three tones, e. g. a^- , a^- , a^- (a in even, rising and falling tone). In paranthesis I record the various Archaic finals from which this Ancient rime derives. By Roman figures I indicate in which of the 26 phonological classes (I—XXVI) of Archaic Chinese treated above the Archaic final in question has been discussed. For the arrangement of the Kuang yün rimes cf. the tables in my Etudes sur la Phonologic Chinoise.

- 1. Anc. â (Arch. â I, âr VI).
- 2. uâ (wâ I, wâr VI).
- 3. a (a I, å II, ăg XVII). wa (wa I, wå II, wăg XVII). ja (ja I, jå II, jag, jăg XVII).
- 4. ji (iĕd VIII, iəd, ied X, iər, ier XI, iəb XV).
 jwi (iwəd, iwed X, iwər, iwer XI, iwəg XXI).
- 5. ji (i2g XXI).
- jei (ind X, in XI).
 jwei (innd X, inn XI).
- jig (ia I, iar, iăr VI, iĕg XIX).
 jwig (wia I, iwar, iwăr VI, iwĕg XIX).
- 8. $\mathbf{d}i$ ($\mathbf{d} X$, $\mathbf{d} X$, $\mathbf{d} X$).
- 9. uậi (wəd X, wər XI, wəg XXI, wəb XV).

¹⁾ The rimes of the Ts'ie yün and the Kuang yün are not quite identical, but the difference is more formal than real. Ts'ie yün reckons kân and kuân as one rime, Kuang yün as two rimes, and so on. I have preferred to give here the formal rimes of the Kuang yün, since these have formed the basis of the entire scientific discussion regarding the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese.

- 10. di (dd V, db XIII). udi (wdd V).
- 11. ăi (ăd V, ɛd X, ɛr XI, ɛg XXI). wăi (wăd V, wɛd X, wɛr XI, wɛg XXI).
- 12. ai (ĕg XIX). wai (wĕg XIX).
- 13. ai (ad V). wai (wad V).
- 14. įäi (įad V). įwäi (įwad V).
- 15. įpi (įžd V). įwoi (įwad V).
- iei (iad V, ied VIII, iəd X, iər XI, ieg XIX).
 iwei (iwəd X, iweg XIX).
- 17. âm (əm XIV).
- 18. âm (âm XII).
- 19. ăm (ăm XII, em XIV).
- 20. am (am XII).
- 21. jäm (jam XII, jem XIV).
- 22. ipm (iăm XII).
- 23. iwom (iwam XII).
- 24. iem (iam XII, iəm XIV).
- 25. $\hat{a}p \ (\partial p \ XV)$.
- 26. âp (âp XIII).
- 27. $\check{a}p \ (\check{a}p \ XIII, \ \varepsilon p \ XV)$.
- 28. ap (ap XIII).
- 29. jäp (jap XIII, jep XV).
- 30. ipp (iăp XIII).
- 31. iwpp (iwăp XIII).
- 32. iep (iap XIII, iəp XV).
- 33. jem (jem XIV).
- 34. $i \ni p \ (i \ni p \ XV)$.
- 35. ân (ân IV).
- 36. uân (wân IV).
- 37. ăn (ăn IV, εn IX). wăn (wăn IV, $w\varepsilon n$ IX).
- 38. an (an IV). wan (wan IV).
- 39. jän (jan IV). jwän (jwan IV).

- 40. ivn (iăn IV). iwvn (iwăn IV).
- 41. ien (ian IV, ien VII, iən IX).
 iwen (iwan IV, iwen VII, iwən
 IX).
- 42. åt (åt V).
- 43. $u\hat{a}t$ ($w\hat{a}t$ V).
- 44. $\check{a}t$ ($\check{a}t$ V, εt X). $\check{w}\check{a}t$ ($\check{w}\check{a}t$ V, $\check{w}\varepsilon t$ X).
- 45. at (at V). wat (wat V).
- 46. $i\ddot{a}t$ (iat V). $iw\ddot{a}t$ (iwat V).
- 47. iot (iat V). iwot (iwat V).
- 48. iet (iat V, iet VIII, iət X). iwet (iwet VIII, iwət X).
- 49. $\partial n \ (\partial n \ IX)$.
- 50. $u \ni n \ (w \ni n \ IX)$.
- 51. $i \ni n \ (i \ni n \ IX)$.
- 52. juon (jwon IX).
- 53. iğn (iğn VII, izn, i ε n IX). iwen (iwen IX).
- 54. juěn (jwěn VII, jwen IX).
- 55. ien (ien IX).
- 56. u
 i t (w
 i t X).
- 57. $i \ni t \ (i \ni t \ X)$.
- 58. $iu \ni t \ (iw \ni t \ X)$.
- 59. iet (iet VIII, iet, iet X).
- 60. juět (iwět VIII, jwet, jwet X).
- 61. $i\varepsilon t$ ($i\varepsilon t$ X).
- 62. $\hat{a}ng$ ($\hat{a}ng$ XVI). $\hat{w}ang$ ($\hat{w}ang$ XVI).
- 63. jang (jang XVI). jwang (jwang XVI).
- 64. åk (åk XVII, åk XXIV). wåk (wåk XVII).
- 65. jak (jak XVII, jok XXIV). jwak (jwak XVII).
- 66. $\operatorname{ong} (\operatorname{ong} XX)$. $\operatorname{wong} (\operatorname{wong} XX)$.
- 67. $i \ni ng \ (i \ni ng \ XX)$.

7 歌哿箇	25 合	49痕很恨	73青迥徑
2 戈果過	26 盖	50魂混图	74 阳
3 麻馬福	27 洽	51欣隱敝	75 麥
4 腊台至	28 3甲	级文吻問	76 昔
5 之止志	29 葉	53真較震	77錫
6微尾未	30 業	54 諄準椁	78江講絳
フ支紙真	31 2	55臻	79 覺
8 咍海代	32中古	56 没	80東董送
9灰賄隊	33侵寢池、	57年	81冬 宋
10 泰	34 緝	58 均加	82鍾腫用
11 皆駭怪	35寒旱翰	59質	83屋
及住解卦	36桓緩換	60位	84 決
7 史	37山產欄	61 相	85 火蜀
4 祭	38 删潜諫	@唐蕩岩	86模姓暮
15 廃	39仙猫線	の陽養漾	87 魚語御
16 齊薺霽	40 元阮願	4鐸	88 處慶遇
70 草感勘	41先统霰	65 164	89 豪皓号
18 談軟闌	经局	66登等嶝	90 肖巧効
19 咸豏陷	43 末	0茶拯證	91肖小笑
20 街盤鑑	44 全著	68 德.	92蕭篠嘯
21 鹽 珳 監	45點	69 職	93侯厚候
22嚴嚴職	46 薛	70 庚梗映	94 尤有宥
23凡范党	47月	71耕耿諍	"幽黝幼
24 添添添	48 屑	72清静勁	

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68. \partial k \ (\partial k \ XXI). w\partial k \ (w\partial k \ XXI).
```

- 69. i > k (i > k XXI). i > k (i > k XXI).
- 70. vng (ăng XVI).

 wvng (wăng XVI).

 ivng (iăng XVI).

 iwvng (iwăng XVI).
- 71. eng (eng XX, ĕng XVIII). weng (weng XX, wĕng XVIII).
- 72. jäng (jěng XVIII). jwäng (jwěng XVIII).
- 73. ieng (ieng XVIII). iweng (iweng XVIII).
- 74. vk (ăk XVII).

 wvk (wăk XVII).

 ivk (iăk XVII).
- 75. εk (εk XXI, ĕk XIX). wek (wek XXI, wĕk XIX).
- 76. jäk (jăk XVII, jěk XIX).
- 77. iek (iek XIX, iôk XXIII, iok XXIV).
 iwek (iwek XIX).

- 78. ång (ông XXII, ŭng XXV).
- 79. dk (dk XXIII, dk XXIV, dk XXVI).
- 80. ung (ung XXV, um XIV).

 jung (jũng XX, jông XXII, jum
 XIV).
- 81. uong (ông XXII).
- 82. iwong (jung XXV).
- 83. uk (uk XXVI).

 juk (jŭk XXI, jôk XXIII).
- 84. uok (ôk XXIII, ok XXIV).
- 85. iwok (iuk XXVI).
- 86. uo (o, wo II, âg, wâg XVII).
- 87. įwo (jo II, įwag XVII, įžb XIII).
- 88. ju (ju III, jwo II, jug XXVI).
- 89. âu (ôg XXIII, og XXIV).
- 90. au (ô XXIII, ŏg XXIV).
- 91. jäu (jog XXIV).
- 92. ieu (iôg XXIII, iog XXIV).
- 93. zu (u III, zg XXI, ŭg, ug XXVI).
- 94. iżu (iŭg XXI, iôg XXIII).

There must have been some slight phonetic difference in Anc. Chinese between rime 4 ji and rime 5 ji, and also between rime 12 ai and rime 13 ai, though I cannot determine wherein it consisted. Similarly there must have been some shade of difference between the first three Kuang yün rimes and the second three of 94, though I cannot tell what it was; the former three constitute a large category, the latter contain only a very few words.

These tables really form a key to the reconstruction of Archaic Chinese. Any given character may easily be found in the Kuang yün and its rime there ascertained. By its aid it is possible to determine its Ancient Chinese final according to our table above. Once we know this, we know a limited number of Archaic finals which may come into question. If, now, the character occurs as rime in the Shī king, we can determine to which Archaic class it belongs and hence also which particular Archaic final it possessed. If it does not occur as rime in the Shī king itself, its Phonetic, or another word with the same Phonetic, may do so, and this assists us equally well. Let as take two examples.

The character 提 Mand. t'i stands in the Kuang yün rime 16 a (齊) and was therefore Anc. d'iei. Now Anc. Chin. -iei may derive either from Arch. *iad (class

V), or from *-ied (cl. VIII), or from *-iəd (cl. X), or from *-iər (cl. XI), or from ieg (cl. XIX). But 提 happens to occur as rime in the Shī king, and notably in its class XIX, and hence we know that it was really Arch. *d'ieg, not *d'iad or *d'ied or *d'iəd or *d'iər.

The character 非 Mand. fei stands in the Kuang yün rime 6 a above (微), and hence was Anc. pjwgi. As shown under 6 in our table, Anc. jwgi may derive from Arch. *iwəd (class X) or from Arch. *iwər (class XI). 非 itself does not occur as a rime word in the Shī king, but its hie sheng derivate 悲 does, and then in class XI (ər class). Hence we know that both had final r, and that 非 was really Arch. *pjwər, not pjwəd.

FROM ANCIENT CHINESE TO MANDARIN.

In the present chapter I mean by Mandarin the Peking language, with some slight modifications due to consideration of other Mandarin dialects. In this discussion I shall denote Pekinese by the same phonetic letter system that I have used for Archaic and Ancient Chinese; but I add in parenthesis the spelling according to the popular Wade system (with some slight alterations) which, for practical reasons, I shall use throughout the dictionary. The Wade spellings are always printed in spaced ordinary letters, not in italics. Thus, for instance P. tṣən (chen). In cases where there is no difference between my phonetic writing and Wade's system, e. g. kan (kan), I simply give the former, and the absence of the parenthesis then indicates that the Wade form is identical.

THE INITIALS.

The most fundamental change, which concerned various classes of initials, was the loss of voice in certain Anc. Chinese initials: voiced explosives, affricates and fricatives (**sonants**) became voiceless (**surds**). The law was that the voiced aspirated explosives and affricates, e. g. g', d' became:

e i ther surd aspirates, if they had Anc. even tone (p'ing sheng), e. g. Anc. $d'dn^- > P$. t'an, Anc. $dz'dn^- > P$. ts'an;

or surd tenues, if they had Anc. »oblique tones», namely rising tone (shang sheng), or falling tone (k'ü sheng) or sentering tones, i. e. word-ending in -p, -t, -k (ju sheng), e. g. Anc. $d'\hat{a}n' > P$. tan, Anc. $d'\hat{a}n > P$. tan, Anc. $d'\hat{a}t > P$. ta.

This extremely important transformation, which for brevity's sake we shall call ** the surdization law**, took place in all Mandarin dialects, and also in all Southern



dialects (though with varying schemes for aspirates and tenues), except the Wu dialects, e. g. Shanghai, where Anc. d'an still has its sonant: da.

We shall now pass successively in review the Ancient initial classes (cf. the preceding chapter) and their modern derivates.

Ancient Chinese gutturals: k, k', g', ng, χ , γ .

In the first place, the above-mentioned surdization law attained the voiced explosive g' and the fricative γ . The g' became k' in even tone, e. g. 其 Anc. g'ji > k'i (c h'i), k in oblique tones, e. g. 忌 Anc. g'ji > ki (c h i). The γ became χ , e. g. 河 Anc. $\gamma d > P$. χa (h o).

The set was thus reduced to four initials: k, k', ng, χ . These then underwent further modifications.

The ng was entirely lost before P. i, u, u, e. g. 疑 Anc. ngji > P. i, 吾 Anc. nguo > P. u (w u), 元 Anc. ngiwm > P. juan (y u a n). Before other vowels, some Pekinese speakers have changed it into a weakly articulated fricative: 岸 An. ngan > P. γan , 俄 Anc. nga > P. γa etc.; but most Pekinese speakers have dropped it altogether: P. an, a (Wade: o). In some other Mandarin dialects the ng- before these vowels has been preserved: Si-an-fu ngan, ngo.

Furthermore k, k' and χ before i and i were palatalized: k > ti, k' > ti, $\chi > i$, e. g. 幾, 忌 Middle Chinese ki > P. ti (Wade: chi), 氣, 其 Middle Chinese k'i > P. ti (Wade: ch'i), 喜 奚 Middle Chinese $\chi i > P$. ti (Wade: hsi), etc. This palatalization took place in the great majority of Mandarin dialects, though not in all. This is one of the points on which, in the dictionary below, I do not follow Wade's system of transcription, nor indeed the actual pronunciation of Pekinese. In spite of the present ti, t

Ancient Chinese palatals: \hat{t} , \hat{t}' , \hat{d}' ; $t\acute{s}$, $t\acute{s}'$, $d\acute{z}'$; \acute{s} , \acute{z} , \acute{n} $\acute{n}\acute{z}$, \acute{j} . Let us for the moment leave aside the last three and concentrate upon the first eight, i. e. the explosives, the affricates and the fricatives. Here several transformation phenomena combined to alter the system very radically:

- 1) the surdization law, which eliminated the sonants d', dz', \dot{z} ;
- 2) a change from explosive to affricate, which turned \hat{t} into t\$ etc., and thus made the 1st coincide with the 4th, the 2nd with the 5th and the 3rd with the 6th;
- 3) a wholesale transformation of palatals into supradentals: $t \le t$, etc., which made the whole series coincide with the supradental series below;
 - 4) a confusion of Anc. $d\hat{z}$ and \hat{z} into a system which for both presented an as-



pirated affricate or a fricative in even tone, a fricative in oblique tones. The combined result of all these evolutional laws was the following:

```
Anc. \hat{t}:
          中 fiung
                                   became P. tsung (chung);
      \hat{t}':
          暢 t'iang
  *
                                              ts'ang (ch'ang);
      d: \mathbf{\xi} diang (even)
                                              t'sang (ch'ang);
          丈 d'iang (oblique)
                                              tṣang (chang);
      ts: 章 tsiang
                                           » tṣang (chang);
      ts: 昌 ts'jang
                                           » tṣ'ang (c h'a n g);
      dź': 乘 dź'ing (even)
                                           » ts'eng (ch'eng);
          繓
                                           » səng (sheng);
          剩 dž'iəng (oblique)
                                           » səng (sheng);
         商 śiang
                                           » sang (shang);
  n
         常 źjang (even)
                                           » tṣ'ang (c h'a n g);
                                           » sang (shang);
       » <u>L'éjang</u> (oblique)
                                                   (shang).
                                              sang
```

We now revert to the last three Anc. palatals, \acute{n} , $\acute{n}\acute{z}$, j.

n has lost its palatal quality in Pekinese: 女 Anc. niwo > P. nü;

One type with this initial went a step further and transformed the z thus obtained in a most curious way. When this new z was followed by the final -i: zi (derived from Anc. nzi and nziz), the i was first made homorganic with z (i), then it was swallowed up in z as a syllable-forming phonem, then a parasitic z was prefixed, and finally the z, which thus became a final consonant, was transformed into a kind of r:

```
Ancient Chinese dentals: t, t', d'; ts, ts', dz'; s, z; n, l.
```

The surdization law eliminated d', dz' and z.

The two former follow the rules laid down at the beginning of this chapter; z became ts' or s in even tone, s in oblique tones (observe the parallelism with the treatment of Anc. \acute{z} above):



```
彈 Anc. d'\hat{a}n (even)
                         became P. t'an;
但
         d`ân
               (oblique)
                                     tan:
才
         dz'åi (even)
                                     ts'ai;
在
         dz'āi (oblique)
                                     tsai;
                                     ts'ï
         zi
               (even)
祥
         ziang (even)
                                  » śjang (siang)
似
               (oblique)
         zi
                                     Sï.
```

The affricates ts, ts' (both the original and those derived from Anc. dz', z) and the fricative s (\langle Anc. s and z) have been subjected to a similar parlatalization as that described in the guttural group above, before the Mandarin vowels i and u.

```
將 Anc. tsiang has become P. tsiang (Wade: chiang),
秋 » ts'izu » » » ts'iu ( » ch'iu),
相 » siang » » » siang ( » hsiang).
```

This palatalization obtains in Pekingese and a good many Mandarin dialects, though by no means all, and for the same historical reasons as those for which I transcribe in the dictionary ki, k'i, hi (not tši, tš'i, ši, see the guttural series above), I shall transcribe the word groups here tsiang, ts'iu, siang etc., in spite of the modern Pekinese pronunciation.

Ancient Chinese supradentals: ts, ts', dz', s.

These have been preserved in Pekinese, with two exceptions.

On the one hand, the voiced aspirate dz' was exposed to the surdization law:

```
査 Anc. dz'a (even) became P. ts'a (ch'a); 作 dz'a (oblique) » » tsa (cha).
```

On the other hand, before the Pekinese final -a (of various Anc. origins, tṣvk, tṣiɛt etc., see below), the supradentals became dentals:

```
責 Anc. t \notin k became P. t \otimes (t \otimes \hat{e}); 瑟 » s \notin k (s \otimes \hat{e}).
```

A glance backwards at the evolutional results in the Anc. palatal group and the present supradental one will show us what a vast simplification has taken place through the evolution from Ancient Chinese to Pekinese. A great many initials have coincided. Corresponding to the Ancient set of 12 initials: \hat{t} , \hat{t}

Ancient Chinese labials: p, p', b', m.

The usual surdization law has obtained here as elsewhere:

```
葡 Anc. b'uo (even) become P. p'u
步 » b'uo (oblique) » » pu.
```

For the rest, this is a remarkable group insofar as it has created a new set of initials unknown to Ancient Chinese. When the bilabials p, p', b', m stood before

 \dot{z} and this again was influenced by a following w or u (sequels $p\dot{z}w$ -, $p\dot{z}u$ - etc.), dentilabials were formed already in T'ang time: f, f, v, \ddot{m} .

The f, f' and v have coincided in P. f (the v- through the surdization law). The dentilabial \tilde{m} has been entirely lost before the following w or u:

```
方 Anc. piwang > fwang > P. fang;

芳 * p'iwang > f'wang > * fang;

房 * b'iwang > vwang > * fang;

亡 * miwang > mwang > * wang.
```

Observe that it was only real, original w that turned the bilabials into dentilabials. A secondary, stalses w, which appeared in certain Anc. groups, as fully discussed in the last chapter (e. g. $\overrightarrow{\bowtie}$ Arch. *pivng, Anc. pivvng), and which was evidently less forcible, more volatile (it was indeed only due to an exaggerated articulation of the labial initials), had no such effect: $\overrightarrow{\bowtie}$ Anc. pivvng, P. ping. Ancient Chinese laryngals: (e. g. ancertain), O (smooth vocalic ingress, e. g. ancertain).

The latter type behaved just as the j- (yod) type in the palatal series, and so did the former before P. i and u:

```
衣 Anc. 'jei
              became P. i;
於
        ·iwo
                      » ü (y ü);
因
                      » jin (y i n);
        · įĕn
央
        ·iang
                      » jang (yang);
夷
        i
                      » i;
楡
                       » u (y u);
        įu
用
        iwong
                      » jung (yung).
```

Before vowels other than i, u, the laryngal explosive is generally lost in Pekinese: $\mathbf{\mathcal{G}}$ Anc. $\cdot \hat{a}m > P$. an. Yet there are certain speakers who by analogy with words deriving from Anc. ng (岸 $ng\hat{a}n$ etc.) have introduced a weakly articulated γ : P. γan etc. In many other Mandarin dialects an initial ng- has been introduced in the same way, by analogy with the original ng-group, e. g. \mathcal{F} Si-an-fu ngan.

THE FINALS.

In sketching the evolution of the finals I shall start with the categories ending in Ancient Chinese vowels and those ending in -m, -n, -ng. Afterwards I shall discuss the categories ending in -p, -t, -k. For the rest, I follow the grouping of the Anc. Chinese rimes made at the end of the preceding chapter (based mainly on the Sung time rime tables, see my Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise). The evolution was greatly influenced by the types of initials preceding the finals, and I have therefore selected examples illustrating the various initial classes. One type is the guttural (with the laryngals; when speaking of »gutturals» I always include the laryngals in that summary term), one is the dental, one is the suprade ntal (including the Anc. Chin. palatals, which, as we have seen, have all become supradentals in Pekinese).

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1. Rimes & etc.

Ancient

Peking

哥 kâ 羅 lâ 多 tâ 家 ka 沙 ṣa 巴 pa 也 ṇa 者 tṣṇa 寫 ṣṇa 果 kuâ 安 t'uâ 破 p'uâ 瓜 kwa

kə, (ko), lo, to
tśia (kia), ṣa (sha), pa
jä (ye), tṣə (chê), śiä (sie).
kuo, t'o, p'o
kua

The â grave became o: lo, to etc., and after gutturals this o turned into o: P. ko etc. In regard to the latter, it should be observed that Wade writes ko etc., normalizing after other Mandarin dialects, and I follow his example in the dictionary.

The $u\hat{a}$ became $uo: ku\hat{a} > kuo; u$ was dropped after dentals and labials, $t'u\hat{a} > t'o$ etc.

The a aigu was preserved. But after gutturals there appeared a palatalization phenomenon already in T'ang time; between k and a there cropped up a parasitic i: $\Re ka > k^ia > P$. $t \approx a$ (k i a). We shall see that this phenomenon has played an important role in many subsequent classes.

The ia first became $i\ddot{a}$ through Umlaut: $i\ddot{a}$, $tsi\ddot{a}$, $si\ddot{a}$. This $i\ddot{a}$ was preserved after certain initials, but after supradentals there was a further change. The supradentals, articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveoli, are hostile to the mouillé tongue position of i and \ddot{a} ; so i dropped out and \ddot{a} was transformed into a: \clubsuit (tsia) tsia became first tsia (so still in some Mandarin dialects) and then P. tsia.

2. Rimes i etc.

Ancient

Peking

基 kji 脂 thi 子 thi 李 lji 而 nhi thi (k i), thi (c h ī), thi li, r (e r) 寄 kjig 支 thig 斯 sig 離 ljig 皮 b'jig 兒 nhig thi [k i], thi (c h ī) hi, p'i, r (e r) 機 kjgi thi (k i).

The rimes i, $i\check{e}$ and $j\check{e}i$ all became -i in Middle Chinese; and the further evolution of this -i was entirely dependent on the initials. The supradentals had the same »hardening» effect as in the preceding class: $(t\acute{s}i >) t\dot{s}i > t\ddot{s}i$ etc. In this group the dentals ts, ts', s also had the same effect: $tsi > ts\ddot{i}$, $si > s\ddot{i}$ etc. The curious evolution of zi (derived from Anc. $\acute{n}\acute{z}i$ and $\acute{n}\acute{z}i\dot{e}$): first $z\ddot{i}$ and then $z > \dot{z}z > sr$ has already been described above.

Ancient

Peking

規 kjwi	追 twi	累 ljwi 悲 pjwi	kuei, tșuei (chuei), lei, pei
虧 k'jwi	g 吹 ts wig	碑 pjwig	k'uei, ts'uei (ch'uei), pei
歸 kjwg	非 pjwei		kuei, fei

wi, wig, jwei all first became -uei (in Peking often pronounced ui, especially in the p'ing sheng); and the u of this uei dropped after labials: puei > pei, fuei > fei, and after l: luei > lei.

3. Rimes åi etc.

	A	nci	\mathbf{ent}					Peking
該	kậi	來	lậi					kai, lai
丏	kâi	大	d'âi					kai, ta
皆	kăi	齊	tṣăi	埋	măi			tśiä (kie) tṣai (chai), mai
佳	kai	柴	dz'a i	罷	b'ai			tšia (kia), ts'ai (ch'ai), pa
4	ngįäi	世	śįäi	例	lįäi	敝	pįäi	i, și (s h i), li, pi
刈	ngįvi							<i>i</i>
雞	kiei	低	tiei	迷	miei			tśi (ki), ti, mi

The distinction between Anc. a grave and a aigu was entirely lost in Mandarin, though a corresponding distinction is kept up in some Southern dialects (e. g. Cantonese, where Anc. kāi has given koi but Anc. kai has given kai). Yet in one respect it has left its trace in Mandarin also, viz. after gutturals; for whereas Anc. kāi has given P. kai, Anc. kāi and kai (with a aigu) underwent the same palatalization phenomenon as in our first group. Just as there 承 Anc. ka became P. kia, so here 曾 Anc. kāi and 佳 Anc. kai first became kiāi and kiai. The former is still kiai in some Mandarin dialects, but in Pekinese it has passed on to tšiā (k i e) through Umlaut.

The difference between short $\dot{a}i$, $\dot{a}i$ and long $\dot{a}i$, ai has been lost in some word groups (all ai); but there are not a few cases in which the long $\dot{a}i$, ai have lost the final i (which never happened to the short ones): 大 $\dot{d}'\dot{a}i$ > P. ta, \dot{t} kai > P. $t\dot{s}ia$ (k i a), 能 $\dot{b}'ai$ > P. pa.

The finals $i\ddot{a}i$, ini, iei have all been contracted into -i, thus coinciding with the -i of our second category above: i, $t\dot{s}i$ (k i), li, pi etc. And, just as in that category, the supradentals have hardened the vowel: $(\dot{s}i\ddot{a}i)$ $\dot{s}i$ $\dot{s}i$.

	Ancient						Peking			
	kuậi yuâi	堆	tuậi	內	nuậi	雷	luģi	梅	muậi	kuei, tuei, nei, lei, mei χuei (huei)
乘	kwăi	拜	pwăi							kuai, pai
挂	kwai	派	p'wai							kua, p'ai
稅	śįwäi	歲	sįwäi							<i>șuei</i> (shuei), <i>suei</i>
廢	piwvi									fei
圭	kiwei									kuei

In the group with medial u, w, the a vocalism has maintained itself only in regard to a aigu; but $u\dot{q}i$, $u\dot{q}i$, $\dot{u}w\dot{u}i$, $\dot{u}w\dot{u}i$, $\dot{u}w\dot{u}i$, $\dot{u}w\dot{u}i$ all became uei (in Pekingese often pronounced ui, especially in p'ing sheng), thus coinciding with the finals of our second category above; furthermore, fuei became fei, just as in that category.

4. Rimes am etc.

		A	Incient			Peking
威	kậm					kan
甘	kâm					kan
咸	γăm	讒	d z'ăm			śjän (hien), ts'an (ch'an)
監	kam	衫	şam			tšiän (kien), san (shan)
拑	g'įäm	占	tśįäm	廉	lįäm	ts'iän (k'ien), tṣan (chan), liän (lien)
欠	k'im					tsiän (k'ien)
玷	tiem					tiän (tien)
犯	b'iwom					fan

-m has become -n throughout. The distinction between long and short vowels has been lost.

The only trace of the Anc. distinction between \hat{a} grave and a aigu is the palatalization phenomenon connected with the latter after gutturals: just as in our first category \Re Anc. ka became kia, so here $\gamma \check{a}m$ became hiam, kam became kiam, and then these have developed further through Umlaut: hiam has become siam (h i e n), siam has become siam (k i e n), thus coinciding with the siam of the following rimes.

Ancient $i\bar{a}m$ has maintained its vocalism, but with one important exception. Here, again, the supradentals have had their hardening effect: $(t\hat{s}i\bar{a}m)$ tṣiām > $t\bar{s}am$ > P. $t\bar{s}an$ (chan) etc. It might seem strange that by this evolution the words of type $t\bar{s}an$ (chan) have reverted to their Archaic principal vowel, for, as we have seen, Anc. $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ derived from an Archaic $t\bar{t}am$ (the evolution thus being: $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$) $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ > $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ = $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ etc. What has caused the retrograde change was, as we know, a new factor which appeared a fter Ancient Chinese: the transformation of the palatals, $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ etc., into supradentals, $t\bar{s}i\bar{a}m$ etc., the hardening effect of which is evident in all groups.

The Anc. finals im and iem have coincided with the final im: k'im > P. ts'ian (k'ien), tiem > P. tian (tien).

After fw-, however, the same regression to a has taken place as after the supradentals, and here again we thus have an evolution in circle: $(*b_i w m)$ Anc. b'iwm > T'ang vwm > Middle Chinese fwam > P. fan.

5. Rimes an etc.

	Ancient	Peking
于 kân	丹 tân	kan, tan
艱 kăn	山 săn	tśiän (kien), ṣan (shan)
薮 kan	删 san	tśiän (kien), șan (shan)
愆 k'jän	戰 tśiän 連 liän	tsiän (k'ien), tṣan (chan), liän (lien)
建 kipn		tśiän (kien)
見 kien	天 t'ien	tśiän (kien), t'iän (t'ien)

The evolutional laws here are quite identical with those described in the preceding category:

The distinction was lost between long and short vowels (an: ăn).

The distinction between \hat{a} grave and a aigu which is still reflected in dialects such as Cantonese, where \mp is kon but \bigstar is kan, was lost in Pekingese, except for the trace of it appearing in the guttural group: here the same mouillé element has been intercalated between the initial and a aigu as in the preceding groups: $k \check{a} n$, kan became $k^i \check{a} n$, $k^i a n$ in T'ang time, and through Umlaut they have changed to P. $t \check{s} i \check{a} n$ (k i e n), thus coinciding with the Anc. $i \check{a} n$ of the following line in the table.

This $i\ddot{a}n$ has been preserved, except for the supradental group, where the same *hardening* back to a has taken place as in the preceding class: \mathbb{R} (Arch. * $\hat{t}ian$ >) Anc. $t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}n > t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}n > t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}n > P$. $t\dot{s}an$ (c h a n).

The Anc. finals im and ien have coincided with Anc. in: kim and kien > P. tsian (kien).

	Ancient	Peking
官 kuân 鳏 kwăn 關 kwan	端 tuân	kuan, tuan, pan kuan kuan, pan
權 g'iwän	全 dz'iwän 專 tsiwän	tś'üan (k'üan), tś'üan (ts'üan) tṣuan (chuan)
元 ngịwon	反 piwon	jüan (yüan), fan
玄 yiwen,	編 piwen	śüan (hüan), piän (pien).

Besides the loss of u, w after labials $(pu\hat{a}n > pan, pwan > pan, piwen > piän)$, there are the same evolutional laws at work here as in the groups just studied: the loss of the Anc. distinction between short \check{a} and long a, between vocalic u and consonantic w (in the latter respect Cantonese, for instance, still recalls the old stage: $ku\hat{a}n > k\bar{u}n$, kwan > kwan), and also the confusion of Anc. iwan, iwn and iwen into one, P. van (many other Mand. dialects have van or van instead, which is more in accord with the Anc. sounds).

This system has been broken down by the two phenomena with which we are already familiar:

the hardening influence of the supradentals: $(t \le i w = n > t \le i w = n > P$. $t \le u = n > P$. $t \ge u = n$

Through these changes the categories P. tṣuan, fan have left their Anc. position as riming with jān, jwān etc. and have passed over into the velar-vowelled class, riming with kuan, pan etc.

6. Rime im.

Ancient

Ancient

Peking

今 kipm 針 tsipm 心 sipm 品 p'ipm tsin (kin), tspn (chen), sin (sin), p'in.

The -m has become P. -n.

The \mathfrak{d} has been absorbed by i: kim > kim > tin etc., after all initials except the supradentals. These have had their usual effect, hostile to palatal sounds, and have expelled the i instead, so that the result was: (Anc. tin m > tin m > p. tin m > p. tin m > p.

7. Rimes on etc.

	Ancient				\mathbf{P}	eking		
根 kən 斤 kiən				(k e n) (k i n)				
th kiến	真 tśiěn 新 siěn	民 miěn		` ,	tṣən	(c h e n),	śin	(s i n),
			m	in				
詵 tsiεn			tşən	(chen).			

The evolutional phenomena here are exactly the same as in the preceding class: both in $i\ni n$ and $i\not\in n$ the i has absorbed the short succeeding \imath , \check{e} : $k_i\ni n$ and $k_i\not\in n$ k_i k_i

The rare words of the $i \in n$ rime follow those of the $i \in n$ rime: $i \in n$ > P. $i \in n$.

moleno	1 cking
昆 kuən 温 uən 敦 luən 門 muən 君 kiuən 分 piuən 文 miuən	kun, wən (wen), tun, mən (men) tśün (kün), fən (fen), wən (wen).
均 kiuěn 準 tsiuěn 詢 siuěn 隕 jiwěn	tśün (kün), tṣun (chun), śün (sün) jün (yün).

Finally, there was Umlaut, iu > u: kiun > kiun (tsiun) etc. But, as usual, the supradentals break away from this system and eject the i instead: (tsiuen) tsiun > tsiun.

Peking

8. Rimes âng etc.

A	ncient	Peking
剛 kâng 當	tâng 忙 mâng	kang, tang, mang
骗 kiang 章	tśjang 相 sjang	tsiang (kiang), tṣang (chang), siang
光 kwâng 割 筐 k'ịwang 方	; pwâng · piwang	kuang, pang k'uang, fang (siang)

The laws of evolution were the usual ones:

The distinction between \hat{a} grave and a aigu has been lost; the w has disappeared after the labials: $pw\hat{a}ng > pang$, piwang > fwang > fang; the supradentals have ejected the following i: $(t\hat{s}iang >)$ $t\hat{s}iang > t\hat{s}ang$.

There is one more highly peculiar fact to be observed in this group. There is a series of words which had original Anc. supradentals without following w: # Anc. tsiang, # Anc. tsiang, # Anc. tsiang, # Anc. tsiang, # Anc. tsiang etc. These, however, though in the ancient loans (Sino-Japanese, Sino-Korean, Sino-Annamite) they behaved just as in Ancient Chinese, having no trace of any w, are treated in nearly all dialects in China proper as if they had been Anc. Chinese types with w: tsiwang, tsi

9. Rimes ang etc.

	Ancient	Peking
互 kəng 兢 kiəng 肱 kwəng	登 təng 崩 pəng 燕 tsiəng 冰 piəng	kəng (keng), təng (teng), pəng (peng) tśing (king), tṣəng (cheng), ping kung

The laws at work were exactly the same as those in the $i \ge m$ rimes (6 above): i and w absorbed the following short a, except after supradentals, which ejected the i instead.

10. Rimes png etc.

Ancient		Peking
庚 kong 省 spng	猛 mong	kəng (keng), səng (sheng), məng (meng)
耕 keng 爭 tṣeng	萌 meng	kəng (keng), tṣəng (cheng), məng (meng)
輕 k' jäng 征 tśjäng	清 ts'iäng 名 miäng	ts'ing (k'ing), tṣng (cheng), ts'ing (ts'ing), ming
京 kimg	, , , ,	tšing (king)
經 kieng T tieng	I mieng	tsing (king), ting, ming

Some radical simplifications and nivellations have taken place here. In the first place, both the short vowels v (not preceded by i) and ε have become v, making the types of the first two lines coincide entirely with the original vng of the preceding group 9 (occasionally, instead of this, a parasitic i has been introduced after gutturals: $\vec{\tau}$ Anc. $\gamma v n g > \gamma^i v n g > \chi i n g > P$. sing). Secondly, in i v n g and i v n g and i v n g have absorbed the following principal vowel, making all these types coincide with the v n g of the preceding group.

The only exception to this latter rule is again due to the supradentals, which caused the i to fall instead: It ($t \le i = sin = s$

Ancient	Peking
横 ywong	χung (hung)
宏 γweng	$\chi ung (h u n g)$
傾 k'iwäng	tš'ing (k'ing)
兄 ziwong 兵 piwong	śiung (hiung), ping
螢 yiweng	jing (ying)

In the types without i, the w has absorbed the following vowel: $\gamma wnng$ and $\gamma weng > \chi ung$ (K also alt. P. χnng [h e n g]). In those with i, i, this vowel has absorbed both the following w and the principal vowel: k'iwng > k'ing etc., except in the rime iwnng, where after gutturals the labial also survives: $\chi iwnng > hiung$.

11. Rime ång.

Ancient

江 kảng 隐 ts'ảng 邦 pảng tháng (kiang), ts'uang (ch'uang), pang.

Peking

In our discussion of the evolution from Archaic Chinese to Ancient Chinese (preceding chapter, class II) we saw how \Re Arch. * $k\mathring{a}$, through breaking: $k\mathring{a}^a > k\mathring{a}a$ became Anc. ka. This had taken place in Liu ch'ao time, so that the final stage ka was already reached in Ancient Chinese (Ts'ie yün). Here we find how in a closed syllable (-ng) the same phenomenon appears, though belated, during the course of the T'ang dynasty: Anc. $k\mathring{a}ng > k\mathring{a}ang$, $t\mathring{s}'ang > t\mathring{s}'ang$, $p\mathring{a}ng > p\mathring{a}ang$. After that, the evolution diverged according to initials:

12. Rimes ung etc.

	Ancient	Peking
I kung	東 tung 蒙 mun	g kung, tung, məng (meng)
農 nuong	冬 tuong	nung, tung
弓 kiung	熊 yiung 中 fiung	kung, śiung (hiung), tṣung (chung)
隆 liung,	風 piung	lung, fəng (feng)
恭 kiwong,	凶 ziwong 用 iwon	g kung, śiung (hiung), jung (yung)
鍾 tsiwong	從 dz'iwong 封 piwo	ng tṣung (chung), ts'ung, fəng (feng).

Here again we have a nivellation which causes earlier distinguished finals to coincide: uong coincides with ung, and iwong with iung. The supradentals have had their usual effect in suppressing the i: $(\hat{t}iung)$ tṣiung > tṣung. In this group, moreover, just as in group 8 above (\boxtimes Anc. k'iwang > P. k'uang), there was a wholesale loss of i after most other initials as well; we find it preserved mainly after Anc. guttural fricatives (χ, γ) and at the beginning of a word.

After the labial initials there was a dissimilation: mung > m ng, piung > fung > fng. After n, l the final ung ($\langle ung \text{ or } uong \rangle$) may remain ung or become ng: R. nung and nng.

13. Rimes uo etc.

Ancient	Peking
古 kuo 都 tuo 鋪 p'uo	ku, tu , $p'u$
居 kiwo 諸 tśiwo 胥 siwo	tśü (kü), tṣu (chu), śü (sü)
俱 kịu 朱 tśịu 須 sịu 夫 pịu	tśü (k ü), tṣu (c h u), śü (s ü), fu

In this group, as in the preceding one, uo became u, and iwo became iu, the latter thus coinciding with original Anc. iu. The resulting series for both rimes of the 2nd and 3rd lines was thus: 居, 俱 kiu, 諸, 朱 tsiu, 胥, 須 siu, 夫 piu.

This was subjected to three further changes: when the palatals became supradentals, they ejected the i: $(t \pm iu)$ $t \pm iu$ $t \pm iu$ $t \pm iu$ $t \pm iu$ as stated earlier; in the rest, $t \pm iu$ etc., $t \pm iu$ etc., $t \pm iu$ etc.

14. Rimes $\hat{a}u$ etc.

			And	cien	t	Peking
高	kâu	刀	tâu	毛	mâu	kau (kao), tau (tao), mau (mao)
交	kau	爪	tṣau	飽	pau	tsiau (kiao), tṣau (chao), pau (pao)
驞	kįäu	昭	tśįäu	苗	mįäu	tśiau (kiao), tṣau (chao), miau (miao)
叫	kieu	雕	tieu			tšiau (kiao), tiau (tiao).

As in earlier groups, the difference between \hat{a} grave and a aigu has been lost, except for the vestige observed several times before: the palatalization phenomenon of a parasitic i growing out between the gutturals and Anc. a aigu: \cancel{x} kau \cancel{x} kiau (P. tśiau), just as \cancel{x} ka \cancel{x} kia (P. tśia) of our 1st group. The tendency to

nivellation and confusion of earlier well-distinguished finals has been particularly strong in this group: $i\ddot{a}u$ and ieu have both become iau, brought over into the powerful -au, -iau series of the first two lines of our table. But this is not universal in the modern dialects. Some Southern dialects keep the original velar and palatal series well apart (e. g. Foochow 高 $k\ddot{a}$, 交 kau, but 縣 and 中 kieu), and even in some Mandarin dialects in Shansi the distinction has left its traces.

15. Rimes gu etc.

Ancient Peking 鉤 kṣu 頭 d'ṣu kou, t'ou 鳩 kiṣu 周 tśiṣu 秀 siṣu 缶 宮 piṣu tśiu (kiu), tṣou (chou), śiu (siu), tou, tu

The final $\dot{\alpha}u$ has become ou; this is in Pekingese, but in other Mandarin dialects there is a very great variety on this point: eu, ou, $\ddot{a}u$ etc.

In $\underline{i}\underline{j}u$, \underline{i} has absorbed the following short $\underline{\imath}$: $\underline{k}\underline{i}\underline{j}u > P$. $\underline{t}\underline{s}iu$ (k i u). Exceptions from this rule are, on the one hand, words with supradental initials, which, as usual, eject the \underline{i} instead: $(\underline{t}\underline{s}\underline{i}\underline{j}u >)$ $\underline{t}\underline{s}\underline{i}\underline{j}u > \underline{t}\underline{s}\underline{j}u$, whereupon the $\underline{t}\underline{s}\underline{j}u$ has followed the pattern of the first line (Anc. $\underline{j}u$) and become P. $\underline{t}\underline{s}ou$; on the other hand, words with labial initials: the transformation $\underline{p} > \underline{f}$ generally attains only the combinations $\underline{p}\underline{i}w$, $\underline{p}\underline{i}u$, as seen in many groups above, but here $\underline{p}\underline{i}(\underline{s})u$ has shared the same fate, and given P. $\underline{f}ou$ or $\underline{f}u$.

16. Rimes áp etc.

		And	eient			Peking
鹤	kập,	拉	$l\dot{a}p$	答	tập	k a (k o), la , ta
盍	$\gamma \hat{a} p$	臘	$l\hat{a}p$	塔	t'âp	χ_{∂} (h o), la , $t'a$
祫	kăp	插	tṣ'ăp			tś ia (k i a), t ṣ ia (c ia)
甲	kap					tšia (kia)
葉	įäp	摺	tś <u>i</u> äp	接	tsįäp	jä (y e), tṣə (c h ê), tśiä (t s i e)
劫	kįpp					<i>tśiä</i> (k i e)
協	γiep	帖	t'iep			śiä (hie), t'iä (t'ie)
法	pįwop)				fa

Final p has been lost without any trace.

The \hat{a} grave of $\hat{a}p$ and $\hat{a}p$ was first preserved after the gutturals but opened into a aigu after other initials, and therefore, after the loss of -p, the result was a $k\hat{a}$ etc., which passed on to o, but a ta etc. which preserved the a vocalism — exactly as in the 1st group above:

$$k\hat{a}p > k\hat{a}p > k\hat{a} > ko$$
 (P. $k \ni$); $t\hat{a}p > tap > ta > P$. ta .

In the 3rd and 4th lines, after the loss of -p, there remained ka, ts'a with a aigu, and in the usual way ka became kia (P. tsia), just as $\Re ka > kia$ (tsia) in our 1st group.

When $i\ddot{a}p$, ivp and iep lost their final -p, they coalesced in one Pekinese final $i\ddot{a}$ (i e). As usual, the supradentals caused an exception. They ejected the i, and turned the palatal vowel \ddot{a} into a: $(t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}p)$ $t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}p > t\dot{s}a > t\dot{s}a$; this is exactly in accord with $(t\dot{s}ia)$) $t\dot{s}i\ddot{a}$ > $t\dot{s}a$ in our 1st group above.

Just as $Anc.\ b'iwn$ became T'ang vwn > fwan > P. fan (see group 4 above), so here piwn p became T'ang fwn p > fwa > P. fa.

17. Rimes ât etc.

Ancient	Peking
葛 kât 達 d'ât	kə (k o), ta
轄 yǎt	śia (h i a)
戛 kat 殺 ṣat	tšia (kia), sa (sha)
傑 g'iät 折 tsiät 滅 miät	tśiä (kie), tṣə (chê), miä (mie)
計 kipt	tśiä (kie)
結 kiet	tśiä (kie), t'iä (t'ie)

With the only difference that it is here a t instead of a p that has dropped, there is an absolute parallelism with the preceding group: after the loss of final t there was, in the first line, $k\hat{a}$, $t\hat{a}$, of which the former passed on to ko (P. $k\bar{o}$) and the latter opened the vowel into a aigu, which gave P. ta; in the 2nd and 3rd lines there remained ka, sa, and the former acquired the usual parasitic i: kia (P. $t\bar{s}ia$); in the 4th—6th lines there remained $i\ddot{a}$, ip, ie, which coincided in P. $i\ddot{a}$ (i e), except in the words with supradentals, which in regular fashion became $(t\bar{s}i\ddot{a})$ $t\bar{s}i\ddot{a}$ $t\bar{s}s\bar{a}$ $t\bar{s}s\bar{a}$

		Anc	eient	Peking
括	kuât	股 t'uât	末 muât	kuo, t'o, mo
刮	kwăt			kua
滑	ywat	刷 șwat	八 pwat	χua (hua), ṣua (shua), pa
悅	įwät	拙 tśįwät	說 śiwät 雪 siwät	jüä (yüe) tṣo (cho), ṣuo (shuo),
_				śüä (süe)
決	kiwet			tśüä (küe),
蕨	kįwot	發 piwpt		tśüä (küe), fa

After the loss of final t, there remained in the 1st line kuâ, t'uâ, muâ which — just as in our 1st group above — became P. kuo, t'o, mo.

In the 2nd and 3rd lines the open a vowel was preserved (just as $\mathbb{A} kwa > P$. kua in gr. 1), and after the labial w was lost: P. kua, χua , ξua , pa.

In the 4th—6th lines iwä, iwv, iwe quite naturally coalesced in P. üä (ü e) with the two exceptions which we now recognize from nearly every group: the supra-

18. Rime *i>p*.

Ancient Peking 級 kipp 軟 tśip 立 lipp tśi (k i), tṣī (c h ī), li.

In the usual way (cf. gr. 6 above) i swallowed the following $\partial: ki\partial p > kip > ki$ (P. $t\delta i$) etc.; but since the supradental hardening took place here as everywhere else, $(t\delta i\partial p >)$ $t\delta i$ became $t\delta i$, just as $\hbar i$ $(t\delta i >)$ $t\delta i$ became $t\delta i$ in our 2nd group above.

19. Rimes jet etc.

And	eient	Peking
	悉 siět 必 piět	tši (k i) tši (k i), tṣī (c h ī), ši (s i), pi
瑟 siet		89

The evolution was much the same as in the preceding group. Final t has been dropped, i swallowed the following short vowels i, i: kiit > kit > ki (P. ti), but after the supradentals i was hardened into i: (ti)it > ti > ti.

The rime $i\varepsilon t$, which existed only after original, Anc. supradentals, went its own way: the i was ejected, and the palatal ε was changed into $\partial: si\varepsilon t > s\varepsilon > P$. so.

	Ancient	Peking
骨 kuət	卒 tsuət 脖 b'uət	ku, tsu, po
屈 k'iuət	弗 piuət	t ś' \ddot{u} (k' \ddot{u}), fu
橘 kiuět	出 tś' juět 戌 s ju ě t	$t \dot{s} \ddot{u}$ (k \ddot{u}), $t \dot{s} \dot{u}$ (c h' u), $\dot{s} \ddot{u}$ (s \ddot{u})

Just as in our 7th group Anc. $ku \ni n$ became P. kun etc., so here u swallowed the following ϑ : kut, k'iut etc. This is true with one exception: just as $\bowtie mu \ni n$ became, not P. mun but P. $m \ni n$, with loss of u after the labial, so $b'u \ni t$ first became $b' \ni t$. On the other hand, we have seen earlier that the combination piu-gave fu- already in T'ang time. Thus we have so far:

kut, tsut, b'ət k'iut, fut kiut tś'iut, siut.

Further, we have the loss of final t, as elsewhere, and then we obtain:

ku, tsu, b'ə k'iu, fu kiu, ts'iu siu.

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The b's became P. po, and iu became u through Umlaut: k'iu > k'u (P. ts'u), siu > su (P. siu). But, as usual, the supradentals ejected the i instead, so that \mathbf{H} ($ts'iu\check{e}t > ts'iu > ts'iu$ became P. ts'u.

20. Rimes $\hat{a}k$ etc.

	Ancient	Peking
各 kâk	鐸 d'âk 博 pâk	kə (k o), to, po
脚 kiak	· 酌 tśiak 略 liak	{ tśuż (k ü e), tśiau (k i a o), tṣo (c h o), tśuo (k ü o), (c h o), luo
郭 kwá 矍 kiwa	k ik 縛 b'įwak	kuo tsuo (k ü o), fu

After the loss of final -k, $k\hat{a}$, $d'\hat{a}$, $p\hat{a}$ became ko (> P. $k\bar{a}$), to, po, just as in the 1st group above.

The kiak series is curious in that it has resulted in alternative Pekinese readings. For pu you can hear both tsüä, tsiau and tsüo inside Peking; this must undoubtedly be a case of fusion of dialects. As to the modern readings, tsiau (k i a o) is easily accounted for: we have witnessed in Archaic Chinese above a strong tendency to vocalize a falling guttural -g into -i after other vowels. Here, in modern times, we find in this variant of Pekinese a guttural -k vocalized into -u after a.

In another sub-dialect the evolution has probably been this: the kiak has become kiak, analogically influenced by the powerful ak group, and simultaneously with the evolution kak > ko (see above) kiak became kio (as it is still transcribed by French sinologues); from kio to kio (i becoming a because of the following labial vowel o) is but a small step.

The explanation of the $t\ddot{s}\ddot{u}\ddot{a}$ (k \ddot{u} e) in another of the Pekinese sub-dialects is more doubtful: was it evolved via $k\ddot{u}o$ thus: $k\ddot{u}o > k\ddot{u}\ddot{o} > k\ddot{u}\ddot{a}$?

That kwdk became first kud and then kuo is perfectly regular, and so is kiwak > kuo (P. tsuo). But that b'iwak has become P. fu is quite astonishing (we should have expected b'iwak > vwak > fwa > fa).

21. Rimes ∂k etc.

	1	Ancient		Peking				
到 k'ək	勒 lək	得 tək	💂 mək	k'ə (k'o), lə (lê), tə (tê), mo				
黑 xək	賊 dz'ək	北 pək		χei (h e i), tsei, pei				
酥 kįək	測 tṣ'ṇək	職 tśjək	力 lįək 息 sįək	tśi (ki), ts'a (ts'ê), tṣi (chi), li, śi (si)				
kwak				kuo				
域 jiwak	:			<i>u</i> (y ü).				

Final -k dropped, as everywhere. In the treatment of ∂k Pekinese vacillates between two evolutions. Either -k dropped without trace: $k'\partial k > k'\partial$, and $m\partial k > k'\partial$



 $m_{\tilde{\sigma}}$, which latter again became P. $m_{\tilde{\sigma}}$ (cf. group 19 above, where $b'u_{\tilde{\sigma}}t > b'_{\tilde{\sigma}}t > b'_{\tilde{\sigma}} > P$. $p_{\tilde{\sigma}}$); or it was vocalized into -i, just as Arch. *-g0 was vocalized into -g1 (see last chapter); but here the preceding g2 has been palatalized into g3, through the influence of the i: $\chi_{\tilde{\sigma}}k > \chi_{\tilde{\sigma}}i > \chi_{\tilde{\sigma}}i$.

In the rime $i \ni k$, i absorbed the following short $\imath : k \not \imath \triangleright k i k > k i$ etc. The supradentals, however, had their usual hardening effect: after original Anc. supradentals i was ejected: $t \not \imath : i \triangleright k > t \not \imath : k > P$. $t \not \imath : a$ after Anc. palatals the final was first reduced in the same way as after gutturals: 職 $t \not \imath : i \triangleright k > t \not \imath : k$. But when later on these palatals in their turn passed over into supradentals: $t \not \imath : k > t \not \imath : k$, then the latter in the usual fashion turned i into $i : t \not \imath : k > t \not \imath : k$.

In wak the a became o under the influence of the u: kwak > kwa > kuo (cf. gr. 15 where Anc. 2u > P. ou). In 2wak, the a was absorbed and 2u became 2u through Umlaut: 2uak > 2u > 2u > 2u.

							22 .	Rimes v_i	k etc.		ъ 1 ·			
	Ancient						Peking							
格	kvk	宅	d' vk	百	pvk			kə	(k o),	ts	(tsê)	or t	ai	(c h a i),
								2	00 or pa	ii				
革	$k \varepsilon k$	責	t s ϵk					kə	(k o),	ts	(tsê) o	r <i>tṣai</i>	(c	hai)
益	'įäk	篗	tśįäk	告	sįäk	碧	pįäk	i,	tṣī (c l	n ï),	<i>š</i> i (s i)), <i>pi</i>		
逆	ngịnk							i						
擊	kiek	滴	tiek	壁	piek			tśi	(k i),	ti, j	n			

Final -k dropped, as in all other k groups.

The rimes nk and εk have coincided entirely, and their Pekinese treatment vacillates, like several earlier k rimes. E it her they have given P. ϑ ($k\vartheta$, $ts\vartheta$ etc.), thereby coinciding with the Anc. ϑk of last group, and then, after labials, Ξ posecame P. po (just as Anc. $b'u\vartheta t > b'\vartheta t > b'\vartheta > po$); this reading poselongs to a higher, more literary style. Or they had their final k vocalized into i, and d'm has become P. tsai, pm has become P. pai, and the εi has followed suit, coinciding with the m and giving P. ai: $(ts\varepsilon k)$ $ts\varepsilon i > tsai$.

In $i\ddot{a}k$, ivk, iek, the i and i have absorbed the following vowel: $i\ddot{a}k$ has become ik etc., and after the loss of -k there remained simply -i: i, si, pi, ki, ti etc. But, as usual, the supradentals have had their effect on the following i: $(tsi\ddot{a}k > tsik >)$ tsi has become P. tsi.

The result of this evolution is that to a large extent the modern forms of this group have coincided entirely with those of the preceding group.

Ancient	Peking				
號 kwok	kuo				
$\mathbf{\dot{B}}$ $\gamma w \varepsilon k$	χua (hua)				
鶪 kiwek	<i>tśü</i> (k ü)				

The words with medial w in these rimes are too few to allow of any deduction of general laws.



23. Rime dk.

In group 11 (rime ang) above we have seen that Anc. ang was broken into ang in T'ang time and then, after a guttural, became kang, and this again P. k i a n g (t siang). Here we witness the corresponding phenomenon: Anc. kak (> kak > kak >) kiak, and this kiak, which thus coincided with the kiak of group 20 above (type μ), shared the fate of the latter: it obtained three alternative readings in Pekinese, t sian, t

Anc. tṣāk has given P. tṣo, and Anc. pāk has given po; yet the latter in more vulgar pronunciation has given pau.

24. Rimes uk etc.

		Anc	ient	Peking
谷	kuk	鹿 luk	$\vdash puk$	ku, lu, pu
酷	k'uo k	篤 tuok	僕 b'uok	k'u, tu , pu
菊	k <u>i</u> uk	祝 tśiuk	肅 siuk	福 piuk tśü (kü), tṣu (chu), su, fu
曲	k'iwok	燭 tśiwok	: 足 tsiwok	tś'ü (k'ü), tsu (chu), tsu

The second rime uok has coincided with the first uk, and through the usual loss of find -k the result was a general u: P. ku, lu etc., k'u, tu etc.

Similarly, Anc. iwok coincided with Anc. iuk; piuk became fuk already in T'ang time, as described under the initials. When now the -k dropped, and the palatals became supradentals, there resulted, in the third and fourth line:

In the rapid sketch of this chapter, in which I have of course only outlined the general laws and passed over a great many peculiarities and exceptions, I have made Ancient Chinese my point of departure and described how its various finals have developed into those of Pekinese. I shall now sum up this from the other



¹⁾ There are exceptions: 續 Anc. ziwok > P. sü. After l the i is mostly ejected: 製 liuk > lu 錄 liwok > lu but sometimes it appears in one form or another: 六 liuk > liu, 綠 liuok > liu.

end and give a list of the actual Pekinese finals, adding in parenthesis the various ancient finals from which each of them derived. Figures are added indicating in which of our 24 groups above the final in question has been discussed.

```
a (a 1, di, ai 3, dp, dp, dp, dp, iwp 16, dt, dt, wat, iwpt 17);
ai (âi, âi, ăi, ai, wăi, wai 3, vk, ɛk 22);
an (âm, âm, ăm, am, jäm, jwom 4, ân, ăn, jän, uân, wan, jwom 5);
ang (âng, jang, wâng, jwâng 8, âng 11);
au (âu, au, jäu 14, åk 23);
ei (jwi, jwie, jwei 2, uậi, iwoi 3, ək, iək 21);
\partial (\hat{a}, \hat{a}, 
ən (jəm 6, ən, jen, ien, uən, juən 7);
or (i, i \in 2);
əng (əng, iəng 9, vng, eng, iang 10, ung, iung, iwong 12);
i (i, ig, gi 2, iäi, ipi, iei 3, ipp 18, ipt, iet 19, ipk 21, iäk, ipk, iek 22);
ia (a 1, ai 3, ăp, ap 16, ăt, at 17);
iang (jang 8, ång 11);
iau (au, jäu, ieu 14, jak 20, åk 23);
iä (ia 1, ăi 3, iäp, ipp, iep 16, iät, ipt, iet 17);
iän (ăm, am, jäm, jvm, iem 4, ăn, an, jän, jvn, ien, iwen 5);
in (jəm 6, jən, jen 7);
ing (ing 9, iang, ing, ieng, iwang, iwong, iweng 10);
iu (izu 15);
iung (iwong 10, iung, iwong 12);
i (i, ig 2, jäi 3, jəp 18, jet 19, jək 21, jäk 22);
o (â, uâ 1, uât, iwät 17, uət 19, âk, iak 20, ək 21, vk 22, âk 23);
ou (qu, iqu 15);
u (uo, įwo, įu 13, įžu 15, uət, įuēt 19, įwak 20, uk, uok, įuk, įwok 24);
ua (wa 1, wai 3, wăt, wat 17, wek 22);
uai (wăi 3);
uan (uân, wăn, wan, iwän 5);
uang (wang, iwang 8, ang 11);
uei (jwi, jwig, jwgi 2, uai, uai, iwai, iwei 3);
uən (uən, juən 7);
un (uən, juĕn 7);
ung (wong, weng 10, ung, uong, jung, jwong 12);
uo (uâ 1, uât, įwät 17, wâk 20, wək 21, wok 22);
ü (iwo, ju, jwət, juet 19, jwək 21, iwek 22, juk, jwok (24);
uan (iwan, iwon, iwen 5);
üä (įwät, įwnt, iwet 17, jak 20, åk 23);
ün (juan, juěn, jwěn 7);
üo (jak, jwak 20, åk 23).
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ANCIENT CHINESE AND SINO-JAPANESE.

The ancient loans of words from Chinese to Japanese were extremely numerous and followed different channels. On the one hand, there were direct, popular, phonetically often very irregular loans, e. g. \mathbb{K} Anc. Chin. ma, Jap. uma, Ξ Anc. Chin. sam, Jap. sabu- (as in the common name Saburō) etc. On the other hand, there were the more regular, systematic literary loans, by which Chinese words were in scores and hundreds transposed into Ancient Japanese and incorporated with the Japanese language. It is the latter hoard of systematically made loans, which followed consistent phonetic laws, that are generally designated by the term S i no-Japanese words, and in the present chapter I shall confine myself entirely to them.

The Sino-Japanese loan words were imported from two different sources: the one was Northern China, from which emanated, especially in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D., the stock of Chinese loan words in Japanese known as the Kan-on words (漢音); the other was Eastern and South-Eastern China, from which came, especially in the 6th and 7th centuries A. D. the stock of loan words in Japanese termed the Go-on words (吳音). A third wave of later date (the Tō-on 唐音) produced, on the whole, very few new readings, and in the present short sketch I shall pass them over in silence.

There are also a great many hybrid forms, products of contaminations between Kan-on and Go-on, which I also leave out of consideration. Such are: 月 Kan-on ge-tu (getsu), Go-on gu-wa-ti (gachi), current hybrid form gu-wa-tu (gatsu); 沒 Kan-on bo-tu (botsu), Go-on mo-ti (mochi), current hybrid form mo-tu (motsu).

The Kan-on and Go-on readings are identical in a great many categories, but in other groups they differ widely, owing to dialectal divergencies in Ancient China. Whereas, on the whole, the Kan-on quite faithfully reflects the Northern Chinese language of Ch'ang-an in Suei and early T'ang time (the Ts'ie yün language) — a few divergences will be pointed out later on — the Go-on reveals ancient dialects which on many important points differed considerably from the Ts'ie yün language.

The Japanese who carried through this wholesale borrowing of Chinese word material did not reproduce the foreign words faithfully in every phonetic detail. On the contrary, they often reduced and simplified them considerably, and modified them so as to suit the phonetic propensities, the »basis of articulation», of their own language. Thus, from the very outset there were great discrepancies between the Ancient Chinese prototypes and their Sino-Japanese reproductions. For instance, the medial vowels were often skipped: Anc. Ch. $ki\ddot{a}n > S$. J. ken, Anc. Chin. pudn > S. J. pan (now han) etc.; Japanese words could not end in m, so n was substituted: Anc. Ch. sdm > S. J. san; Japanese words could not end in

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p, t or k, so to Chinese words of these types the Japanese had to attach parasitic end-vowels: Anc. Ch. $k\hat{a}t > S$. J. katu (now k a t s u) etc.

On the other hand, the new word-forms thus incorporated in the Japanese language in ancient times did not remain unchanged during the following centuries. The Sino-Japanese words rapidly became part and parcel of the Japanese vocabulary, and shared in the phonetic evolution of the Japanese language as a whole. Thus the readings of the 6th—8th centuries A. D., which may still be gleaned through the medium of the Japanese syllabic script, the Kana, have in many cases been changed beyond recognition. Our task shall therefore be, in each phonological group studied, first to describe how the ancient Japanese at the time of the borrowing rendered the Anc. Chinese words, and what were their substitution laws; and secondly how these Anc. Sino-Japanese forms thus created have developed on Japanese soil. It stands to reason that here in our summary and rapid sketch we can only treat the principal features, leaving out all more complicated details and special cases.

THE INITIALS.

In discussing the Sino-Japanese phonetics we must always, as just stated, clearly distinguish between modifications made already at the moment of borrowing, and subsequent changes when the borrowed words were part of the Japanese vocabulary. In order to bring this out clearly, I shall always indicate, in each example, first the Anc. Sino-Japanese reading (revealed by the Kana), and then in parenthesis its modern Tokyo reading, whenever this differs from the Anc. S. J. reading; this Tokyo form is given in the now universally accepted romanization system, in spaced ordinary letters.

With the Anc. Chinese as our point of departure we can observe some extremely sweeping simplifications carried through by the Japanese borrowers:

The difference, so fundamental in Chinese, between t e n u e s and a s p i r ata e was entirely disregarded: k and k were both rendered by k, t and t both by t etc.

The difference between explosive and fricative gutturals was disregarded: χ was rendered by k both in Kan-on and Go-on, γ by k in Kan-on, by g in Go-on.

In Kan-on, but not in Go-on, the fundamental difference between tenues and mediae was entirely disregarded: k and g' were both rendered by Kan-on k, t and d' both by Kan-on t, s and z both by Kan-on s etc. The fact that the Go-on borrowers quite regularly kept up the distinction between k and g', t and d', s and t etc. indicates that the Kan-on simplification was due, not to an inability on the part of the borrowing Japanese people to distinguish between voiced and voiceless initials, but to some peculiarity of the Ch'ang-an voiced initials, not per-



taining to those of the Wu dialect. Probably the b', d', g' etc. of Ch'ang-an were less fully and clearly voiced than those of the South East.

The difference between dental and palatal initials was entirely disregarded: t and \hat{t} were both rendered by t, etc.

The difference between supradental affricates, ts etc., palatal affricates, ts etc. and dental affricates, ts etc. was entirely disregarded, and, what is even more drastic, the difference between affricate and fricative was also entirely neglected: ts and s were both rendered by s. This means that to 14 Anc. Chinese initials: ts, ts,

The n as a l initials were treated in a curious way in the Kan-on, in that they were replaced by the corresponding of a ls: Anc. Ch. nuo was rendered by do, A. Ch. niw by dio (now jo), A. Ch. ma by ba. Here, again, the fact that Goon clearly and regularly renders the n and m (initial ng was rendered by g both in Kan-on and Go-on) indicates that this curious phenomenon must have its explanation in the Anc. Northern Chinese dialect. Now, even today there are dialects in Shansi which can give us the key to the riddle: in Hing-hien the Anc. Chin. ma K is mba. Genetically, there is nothing astonishing in this: in the passage from the nasal m to the oral a the closing of the velum is an ticipated, and then after m there will be a homorganic oral b in between it and the following a: m-b-a. Obviously there must have been a phenomenon like this (perhaps only a slight tinge of it) in the colloquial of Ch'ang-an in Suei and early T'ang time, which accounts for this Kan-on peculiarity.

So far the modifications applied already at the moment of borrowing. The fundamental changes carried through on Japanese soil during the lapse of centuries are three:

The Sino-Japanese dentals standing before i have turned into palatals: ti has become $t\acute{s}i$, romanized chi, di has become $d\acute{z}i$, romanized ji, si has become $\acute{s}i$, romanized shi, zi has become $d\acute{z}i$ (so in Tokyo, in certain other dialects $\acute{z}i$), romanized ji. And this implies that when the Sino-Japanese diphthong eu changed into $i\bar{o}$ (see below), then the same palatalization took place before this secondary i: S. J. $te-u > ti\bar{o} > t\acute{s}\bar{o}$, romanized chō.

The S. J. dentals t, d, when standing before an u, were broken up into ts, dz: tu > tsu, du > dzu.

The S. J. labial p gradually evolved into a bilabial fricative, φ : φa , φi , φu , φe , φo . Before u this is still maintained (the Japanese f u is really a bilabial f). But before a, e, i, o it turned into h: ha, he, hi, ho.

These general laws of ancient substitution on the one hand, and evolution on Japanese soil on the other, will explain the following tables of initials in Sino-Japanese, as seen against the background of Ancient Chinese:



Ancient Chinese gutturals (with laryngals):

Anc. Chin.	Kan-on	Go-on
歌 kâ	ka	ka
可 $k'\hat{a}$	ka	ka
其 g'ji	ki	$oldsymbol{gi}$
我 ngâ	$oldsymbol{ga}$	ga
漢 χân	kan	kan
河 γa	ka	ga
安 ·ân	an	an
夷 i	$m{i}$	$m{i}$

Ancient Chinese palatals:

Kan-on	Go-on
ten	ten
te - u (c h \bar{o})	$te-u$ (c h \bar{o})
ti - ya - u (c h $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)	ti - ya - u (c h \bar{o})
tu-wi (tsui)	tu- wi (t s u i)
te- tu (t e t s u)	
te - u (c h \bar{o})	te - u (c h \bar{o})
ti - ya - u (c h \bar{o})	ti - ya - u (c h \bar{o})
ten	den
<i>te-u</i> (c h ō)	de - u (j $ar{ ext{o}}$)
ti- ya - u (c h ō)	$di ext{-}ya ext{-}u$ (j ō)
tu- wi (t s u i)	du- wi (d z u i)
se n	sen
$se-u$ (s h $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)	se - u (s h $ar{ extbf{o}}$)
si - ya - u (s h \bar{o})	sa - u (s $ar{ ext{o}}$)
sen	sen
<i>si</i> (s h i)	si (s h i)
sen	zen
si- yun (shun)	zi- yun (j u n)
sen	sen
se - u (s h $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)	se - u (s h \bar{o})
<i>si</i> (s h i)	si (s h i)
sen	zen
si - ya - u (s h $ar{ exttt{o}}$)	zi - ya - u (j \bar{o})
$di ext{-}yo$ (j ō)	ni-yo (n y o)
zen	nen
ze-u (j ō)	ne-u (n y ō)
zin (j i n)	nin
	ten te-u (chō) ti-ya-u (chō) tu-wi (tsui) te-tu (tetsu) te-u (chō) ti-ya-u (chō) ti-ya-u (chō) ti-ya-u (chō) tu-wi (tsui) sen se-u (shō) si-ya-u (shō) sen si (shi) sen se-u (shō) si-yun (shun) sen si-yun (shō) si (shi) sen si-yun (shō) si (shō) si (shō) si (shō) si (shō)

Ancient Chinese supradentals:

Anc. Chin.	Kan-on	Go-on
🌋 tṣan	san	sen
側 tṣṭək	si- yo - ku (shoku)	soku
釵 tṣ'ai	sai	<i>8e</i>
測 tṣʾiək	$si ext{-}yo ext{-}ku$ (shoku)	soku
棧 dz'an	san	zen
± dz'i	si (s h i)	zi (j i)
山 șan	san	sen
使 și	<i>si</i> (s h i)	<i>si</i> (s h i)

Ancient Chinese dentals:

Anc. Chin.	Kan-on	Go-on
多 tâ	ta	ta
都 tuo	to	tu (tsu)
雕 tieu	te-u (c h ō)	<i>te-u</i> (c h ō)
炭 t'án	tan	tan
土 t'uo	to	tu (tsu)
挑 t'ieu	<i>te-u</i> (c h ō)	<i>te-u</i> (c h ō)
唐 d'âng	<i>ta-u</i> (t ō)	$da-u$ (d \bar{o})
🖺 d'uo	to	du (d z u)
傑 d'ieu	<i>te-u</i> (c h ō)	de-u (j ō)
左 tsâ	sa	sa
焦 tsjäu	$se-u$ (s h \bar{o})	se-u (s h ō)
子 tsi	si (s h i)	<i>si</i> (s h i)
磋 ts'â	sa	sa
俏 ts'jäu	$se-u$ (s h \bar{o})	se-u (s h ō)
親 ts'iěn	sin (shin)	sin (shin)
存 dz'uən	son	zon
字 dz'i	si (s h i)	<i>zi</i> (j i)
散 sân	san	san
背 sįäu	$se-u$ (s h \bar{o})	$se-u$ (s h $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)
新 sièn	sin (shin)	sin (shin)
随 zwig	sui	zui
旬 ziuěn	si- yun (s h u n)	zi-yun (j u n)
男 nậm	dan	nan
年 nien	den	nen
來 lậi	rai	rai

Ancient Chinese labials:

Anc. Chin.	Kan-on	Go-on
波 puâ	<i>pa</i> (h a)	pa (h a)
甫 piu	pu (f u)	po (h o)
破 p'uâ	<i>pa</i> (h a)	<i>pa</i> (h a)
敷 p'iu	<i>pu</i> (f u)	po (h o)
盆 b'uən	pon (h o n)	bon
分 b'iuən	pun (f u n)	b u n
門 muən	bon	mon

THE MEDIAL VOWELS.

In order to avoid repetitions we shall here indicate only a few general rules obtaining in various classes. For the rest, the rendering or skipping of the medial vowels in Sino-Japanese will appear from the tables of the various groups of finals.

- 1. Medial *i* and *i* were never reproduced by the ancient borrowers before the S. J. vowel e; 您 Ach. k'jän and 見 Ach. kien > S. J. ken.
- 2. After Anc. Chin. labial initials the *i* was never reproduced, e. g. Ach. piun > S. J. pun (f u n).
- 3. Medial i, which was reproduced by the ancient borrowers, has been preserved up to modern times, but for one important exception: when coming after S. J. dentals and followed by another vowel, it was absorbed: \div Ach. $\hat{i}_{iung} > S$. J. ti-yu-u > Modern ch \bar{u} , \hat{u} Ach. sia > S. J. si-ya > Modern sh a.
- 4. Medial u, w after gutturals and followed by S. J. a were reproduced by the ancient borrowers but have been lost in the modern Tokyo pronunciation: 官 Ach. kuan and 關 Ach. kwan > S. J. ku-wan > Modern kan.
- 5. Medial u, w after S. J. dentals and labials and followed by S. J. a were never reproduced: \mathbf{k} Ach. tudn > S. J. tan, \mathbf{k} Ach. p'ud > S. J. pa (h a).
- 6. Medial w after gutturals and labials before S. J. i was never reproduced: **a** Ach. kjwi > S. J. ki, # Ach. pjwgi > S. J. pi (h i).
- 7. Medial i and u, w before S. J. o were never reproduced: 昆 Ach. kun > S. J. kon, 今 Ach. kim > Go-on kon. (Exception: Ach. un > S. J. won, modern pronunciation on).

THE FINALS.

In order to facilitate a comparison with the evolution from Ancient Chinese to Mandarin, I shall use, on the whole, the same type words as in the preceding chapter.

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It seems that the best plan would be to place side by side 1. the Ancient Chinese of Ts'ie yün, 2. the Kan-on forms and 3. the Go-on forms. But this is impracticable for a reason already hinted at earlier. It is really only the Kan-on that is systematically comparable with the Ancient Chinese of Ts'ie yün, because it was based on essentially the same Ancient Northern Chinese language as the latter. That is not the case with the Go-on, which was based on the Ancient Wu dialects in the East and South East of China.

The difference between Ancient Chinese of Ch'ang-an (Ts'ie yün) and Ancient Wu was, to judge from the Go-on which largely mirrors the Ancient Wu, quite considerable. The differences are in principle of three kinds:

- 1. The distinction of phonological categories within one group may be identical, only the ancient values in Wu for each category did not tally with that of the Ts'ie yün. This means that all the words in one Ts'ie yün rime category have one definite mode of treatment in Go-on (either single final, or several according to fixed laws, dependent on the initial). Thus, for instance, to the rime 山 Anc. Chin. ăn (which in Kan-on always gives an) in Go-on always corresponds an en. The Ancient Wu dialects joined exactly the same characters into one category as did Ancient Ch'ang-an, though the phonetic values were different. Similarly, to the rime 食, Anc. Chin. iəm (which in Kan-on always gives in) in Go-on always corresponds a final on after gutturals (kon etc.), and in after other initials (sin, rin, jin etc.). The grouping of words into one phonological category (the 食 class) is here just the same, though in Anc. Wu it is subdivided into two sections. In cases like this it is possible to draw up comparative tables between Anc. Chinese of Ts'ie yün and Go-on, for fixed rules of correspondence can be determined.
- The distinction of phonological categories, within one group, was not the same, because Ancient Wu, in its mode of evolving from Archaic Chinese, had arrived at groupings different from Anc. Ch'ang-an (Ts'ieyün). A typical example of this is to be found in the ən: ĕn rimes. Archaic 銀 *ngien has passed over into Ch'ang-an (Ts'ie yün) ngiën, and thus found its place in the 填 iën rime, where we find Ts'ie yün 銀 ngiễn, 人 náiễn, 民 miễn etc. (all Kan-on gin, in, bin etc.). But in Ancient Wu, *ngien had passed over, not into the ien category but into the ien category (the same category as F Arch. *kien): *ngien > Wu ngien, and therefore is gon in Go-on. We consequently find, if we start from the series 銀, 人, 民 ngiễn, nhiên of Ts'ie Yün, a Go-on series gon, nin, min. Here it is methodically wrong to place the Ts'ie yun category and the Go-on category side by side in a table, for they are not strictly comparable. 銀 comes in the same category as 人, 民 in the Ts'ie yün language (rime iĕn), but it does not in Anc. Wu: 人, 民 formed a Wu iĕn rime, but 超 belonged to another category altogether, the 斤 Wu kin, 銀 Wu ngin etc. In other words, Ch'ang-an (Ts'ie yün) and Anc. Wu both possessed one ien and

one in category, but they did not entirely correspond to each other, for they did not comprise exactly the same words: certain Archaic *ien had passed into Ch'angan's iën series, but into Wu's in series. Therefore, the Ch'ang-an (Ts'ie yün) iën series cannot logically serve as a point of departure for a study of the Go-on, which is based on Ancient Wu. Comparative tables of Ts'ie yün and Wu cannot be drawn up, for it is impossible to lay down any fixed rules of correspondence.

3. Our third point offers still greater difficulties. From what I said just now under our second point it would in principle follow that for a study of Go-on and its phonetic categories we should start, not from the categories of Ts'ie yün but from those of Archaic Chinese: we should investigate which projections in Ancient Wu (Go-on) each of the Archaic finals has received. This seems very simple and satisfactory, but we are confronted with an insurmountable difficulty: it turns out that the Go-on readings were drawn not from one definite Ancient Wu dialect but from several phonetically different Wu dia-That this was so can be proved quite easily. The Arch. final *am occurs in quite comparable circumstances (i. e. after dentals) in the words ***** *n *m and 貪 *t'əm. In Ts'ie yün they have given nậm and t'ậm (Kan-on dan, tan). In Go-on we find them rendered, not, as we should have expected, in a homogeneous way, but differently: 南 *nəm is Go-on nan, but 貪 *t'əm is Go-on ton! Now, it is quite inadmissible to say that Archaic **m after dental in some words, e. g. 南 resulted in Anc. Wu am (nam, whence Go-on nam), in some other words in Anc. Wu am (t'am, whence Go-on ton), if it were one and the same Anc. Within one dialect, one Archaic final, after the same kind of initial, must always give one and the same result. Therefore we must conclude as follows. Arch *əm after dentals gave am (just as in Ts'ie yün) in one Anc. Wu dialect: 南 nậm, 貪 tậm etc., and from this Wu dialect the Go-on 南 nan was drawn; Arch. *>m after dentals gave >m (different from Ts'ie yün) in another Anc. Wu dialect: 南 nəm, 貪 t'əm, and from this Wu dialect the Go-on loan 貪 ton was made. This explains why in Go-on now one, now another final corresponds to one Archaic final (in quite comparable conditions as to initials). In cases like this not even Archaic Chinese can serve as a direct point of departure for a study of the Go-on; not even comparative tables of Archaic Chinese: Go-on can be established, for fixed rules of correspondence cannot be determined. Still less can the categories of Ts'ie yün (Anc. Ch'ang-an) serve as a point of departure for a study of the Go-on, which builds on now one, now another Anc. Wu dialect.

To sum up: In many cases — indeed the great majority — the rime categories of Ts'ie yün can serve as a point of departure for the study of Go-on. This is so, on the one hand in the numerous cases where Go-on is identical with Kan-on, e. g. Ts'ie yün ka, Kan-on and Go-on ka; on the other hand in the numerous cases where its phonological categories are exactly the same as in Ts'ie yün and Kan-on, though their ancient phonetic values were different, e. g.



Il Ts'ie yün săn (Kan-on san) = Go-on sen. In many cases, on the other hand, the rime categories of the Ts'ie yün cannot serve as a point of departure for the study of Go-on. This is so, on the one hand, in the numerous cases where the Anc. Wu had evolved out of Archaic Chinese so as to form different phonological categories from those in Ts'ie yün (e. g. the 最 case above); on the other hand, and quite especially, when the Go-on readings are drawn not from one homogeneous Anc. Wu dialect but from several divergent ones (e. g. the 南: 貪 case above).

It has been necessary to discuss these intricate questions at length as they have an important practical bearing on the subject. In the following chapter we shall confine ourselves to the Kan-on as a direct counterpart to the Ts'ie yun finals, and only make a few additional notes, in each group, regarding the Go-on.

This is all the more advisable for still another reason. Whereas the Kan-on readings are quite fixed and well-established, so that all sources (dictionaries and handbooks) agree perfectly as to the true Kan-on reading of every character, there is a considerable uncertainty on many points as to the true Go-on readings. If we compare two great standard dictionaries such as Ueda's Dai jiten and the Kan Wa dai jirin, we find that, whereas they agree perfectly in regard to the Kan-on, there are the most surprising discrepancies in regard to their Go-on readings. This is due to the fact that many of the Go-on readings are more theoretical than practically current in the real language. In my notes below I shall adduce examples of these discrepancies.

1. Rimes & etc.

Anc. Chinese			ese		Kan-on		
歌	kâ	羅	lå	多	tâ	ka, ra, ta	
家	ka	沙	șa	巴	pa	ka, sa , pa (h a)	
也	įa	者	śįa	寫	s <u>i</u> a	ia (y a), si -ya (s h a), si -ya (s h a)	
果	kuá	安	t'uâ	破	p'uâ	ku-wa (k a), ta, pa (h a)	
瓜	kw	ι				ku- wa (k a)	

Anc. Chin. \hat{a} and a were both rendered by a in Kan-on.

Go-on has the same finals for Anc. Chin. d, ud as Kan-on. But for a, ia the sources disagree. If we are to believe the Dai jiten, the words with Ts'ie yün a, ia did not form one consistent category in the Anc. Wu dialect or dialects forming the base of the Go-on: there is now e, now a, now ia, without any apparent



rule. The Kan Wa dai jirin, on the other hand, mostly gives e for Anc. Chin. a, ia:

Ts'ie	yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
嘉	ka	ke	ke
茶	da	da	de
祚	tșa	se	8e
紗	șa	si-ya (s h a)	8e
巴	pa	<i>pe</i> (h e)	<i>pe</i> (h e)
爬	b'a	ba	be
也		$oldsymbol{e}$	e
夜	<u>į</u> a	ia (y a)	e
瓜	kwa	ke	ke

But even the Dai jirin is not so categorical about the e as would appear from this table; there are various exceptions, e. g. \nearrow Anc. Ch. $\not sa$, $\not \succeq$ Anc. Ch. $\not sa$, both Dai jirin Go-on si-ya (s h a), etc.

2. Rimes i etc.

Ancient Chinese					Kan-on				
	,		tši tšig	tsi sig	-	lji ljig			ki, si (s h i), si (s h i), ri, zi (j i) ki, si (s h i), si (s h i), ri, pi (h i), zi (j i)
機	kigi	^							ki
虧	kjwi k'jwię kjwęi	吹	ts'wig	•		pjwi			ki, tu-wi (t s u i), rui, pi (h i) ki, su-wi (s u i), pi (h i) ki, pi (h i)

The Anc. Chinese finals i, ig, gi are all rendered by i in the Kan-on.

Go-on has likewise i everywhere, with one important exception: for rime e^i (without w), type kje^i , it has e:

Anc. Chinese	Go-on	Kan-on
機 kjei	ke	ki
豊 k'jei	ke	ki
希 xjgi	ke	$m{ki}$
衣 jei	$oldsymbol{e}$	$oldsymbol{i}$

3. Rimes \$\delta i\$ etc.

		Ancient Chinese Kan-on	
該	kậi	lậi kai, rai	
蓋	kâi	d'di kai, tai	
皆	kăi	tṣǎi 埋 mǎi kai, sai, bai	
佳	kai	dz'ai 能 b'ai kai, sai, pai (h a i)	
藝	ng <u>i</u> äi	śjäi 例 ljäi 敵 b'jäi gei, sei, rei, pei (h e i)	
XIJ	ngįvi	gai	
雞	kiei	tiei 迷 miei kei, tei, bei	
	kuậi kuâi	tuậi 內 nuậi 雷 luậi 梅 muậi ku-wa-i (k s i), tai, dai, re ku-wa-i (k s i)	ıi, bai
-	kwăi		
		ku-wa-i (kai), pai (hai))
	ś <u>i</u> wäi	g siwäi sei, sei	
	pįwvi	<i>pai</i> (h a i)	
圭	kiwei	kei	

Kan-on renders Anc. Chin. \hat{a} , a, \check{a} and v by a, \ddot{a} and e by e.

Go-on reveals that in this word group the phonological categories of Anc. Wu were entirely different from those of Ch'ang-an. There is ai, ei, e, even a, without any correspondence to the rime categories of the Ts'ie yün. Moreover, the Japanese lexicographers disagree strongly as to the true Go-on readings; as examples we fill in the Go-on forms of our type words in the table above according to the two dictionaries:

Ts'ie yün:	ai jiten:	Dai jirin:
kậi, lậi	kai, rai	ke, rai
kâi, d'âi	kai, dai	kai, dai
kăi, tṣăi, măi	kei, sai, mai	kei, sai, mai
kai, dz'ai, b'ai	ka, ze, be	ke, se, be
ng <u>i</u> äi, śįäi, lįäi, b'įäi	gei, sei, rei, bei	gei, se, rei, pai (h a i)
ngini	ge	gei
kiei, tiei, miei	kai, tai, mei	kai, tai, mei
kuậi, tuậi, nuậi, luậi, muậi	ke, te, nai, re, mai	ku-wa-i (kai), te, nai, re, mai
kuâi	ke	ku- wa - i (k a i)
kwăi, pwăi	ke, pe (h e)	ku- wa - i (k a i), pe (h e)
kwai, p'wai	ke, pe (h e)	ge, pe (h e)
śįwāi, sįwäi	sei, sei	ze, sai
p įwoi	pai (h a i)	<i>pe</i> (h e)
kiwei .	ke	ke

And the lack of correspondence with the Ts'ie yün categories is even more striking than this table shows: according to the Dai jirin the Ach. 皆 $k\ddot{a}i$ is Go-on kei, but the homophonous Ach. 戒 $k\ddot{a}i$ is Go-on kei; 迷 Ach. miei is Go-on mei (both dictionaries), but the homophonous 米 Ach. miei is Go-on mai (both dictionaries), etc.

No rules of correspondence for Go-on and the Ancient Chinese of Ch'ang-an can therefore be established.

4. Rimes âm etc.

iậm 勸k'ậm 含yậm 諳'ậm 貪t'ậm kan, kan, kan, an, tan, 南nậm 婪lậm dan, ran sâm 三sâm 藍lâm kan, san, ran săm 咸yăm 站tãm 斬tṣăm 讒dṣ'ăm kan, kan, tan, san, san

Kan-on

減 kăm 咸 yăm 站 tàm 斬 tṣăm 讒 dạ'ăm kan, kan, tan, san, s 監 kam 銜 yam 衫 ṣam kan, kan, san

粮 kiām 拑 g'iām 險 xiām 鹽 iām 炎 jiām ken, ken, ken, en, en,

沾 fiām 閃 śiām 廉 liām ten, sen, ren 欠 k'ivm 嚴 ngivm ken, gen

兼 kiem 站 tiem 念 niem ken, ten, den

Ancient Chinese

犯 b'iwom 帆 b'iwom pan (han), pan (han)

Here, as in the preceding group, Kan-on renders Ach. \dot{a} , \dot{a} , \ddot{a} , \ddot{a} by a; \ddot{a} and e by e; and p by a when combined with w, otherwise by e.

In this group Go-on is based on Wu dialects which do not, on the whole, present phonological categories corresponding to those of Ch'ang-an. The words of these Ts'ie yün rimes appear now with Go-on an, now en, now with on, irrespective of their place in the Ch'ang-an (Ts'ie yün) system. Moreover, the sources disagree widely in this group. We can only just observe some vague tendencies to rules:

Ts'ie yün âm, âm Dai jiten an (rarely on) Dai jirin on (rarely an)

- » » ăm, am » » an (rarely en) » en (rarely an)
- » » jäm » » en (rarely on) » en and on
- » » im » » an and on » on
- » » iem » » en » en
- » » iwam » » on and an » on.

威 kâm

kâm

Our type words above are thus, in the two sources:

Ts'ie yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
kậm, k'ậm, yâm, âm, t'âm,	kan, kon, gan, on, ton,	kon, kon, gon, on, ton,
nậm, lâm	nan, ran	nan, ron
kâm, sâm, lâm	kan, san, ran	kon, san, ron
kăm, yăm, t'ăm, tṣăm, d'zăm	gen, gan, tan, san, zan	gen, gan, ten, zen, zen,
kam, yam, şam	ken, gan, san	ken, gen, sen
kịäm, g'iäm, xiäm, jäm, jiäm,	ken, gen, ken, en, on, ten,	ken, gon, ken, on, on,
tįäm, sįäm, lįäm	sen, ren	ton, sen, ron
k'įvm, ngįvm	ken, gon	ken, gon
kiem, tiem, niem	ken, ten, nen	ken, ten, nen
b'iwom, b'iwom	bon, ban	bon, bon

5. Rimes an etc.

	Ancient Chinese	Kan-on
干 kân	丹 tân	kan, tan
艱 kǎn	山 săn	kan, san
姦 kan	酬 șan	kan, san
怎 k'jän	戰 tśjän 連 ljän	ken, sen, ren
建 kipn		ken
見 kien	天 t'ien	ken, ten
權 g'įwän 元 ngįwon		ku-wan (kan), tan, pan (han) ku-wan (kan) ku-wan (kan), pan (han) ken, sen, sen gen, pen (hen)
玄 yiwen	編 piwen	ken, pen (h e n)

Anc. Chinese â, ă, a are rendered by Kan-on a, and ä, e, v by Kan-on e. Go-on reflects, on the whole, an identical division of the words in phonological categories. It renders the rimes ân (uân), iän (iwän), ien (iwen) in quite the same way as Kan-on (a form like 權 Ach. g'iwän, Go-on gon instead of the gen that one might expect is an exception). For ăn (wăn) and an (wan) with a aigu it regularly has en, e. g. 艱 ken, 閑 ken, 以 sen, 班 pen (h e n). It renders the rime ivn by on: 建 kon etc.; iwvn vacillates between (w)on and (w)an:

Ancient Chinese	Go-on
元 ngịwơn	gu-wan (g a n)
苑 ·įwon	won (o n)
反 piwon	pon (hon) and pan (han)
幡 p'iwon	pon (h o n)

6. Rime im.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

今 kiom 針 tsiom 心 siom 品p'iom kin, sin (shin), sin (shin), pin (hin)

Kan-on regularly has in.

Go-on has on after gutturals: \Leftrightarrow kon etc., and after labials: $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$ pon (h o n) etc., after other initials as a rule in, like Kan-on: $\stackrel{\square}{\iota}$ sin (s h i n) etc.

But here too Dai jirin gives an occasional on not recognized by Dai jiten, e. g. 寒 Ach. ts'iɔm, Go-on Dai jiten sin, Dai jirin son.

7. Rimes on etc.

Ancient Chinese					ninese			Kan-on
斤巾	kən kiən kiğn tşien	眞	tś <u>i</u> ěn	新	sįĕn	民	mįĕn	kon kin kin, sin (s h i n), sin (s h i n), bin sin (shin)
君	k <u>i</u> uən	分	b' i̯uən	文	tuən mịuən dź' ịuĕn			kon, won (o n), ton, bon kun, pun (f u n), bun kin, si-yun (s h u n), sin (s h i n), si-yun
隕	jįwěn							(s h u n) win (i n)

In Kan-on, ∂n is rendered by $\partial n : k\partial n > k\partial n$, and ∂n as well, with ejection of $\partial n : k\partial n > k\partial n$. After $\partial n : k\partial n > k\partial n$, and the triphthong final $\partial n : k\partial n > k\partial n$ is radically contracted to $\partial n : k\partial n > k\partial n$.

ě and ε in the same way are skipped after $i: ki\check{e}n > kin$; but the triphthong final $iu\check{e}n$ is reduced to in after gutturals, to iun (spelled i - y u n) or in after other initials. The triphthong final $iv\check{e}n$ (with short w) is reduced to win (i n).

In Go-on, there are categories corresponding exactly to Anc. Chin. n, un, in. The n, un acre treated just as in Kan-on (根 Go-on kon, 足 kon). The in is always rendered by on: 斤 kon.

For the rest, there is no parallelism between Go-on (Anc. Wu) and Ts'ie yün (Anc. Ch'ang-an) in phonological categories. Moreover, the dictionaries often disagree in regard to the Go-on forms:

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Ts'ie yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
緊 kiěn	kin	kon
ф kjěn	kon	kon
僅 g'iĕn	$oldsymbol{gin}$	gin
銀 ngiĕn	gon	gon
因 'iĕn	in	in
般 'jěn	on	in
均 kiuěn	$m{kin}$	kun
尤 juěn	in	in
君 kiuən	kun	kon
摹 g'iuən	gun	gun
韻 jįuən	won (o n)	
運 jįuən	un	on
云 jium	$\it un$	un
分 b'iuən	bun	bun
文 miuən	mon	mon

No laws of correspondence can be established here.

8. Rimes âng etc.

Ancient Chinese Kan-on

剛 kâng 當 tâng 忙 mâng ka-u (k ō), ta-u (t ō), ba-u (b ō)

疆 kṣiang 章 tśṣiang 相 sṣiang 良 lṣiang ki-ya-u (k y ō), si-ya-u (s h ō), si-ya-u (s h ō), ri-ya-u (r y ō)

光 kwâng N pwâng ku-wa-u (kō), pa-u (hō) 箧 k'iwang 王 jiwang 方 piwang ki-ya-u (kyō), wa-u (ō), pa-u (hō)

u in Kan-on regularly corresponds to Anc. Chinese final ng after a; the a-u has been contracts into \bar{o} in modern Sino-Japanese.

In Go-on the categories are the same, and Ach. ang, wang are rendered by exactly the same finals as in Kan-on. In the rimes Ach. iang, iwang Go-on has skipped the i to a much larger extent than Kan-on, e. g. 疆 ka-u (kō), 牆 (Ach. dz'iang) za-u (zō), 相 sa-u (sō), 爸 ka-u (kō).

9. Rimes ang etc.

	Ancient Chinese	Kan-on
 基 kəng 兢 kiəng	登 təng 崩 pəng 蒸 tśiəng 冰 piəng	ko - u (k \bar{o}), to - u (t \bar{o}), po - u (h \bar{o}) ki - yo - u (k y \bar{o}), si - yo - u (s h \bar{o}), pi - yo - u
肱 kwane	a	(h y ō) <i>ko-u</i> (k ō)

Kan-on renders \mathfrak{d} by o, as in earlier groups. After \mathfrak{d} (S. J. o) the ng is rendered by u. And o-u is contracted into modern \bar{o} .

Go-on has the same renderings as Kan-on (ko-u etc.). Yet in the $i \ni ng$ rime it sometimes skips the i which Kan-on renders: \mathfrak{P} Ach. $\chi i \ni ng$, Kan-on ki-yo-u (k y \bar{o}), Go-on ko-u (k \bar{o}); k Ach. $i \ni ng$, Kan-on i-yo-u (y \bar{o}), Go-on o-u (\bar{o}).

10. Rimes png etc.

```
庚 kvng生 ṣvng猛 mmgka-u (kō), sei, ba-u (bō)耕 keng爭 tṣeng萌 mengka-u (kō), sa-u (sō), ba-u (bō)輕 k'iang征 tśiang, 淸 ts'iangkei, sei, sei, bei京 kivngkei樫 kieng丁 tieng冥 miengkei, tei, bei
```

After S. J. a the Ach. ng was rendered by u, as in earlier groups, after the S. J. palatal vowel e it was rendered by i. And a-u has been contracted into \bar{o} .

Kan-on renders \ddot{a} and e by e, as in earlier groups. It makes no difference between p (Engl. b u t) and e (Engl. b a d); they are both open vowels, akin to a, and when not preceded by i Kan-on renders them both by a: knng > ka-u, keng > ka-u, etc. — yet with a certain vacillation in the direction of e: $\nleq spng > sei$; after i the p is rendered by e: kipng > kei.

Go-on differs radically from Kan-on in this group. It has i-ya-u (y \bar{o}) throughout all these rimes. The type words of our table above are in Go-on:

Ts'ie yün	Go-on
kong, song, mong	ki - ya - u (k y $\bar{0}$), si - ya - u (s h $\bar{0}$), mi - ya - u (m y $\bar{0}$)
keng, tṣeng, meng	ki-ya-u (k y ō), $si-ya-u$ (s h ō), $mi-ya-u$ (m y ō)
k'įäng, tśįäng, ts'įäng,	ki - ya - u (k y $\bar{0}$), si - ya - u (s h $\bar{0}$), si - ya - u (s h $\bar{0}$)
m <u>i</u> äng	mi - ya - u (m y $ar{ ext{o}}$)
$k \dot{p} n g$	ki - ya - u (k y $\bar{0}$)
kieng, tieng, mieng	ki-ya-u (k y ō), $ti-ya-u$ (c h ō), $mi-ya-u$ (m y ō)

In the corresponding categories with w the laws are quite the same, except that Go-on has no parasitic i in the first two rimes:

Ancient Chinese:	Kan-on:	Go-on:
横 ywong	ku - wa - u (k \bar{o})	wa-u (ō)
宏 γweng	ku - wa - u (k \bar{o})	$gu ext{-}wa ext{-}u$ (g $ar{ ext{o}}$)
傾 k'iwäng	kei	ki - ya - u (k y $ar{ ext{o}}$)
兄 ziwong 兵 piwong	kei, pei (h e i)	ki - ya - u (k y \bar{o}), pi - ya - u (h y \bar{o})
養 yiweng	kei	gi - ya - u (g y \bar{o})

11. Rime ång.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

江 kảng 雙 sảng 邦 pảng ka-u (k ō), sa-u (s ō), pa-u (h ō)

The a, an open vowel midway between o and a, is rendered by a in the Kan-on, and after this a, as usual, ng is rendered by u.

In regard to the Go-on the sources do not agree. The Dai jiten gives a-u (\bar{o}) throughout, just as in Kan-on; thus our type words above are:

ka-u (k \bar{o}), sa-u (s \bar{o}), pa-u (h \bar{o}).

The Dai jirin, on the contrary, gives o-u (\bar{o}) in all words of this rime; our type words are given as:

ko-u (k \bar{o}), so-u (s \bar{o}), po-u (h \bar{o}).

Another great dictionary, the Jigen, confirms the Dai jirin, in that it has o-u regularly for all words of the Anc. Chin. and rime. Indeed, the Go-on o vocalism here is highly significant and important in determining the Anc. Chinese value of the rime II.

12. Rimes ung etc.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

I kung	東 tung	掌 mung	ko - u (k \bar{o}), to - u (t \bar{o}), bo - u (b \bar{o})
度 nuong	冬 tuong		$do-u$ (d \bar{o}), $to-u$ (t \bar{o})
弓 kɨung	中 tjung	風 pjung	ki - yu - u (k y \bar{u}), ti - yu - u (c h \bar{u}), pu - u (f \bar{u})
恭 kiwong	鍾 tiwong	封 piwong	ki -yo- u (k y \bar{o}), si -yo- u (s h \bar{o}), po - u (h \bar{o})
(弓 and	中 are sp	pelled ki-yu-u ar	nd ti-yu-u in Dai jiten, ki-u and ti-u in Dai
ii ri n).	_		

After the velar S. J. vowels o and u the final ng was rendered by u.

The difference between the first two Ts'ie yün rimes, ung and uong, is not reflected in Kan-on. This might be explained in two ways. Either the Northern Chinese on which the Kan-on was based was really different from the Ch'ang-an language on this isolated point, the first of our two rimes here: kong, tong, mong etc.; this explanation offers the difficulty that we know historically that the Kan-on was essentially an outcome of the close relations between Japan and this very Ch'ang-an, capital of the T'ang. Or else it might be that the articulation of the velar u in the final ung was somewhat slack, with a not very high and close velar articulation, and a not very energetic rounding of the lips, something like German

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u in drucken. This vowel, acoustically sintermediate between u and o, may have given to foreign ears the impression of being rather an o than a u, especially in contrast to the u of \vec{r} kiung (with a higher-backed and more advanced tongue articulation), and therefore rendered by o: ko/ung > ko-u.

In the remaining two rimes, jung and juong Kan-on faithfully reflects Ancient Chinese. In modern times o-u has been contracted into \bar{o} .

In this group Go-on has not the same division in phonological categories as the Ts'ie yün. The words of this entire group mostly appear with the Go-on final u. Our type words in the table above will therefore be:

Ts'ie yün	Go-on		
kung, tung, mung	ku, tu (t s u), mo-u (m ō)		
nuong, tuong	nu, tu (tsu)		
kiung, tiung, piung	ku, ti - yu (c h u), pu (f u)		
kįwong, tsiwong, piwong	ku, si - yu (s h u), pu (f u)		

13. Rimes uo etc.

Ancient Chinese			$\mathbf{Kan} ext{-}\mathbf{on}$
古 kuo	鳥 'uo 都 tuo	鋪 p'uo	ko, wo (0), to, po (h 0)
居 kįwo	諸 tśiwo 胥 siwo		ki-yo (kyo), si -yo (sho), si -yo (sho)
其 kju	朱 tśju 須 sju	夫 pju	ku, $si-yu$ (shu), $si-yu$ (shu), pu (fu)

Kan-on very faithfully reflects the Anc. Chinese of Ch'ang-an.

Go-on mostly has u in the words of the first Ts'ie yün rime (uo): the type words above are Go-on ku, u, tu (t s u), pu (f u); but after m there is an occasional o: 模 Ach. muo, Go-on mo.

In the words of the second Ts'ie yün rime (iwo) Go-on has o as principal vowel, just like Kan-on, but it skips the medial i to a larger extent: 居 ko, 晋 so.

In the words of the third Ts'ie yün rime (iu) the Dai jiten regularly gives Go-on u, as in Kan-on, though with a stronger tendency to skip the medial i (e. g. \Re su, etc.). But according to the Dai jirin this u of Go-on regularly pertains only to the words with S. J. dental initials; it gives o regularly after gutturals (and in words of type Ach. jiu), and occasionally (but not regularly) after labials, e. g.:

Ts'ie	yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
拘	kįu	ku	ko
驅	k' įu	ku	ko
懼	g ' $\dot{y}u$	gu	go
懋	ngiu	gu	go
羽	jįu	\boldsymbol{u}	wo (o)
甫	piu	pu (f u)	<i>po</i> (h o)
敷	p' iu	pu (f u)	<i>po</i> (h o)
附	b'ju	bu	bo

14. Rimes du etc.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

• •	刀 tâu 毛 mâu 爪 tṣau 飽 pau	$ka-u$ (k \bar{o}), $ta-u$ (t \bar{o}), $ba-u$ (b \bar{o}) $ka-u$ (k \bar{o}), $sa-u$ (s \bar{o}), $pa-u$ (h \bar{o})
	昭 tśjäu 苗 mjäu	ke-u (k y \bar{o}), se-u (s h \bar{o}), be-u (b y \bar{o}) ke-u (k y \bar{o}), te-u (c h \bar{o})

Kan-on, as usual, reproduces Anc. \hat{a} and a by a, \ddot{a} and e by e. In modern Japanese eu has become $i\bar{o}$.

Go-on, which agrees with Kan-on in the first, third and fourth rimes, has e-u not only for the third and fourth but also for the second: 交 ke-u (k y ō), 爪 se-u (s h ō), 飽 pe-u (h y ō).

15. Rimes qu etc.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

鉤k		d'ąu			u (k ō),	to-u	(t ō)		
鸠 k	igu 周	tśżzu	秀 8	nizu ki-	u (kyū), si - u	(s h ū),	si- u	(s h ū),
f	f pįzu				pu- u (f	ū)			

Go-on as a rule has the final u in the whole of this group: 鉤 ku, 頭 du (d z u), 鳩 ku, 周 si-yu (s h u) etc.

16. Rimes $\hat{q}p$ etc.

	A	\ncie	ent Chi	nese)	Kan-on
合	γập	納	nập	答	tập	$ka-pu$ (k \bar{o}), $da-pu$ (d \bar{o}), $ta-pu$ (t \bar{o})
查	$\gamma \hat{a} p$	蠟	lâp	塔	$t'\hat{a}p$	ka-pu (k ō), ra-pu (r ō), ta-pu (t ō)
祫	kăp	插	tș'ăp	•		ka - pu (k \bar{o}), sa - pu (s \bar{o})
甲	kap	鴨	$\dot{a}p$			ka - pu (k $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$), a - pu ($\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)
葉	į äp	摺	tś <u>i</u> äp	獵	lįäp	e-pu (y ō), sepu (s h ō), re-pu (r y ō)
劫	kįvp					ke - pu (k y $ar{ ext{o}}$)
協	yiep	帖	t'iep			$ke-pu$ (k y $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$), $te-pu$ (c h $\bar{\mathrm{o}}$)
法	piwpp					$pa extsf{-}pu$ (h $ar{ extsf{o}}$)

The modern forms have deviated very far from their Anc. Chinese prototypes, but there is a logical and strict system in the changes.

Sino-Japanese had to add the parasitic vowel u after the Chinese final p. Kanon rendered \dot{q} , \dot{a} , \dot{a} , a by a, and \ddot{a} , e by e, as in all earlier classes. And just as in the corresponding -m group (4) above, p was rendered by e after \dot{q} ($k\dot{q}pp > ke-pu$) but by a after w ($p\dot{q}wpp > pa-pu$).

The intervocalic p of Sino-Japanese became weakened and gradually disappeared: kapu > kaqu > kauu > kau; kepu > kequ > keu > keu. And then kau was contracted into $k\bar{o}$, and keu became $k\bar{i}\bar{o}$ (k y \bar{o}), exactly as in our 14th group above.

As to the Go-on in this group, the sources disagree widely. Dai jiten gives it as identical with the Kan-on, but for an occasional o-pu (\bar{o}) in the second rime (dp) and a regular o-pu (\bar{o}) in the rimes ipp, iwpp. Dai jirin, on the other hand, has regularly o-pu (\bar{o}) in both the first (dp) and the second (dp) rime, with only an occasional a-pu (\bar{o}). Moreover, for the rimes dp and dp with dp aigu it regularly gives e-pu (p0) just as in the p0 rimes (group 5) and the p0 rimes (p1) above, where p1 aigu was always p2 in Go-on. In the rimes p2 and p3 and p3 and p4 are paid in agrees on the whole with Dai jiten, yet it gives an occasional p2 even in rime p3 and p3.

Our type words of the table above will consequently have the following Go-on forms according to the two sources:

Ts'ie yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
γập, nập, tập	ga - pu (g \bar{o}), na - pu (n \bar{o}), ta - pu (t \bar{o})	go-pu (g ō), na-pu (n ō), to-pu (t ō)
yáp, láp, t'áp	$ga ext{-}pu$ (g $ar{o}$), $ra ext{-}pu$ (r $ar{o}$), $to ext{-}pu$ (t $ar{o}$)	go-pu (g ō), ro-pu (r δ), to-pu (t ō)
kăp, tș'ăp	ka - pu (k \bar{o}), sa - pu (s \bar{o})	ke-pu (k y ō), se-pu (s h ō)
kap , $\cdot ap$	ka - pu (k $\bar{0}$), a - pu ($\bar{0}$)	ke-pu (k y ō), e-pu (y ō)
įäp, tśįäp, lįäp	e - pu (y \bar{o}), se - pu (s h \bar{o}), re - pu (r y \bar{o})	e-pu (y ō), se-pu (s h ō), ro-pu (r ō)
kįvp	ko-pu (k ō)	ko-pu (k ō)
γiep, t'iep piwpp	ge-pu (g y ō), te-pu (c h ō) po-pu (h ō)	ge-pu (g y ō), de-pu (j ō) po-pu (h ō)

17. Rimes at etc.

	And	eient	Chir	ese				K	an-on		
萬	kât	達	d'ât			ka- tu	(katsu),	ta-tu	(tatsu)		
轄	γăt					ka- tu	(katsu)				
戛	kat	殺	șat			ka- tu	(katsu),	sa-tu	(satsu)		
傑	g' <u>i</u> ät	折	tśįät	滅	mįät	ke- tu	(ketsu),	se- tu	(setsu),	be- tu	(betsu)
詽	kįpt	歇	χįvt			ke- tu	(ketsu),	ke- tu	(ketsu)		
結	kiet	鐵	t'iet			ke- tu	(ketsu),	te- tu	(tetsu)		

Kan-on reflects Ancient Chinese very faithfully, conforming to the same simple laws of reduction described in the corresponding n group (5) above.

Go-on deviates from the Kan-on on one very important point: the enclitic vowel is not u but i.

For the rest, according to the Dai jiten, it agrees perfectly with the Kan-on. The Dai jirin, on the other hand, regularly renders the a aigu (kat, kat etc.) by e,

as in many earlier groups, and moreover often has o-ti in words of the rime int. Our type words of the table above in the forms of the two dictionaries will thus be:

Ts'ie yün	Dai jiten	Dai jirin
kât, d'ât	ka-ti (k a c h i), da-ti (d a c h i)	ka-ti (kachi), da -ti (dachi)
γăt	ka-ti (kachi)	ge-ti (g e c h i)
kat, şat	ka-ti (k a c h i), sa-ti (s a c h i)	ke-ti (k e c h i), se-ti (s e c h i)
g'iät, tsiät, miät	ge-ti (gechi), $se-ti$ (sechi), $me-ti$ (mechi)	ge-ti (gechi), $se-ti$ (sechi), $me-ti$ (mechi)
kipt, zipt	ke-ti (k e c h i), ke-ti (k e c h i)	ke-ti (k e c h i), ko-ti (k o c h i)
kiet, t'iet	ke-ti (kechi), $te-ti$ (techi)	ke-ti (kechi), $te-ti$ (techi)

We shall now revert to the Kan-on, in order to study the corresponding words with medial w.

	An	cient Chine	98e	Kan-on
括	kuât	脱 t'uât	末 muât	ku-wa-tu (katsu), ta-tu (tatsu), ba-tu (batsu)
刮	kwăt			ku- wa - tu (katsu)
滑	γwat	刷 șwat	八 pwat	ku-wa-tu (katsu), sa-tu (satsu), pa-tu (hatsu)
悅	įwät	拙 tśiwät	雪 sįwät	e- tu (e t s u), se - tu (s e t s u), se - tu (s e t s u)
蕨	kįwot	發 piwot		ke-tu (ketsu), pa -tu (hatsu)
決	kiwet			ke-tu (ketsu)

In Kan-on the system is quite the same as in the group without w, but for the rime iwnt, which is divided between e and a according to the initials.

As to the Go-on, there is the same discrepancy between our two principal dictionaries as in the words without w above; our type words will be:

Ts'ie yün	Dai jiten	Dai jirin
kuất, t'uất, muất	ku-wa-ti (kachi), ta-ti (tachi), ma-ti (machi)	ku- wa - ti (kachi), da - ti (dachi)
kwăt	ku-wa-ti (kachi)	ke-ti (kechi)
ywat, șwat, pwat	gu- wa - ti (g a c h i), sa - ti (s a c h i), pa - ti (h a c h i)	ge-ti (g e c h i), se-ti (s e - c h i), pa-ti (h a c h i)
įwät, tsįwät, sįwät	e- ti (e c h i), se - ti (s e c h i), se - ti (s e c h i)	e- ti (e c h i), se - ti (s e c h i) se - ti (s e c h i)
kiwot, piwot	ku- wa - ti (k a c h i), po - ti (h o c h i)	ku-wa-ti (k a c h i), po-ti (h o c h i)
kiwet	ke-ti (kechi)	ke-ti (k e c h i)

18. Rime *ipp*.

Ancient Chinese

Kan-on

急
$$ki \rightarrow p$$
, 泣 $k'i \rightarrow p$, 邑 $i \rightarrow p$, $ki - pu$ (k y $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$), $ki - pu$ (k y $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$), $i - pu$ (y $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$)
數 $t \acute{s} i \rightarrow p$ $\dot{s} i - pu$ (s h $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$), $ri - pu$ (r y $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$).

The final *i-pu* has undergone exactly the same change as a-pu studied in group 16 above: kipu > kivu > kivu > kiu, and this kiu, in accordance with what we have witnessed in group 15, regularly gives modern ky \bar{u} .

Go-on, according to Dai jiten, has exactly the same readings as Kan-on. But Dai jirin gives Go-on o-pu (5) for most of the words with guttural and laryngal initials; our type words above, according to that source, will be:

Ts'ie yün Dai jirin $ki \ni p, \ k'i \ni p, \ 'i \ni p, \ t \not s i \ni p, \ li \ni p \ ko-pu \ (k \ \bar{o}), \ ko-pu \ (k \ \bar{o}), \ o-pu \ (\bar{o}), \ si-pu, \ (s \ h \ \bar{u}), \ ri-pu \ (r \ y \ \bar{u})$

19. Rimes ist etc.

Ancient Chinese						Kan-on		
吉	kįət kįĕt sįet	賞	tśįĕt	悉	pįĕt	ki-tu (kitsu) ki-tu (kitsu), si-tu (shitsu), pi-tu (hitsu) si-tu (shitsu)		
屈	kuət k'iuət kiuĕt	弗	muət p <u>i</u> uət t\$`juĕt		mįuət l <u>i</u> uĕt	ko-tu (kotsu), $bo-tu$ (botsu) ku-tu (kutsu), $pu-tu$ (futsu), $bu-tu$ (butsu) ki-tu (kitsu), $si-yu-tu$ (shutsu), $ri-tu$ (ritsu)		

The laws are here exactly the same as in the corresponding n class (7) above: v is rendered by Kan-on v, the v being skipped in rime v > v. In v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v. In v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v. In v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v. In v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v. In v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v, v > v. In v > v, v >

Go-on generally has the same phonological categories as Ts'ie yün, and in most rimes renders them in quite the same way as the Kan-on, but for the enclitic i instead of the u of the Kan-on. Different from the vocalism of Kan-on are the rimes $i \not i t$, rendered by $o \cdot t i$, and $i u \not i t$, rendered by $u \cdot t i$ or $o \cdot t i$. Our type words above will thus be:

Ts'ie yün	Go-on			
kįjət	ko-ti (k o c h i)			
kiĕt, tśiĕt, piĕt	ki-ti (kichi), si-ti (shichi), pi-ti (hichi)			
șiet	si-ti (s h i c h i)			
kuət, muət	ko-ti (k o c h i), $mo-ti$ (m o c h i)			
k'juət, pjuət, mjuət	ku-ti (kuchi), pu-ti (fuchi), mo-ti (mochi)			
kiuět, ts'iuět, liuět	ki-ti (kichi), si-yu-ti (shuchi), ri-ti (richi)			

All this according to Dai jiten. Dai jirin agrees with it on every point, with one important exception: in rime iuv it gives o-ti throughout (屈 ko-ti [k o c h i], 弗 po-ti [h o c h i]).

20. Rimes $\hat{a}k$ etc.

Ancient Chinese Kan-on 各 kâk 鐸 d'âk ka-ku, ta-ku, pa-ku (haku) 博 pâk 脚 kjak 酌 tśjak 略 ljak ki-ya-ku (k y a k u), si-ya-ku (s h a k u), ri-ya-ku, (ryaku) 郭 kwâk ku-wa-ku (kaku) 👺 kiwak 縛 piwak ki-ya-ku (k y a k u), pa-ku (h a k u)

Kan-on reflects Ancient Chinese quite faithfully. Go-on renders âk, wâk in the same way as Kan-on, but in jak the j is skipped to a much larger extent: 脚 ka-ku, 衛 (Ach. tsjak, Kan-on si-ya-ku) sa-ku etc.

21. Rimes ak etc.

Ancient Chinese	Kan-on
刻 k'ək 得 tək 墨 mək 極 g'iək 職 tśiək 卽 tsiək	ko-ku, to-ku, bo-ku ki-yo-ku (k y o k u), si-yo-ku (s h o k u), si-yo-ku
力ljək	(shoku), ri-yo-ku (ryoku)
kwək	ko-ku
域 jiwak	yo-ku

As in earlier groups, Kan-on regularly renders \mathfrak{d} by \mathfrak{o} . Go-on has the same finals as Kan-on in the rimes $\mathfrak{d} k$, $w\mathfrak{d} k$. In the rime $\mathfrak{d} k$ it either skips the \mathfrak{d} and renders the rime by $\mathfrak{o} ku$, or it skips the \mathfrak{d} and renders it by $\mathfrak{d} ki$. After gutturals Go-on regularly has $\mathfrak{o} ku$; after other initials it vacillates between $\mathfrak{o} ku$ and $\mathfrak{d} ki$. Thus our type words above will be:

Ts'ie yün	Go-on
kək, tək, mək	ko-ku, to-ku, mo-ku
g'jək, tśjək, tsjək, ljək	go-ku, si-ki (shiki), si-ki (shiki), ri-ki
kwak	ko- ku
jįwak	wi-ki (i k i)

This is according to the Dai jiten. The Dai jirin, however, gives oki after gutturals, e. g. 極 go-ki etc.



22. Rimes vk etc.

Ancient Chinese	Kan-on
格 kok 宅 d'ok 百 pok	ka-ku, ta-ku, pa-ku, (haku)
革 kek 🍵 tṣek	ka-ku, sa-ku
盆 jäk 隻 tśjäk 碧 pjäk	e- ki , se - ki , pe - ki (h e k i)
逆 ngịvk	ge-ki
擊 kiek, 谪 tiek	ke-ki, te-ki
🗱 kwok	ku-wa-ku (kaku)
畫 ywek	ku- wa - ku (kaku)
與 kiwek	ke-ki

The parallelism with the corresponding group ending in ng (ng etc., 10 above) is perfect. The n (Engl. but) and ϵ (Engl. bad) are both rendered by Kan-on a, the former, however, by e after i (ngink > geki). Anc. Chinese \ddot{a} and e are both rendered by Kan-on e, as usual. After a, the enclitic vowel is u, after the palatal e it is i.

Go-on, here as in the ng group, has no categories corresponding to the Ts'ie yün rimes. It renders all the words of this group by iaku. Our type words above will thus be in Go-on:

```
Ts'ie yün
                      Go-on
kok, d'ok, pok
                 ki-ya-ku (kyaku), di-ya-ku (jaku), pi-ya-ku (hyaku)
kek, tşek
                 ki-ya-ku (kyaku), si-ya-ku (shaku)
·jäk, tśjäk, pjäk
                 ya-ku, si-ya-ku (shaku), pi-ya-ku (hyaku)
ngipk
                 gi-ya-ku (gyaku)
kiek, tiek
                 ki-ya-ku (k y a k u),
                                      ti-ya-ku (chaku)
kwpk
                 ku-wa-ku (kaku)
vw \varepsilon k
                 gi-ya-ku (gyaku)
                 ki-ya-ku (kyaku)
kiwek
```

Here, just as in the ng group, the Anc. Wu has evidently acquired a parasitic i before v and ε : kvk, $k\varepsilon k > kivk$, $ki\varepsilon k$, and $ki\ddot{a}k$, $ki\varepsilon k$ have become kiak through differentiation.

23. Rime dk.

A -- - : - -- A Obin -- -

	Ancien	Ran-on						
角kåk	嶽 ngàk	駁 påk	捉 șâk	ka-ku,	ga- ku ,	sa- ku ,	pa- ku	(haku)

The open d (sintermediate between a and os) is rendered by a, as in the corresponding ng group above (11), in Kan-on.

Go-on agrees with Kan-on, according to the Dai jiten. The Dai jirin, however, gives oku in the great majority of cases, e. g. our type words above: ko-ku, go-ku, so-ku, po-ku (h o k u).

24. Rimes uk etc.

Ancient Chinese					ninese		Kan-on		
酷	kuk k'uok kiuk	篤		僕	puk b'uok tšįuk	ha lisub	ko-ku, ro-ku, po-ku (hoku) ko-ku, to-ku, po-ku (hoku) ki-ku, ti-ku (chiku), si-yu-ku (shu-		
75)	•				司 mjuk		ku), ri - ku (e if ku), si - yu - ku (s if u), pu - ku (f u k u), bo - ku		
曲	k'iwok	欲	iwok	燭	tśiwok J	Ł tsiwok	ki-yo-ku (kyoku), yo-ku, si-yo-ku (shoku), si-yo-ku (shoku)		

This forms the -k counterpart to the -ng group 12 above. There we remarked that the fact that Ts'ie yün kung, tung etc. was rendered by Kan-on ko-u, to-u etc. might be explained by a slack and comparatively low articulation of the u in Anc. Ch'ang-an: ku/ong, tu/ong. The same applies here to the parallel phenomenon: Ts'ie yün kuk rendered by Kan-on ko-ku.

In regard to the rime iuk we should observe that after gutturals and after S. J. k, t, r the i is rendered and u skipped: kiuk > kiku, liuk > riku, but otherwise it is preserved. It is very curious that all words Ach. miuk are boku in Kan-on.

Go-on agrees entirely with Kan-on in regard to the rimes uk and uok. The same is true of the principal vowel, o, in rime iwok, but Go-on regularly skips the i, except at the beginning of a word (our type words above: ko-ku, yo-ku, so-ku, so-ku).

The Anc. Wu evidently had no category directly corresponding with Anc. Chin. iuk, for the words of the Ts'ie yün rime iuk appear in Go-on now with iku, now with uku, now with oku, without any strict rules; moreover the principal dictionaries strongly disagree as to the true Go-on readings in these words:

Ts'ie	yün:	Dai jiten:	Dai jirin:
菊	kįuk	ki-ku	ko- ku
竹	tjuk	to-ku	to- ku
	\hat{t} 'iuk	ti-ku (chiku)	to- ku
逐	d'iuk	di- ku (jiku)	di- ku (jiku)
祝	tśjuk	si-yu-ku (shuku)	so- ku
叔	śjuk	si-yu-ku (shuku)	so-ku
裀	źįuk	si-yu-ku (shuku)	zi- yu - ku (juku)
肉	ńżjuk	ni- ku	ni- ku
陸	ljuk	ro-ku	ro- ku
蕭	siuk ,	si-yu-ku (shuku)	so-ku
褔	piuk	po-ku (hoku)	po-ku (hoku)
覆	p'iuk	pu- ku (fuku)	po-ku (hoku)
服	b'iuk	bu- ku	bo-ku
目	mįuk	mo- ku	mo- ku

THE RIMES OF THE SHÏ KING.

In this chapter I give the rime words of the Shī songs transcribed in Peking Mandarin, with their reconstructed Archaic readings in parenthesis. Strictly, these latter forms should all be marked by an asterisk: k'iu (*g'i0g) etc., but having once pointed out this here, I deem it unnecessary to repeat all these asterisks; the reader must remember that in spite of the absence of asterisks, the forms in parenthesis are not, in this special chapter, those of Ancient Chinese (Ts'ie yün) but of Archaic Chinese, the language of the epoch when the Shī odes were composed.

In the main, I follow the Mao version of the Shī. Only in a few cases, where the Mao version has an obviously wrong rime character, whereas one of the other versions (Han, Lu and Ts'i versions) has a character which gives a satisfactory rime, have I substituted this latter variant; such substitutions will always be registered.

The question which are the riming words in each ode has been much discussed by Chinese authors. In most cases I have followed the system of Tuan Yü-ts'ai, which is conveniently registered for the benefit of Western students by Legge in his Shī king edition, where he gives Tuan's rime list after each ode. In some cases I have deviated from Tuan, preferring the scheme proposed by Wang Niensun or by Kiang Yu-kao. Though I do not reproduce the Chineses characters here, any reader who has the ode text at hand, will always easily recognize which words I register as rime words. For the riming words in ten odes of the Sung section, which are much more free and less strict than in Kuo feng, Siao ya and Ta ya, I refer to my article: The rimes in the Sung section of the Shī king (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1935). The rimes of these ten odes (Ts'ing miao, Wei t'ien chī ming, Wei ts'ing, Lie wen, T'ien tso, Hao t'ien yu ch'eng ming, Wo tsiang, Ch'en kung, Fang lo, Huan) fully treated there I shall not repeat here.

CHOU NAN.

- K u a n t s'ü: 1. kiu $(ki\hat{o}g)$: chou $(\hat{t}i\hat{o}g)$: k'iu $(g'i\hat{o}g)$. 2. liu $(li\hat{o}g)$: k'iu $(g'i\hat{o}g)$; tê $(t\partial k)$: fu $(b'i\check{u}k)$: ts'ê $(t\sin{i}k)$. 3. ts'ai $(t\sin{i}k)$: yu $(gi\check{u}g)$; mao (mog): lo $(gl\hat{u}k)$.
- Ko t'an: 1. ku (kuk): mu (muk); ts'i (ts'isr): fei (piwsr): kie (ksr). 2. mo (mak): huo (g'wak): k'i (k'iak): yi (diak). 3. kuei (kiwsr): sī (sisr): yi (isr); fou (piug): mu (msg).
- K ü a n e r: 1. k'uang (k'iwang): hang (g'dng). 2. wei (ngwər): t'uei (d'wər): lei (lwər): huai (g'wɛr). 3. kang (kdng): huang (g'wdng): kuang (kwăng): shang (śiang). 4. ts'ü (ts'io): t'u (d'o): p'u (p'wo): hü (χiwo).
- Kiu mu: 1. lei (liwər): suei (sniwər). 2. huang (χwâng): tsiang (tsiang). 3. jung ('iwĕng): ch'eng (diĕng).

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- C h u n g s \bar{i} : 1. shen $(\hat{x}i\in n)$: chen $(\hat{t}i\ni n)$. 2. hung $(\chi w\ni ng)$: sheng $(\hat{d}'i\ni ng)$. 3. tsi $(tsi\ni p)$: chi $(d'i\ni p)$.
- T' a o y a o : 1. hua (g'wa): kia (ka). 2. shī $(a'i\acute{e}t)$: shī $(\acute{s}i\acute{e}t)$. 3. chen (tsien): jen $(\acute{n}i\acute{e}n)$. T' u t s i e : 1. tsie (tsia): fu (piwo); cheng (teng): cheng (dieng). 2. k'uei (g'iweg): k'iu
- $(g'i\hat{o}g)$. 3. $\lim_{n \to \infty} (liom)$: $\sin_n(siom)$.
- Fou yî: 1. ts'ai (ts'ag): yu (giŭg). 2. to (tuât): lo (lwât). 3. kie (kiet): hie (g'iet).
- Han kuang: 1. hiu $(\chi_i \hat{o}g)$: k'iu $(g'_i \hat{o}g)$; kuang $(kw\hat{a}ng)$: yung $(g_iw\hat{a}ng)$: yung $(g_iw\hat{a}ng)$: fang (p_iwang) . 2. ch'u $(t_i\hat{o})$: ma $(m\hat{a})$. 3. lü (gliu): kü (kiu).
- Ju fen: 1. mei (mwar): ki $(ki\epsilon r)$. 2. yi (diad): k'i $(k'i\epsilon d)$. 3. wei (miwar): huei $(\chi iw \tilde{\alpha}r)$: huei $(\chi iw \tilde{\alpha}r)$: er $(ni\tilde{\alpha}r)$.
- Lin chī chī chī chī chī ($\hat{t}_i \ni g$): tsī ($ts_i \ni g$). 2. ting (tieng): sing ($s_i \not \in ng$). 3. küe ($k \not i k$): tsu (dz'uk).

SHAO NAN.

- Ts' ü e ch' a o: 1. kü (kio): ya (ngå). 2. fang (piwang): tsiang (tsiang). 3. ying (diĕng): ch'eng (diĕng).
- 'T s' a i f a n : 1. chi $(\tilde{t}i\partial g)$: shi $(dz'i\partial g)$. 2. chung $(ti\hat{o}ng)$: kung $(ki\hat{o}ng)$. 3. t'ung (d'ung): kung (kung); k'i (g'ier): kuei $(kiw\partial r)$.
- Ts' a o ch' ung: 1. ch'ung (d'iông): chung (tiông): ch'ung (t'iông): hiang (g'ông).

 2. küe (kiwāt): cho (tiwat): yüe (diwat). 3. wei (miwər): pei (piər): yi (diər).
- T s' a i p' i n : 1. p'in $(b'i\tilde{e}n)$: pin $(pi\tilde{e}n)$; tsao (tsog): lao (log). 2. kü (klio): fu (b'iwo).

 3. hia (g'a): nü (nio).
- Kan t'ang: 1. fa (b'iwat): po (b'wat). 2. pai (b'wad): k'i (k'iad). 3. pai (pwad): shuei (siwad).
- Hinglu: 1. lu (glâg): ye (ziag): lu (glâg). 2. küe (kŭk): wu ('uk): yü (ngiuk): yü (ngiuk): tsu (tsiuk). 3. ya (ngâ): kia (kâ); yung (diung): sung (dziung): sung (dziung): t'sung (dz'iung).
- K a o y a n g: 1. p'i (b'ia): t'o (d'â): yi (dia). 2. ko (kɛk): hü ($\chi_i^*w > k$): shī (d'i > k). 3. feng (b'iung): tsung (tsung): kung (kung).
- Y in k'i le i: 1. yang (diang): huang (g'wâng); tsī (tsiəg): tsai (tsəg). 2. ts'ê (tṣiək): si (siək). 3. hia (g'à): ch'u (\hat{t} 'io).
- Piao yu mei: 1. ts'i (ts'iĕt): ki (kiĕt). 2. san (səm): kin (kiəm). 3. hi (χiəd): wei (giwəd).
- Siaosing: 1. sing (sieng): cheng ($\hat{t}i\check{e}ng$); tung (tung): kung (kung): t'ung (d'ung). 2. mao ($m\hat{o}g$): ch'ou ($d'i\hat{o}g$): yu ($zi\hat{o}g$).
- Kiang yu sī: 1. sī $(dz_i g)$: yi $(z_i g)$: yi $(z_i g)$: huei (χmwg) . 2. chu $(\hat{t}_i o)$: yü $(z_i o)$: yü $(z_i o)$: kuo $(kw\hat{a})$: kuo $(kw\hat{a})$: kuo $(kw\hat{a})$: kuo $(kw\hat{a})$:
- Ye yu sĩ kün: l. kün (kiwen): ch'un $(\hat{t}'iwen)$; pao $(p\hat{q}g)$: yu $(zi\hat{q}g)$. 2. su (suk): lu (luk): shu (siuk): yü (ngiuk). 3. t'uei $(t'w\hat{a}d)$: shuei (siwad): fei (b'iwad).
- Ho pinung yi: 1. hua (g'wa): kü (kio). 2. li (liog): tsī (tsiog); 3. min (mion): sun (swon).
- **T** s o u y \ddot{u} : 1. kia $(k\dot{a})$: pa $(p\dot{a})$; hu (g'o): y \ddot{u} $(ng\dot{u}wo)$. 2. p'eng (b'ung): tsung (tsung); hu (g'o): y \ddot{u} $(ng\dot{u}wo)$.

PEI FENG.

Po chou: 1. chou (tiôg): liu (liôg): yu (iôg): tsiu (tsiôg): yu (diôg). 2. ju (nio): nu (no); kü (kiwag): su (sâg). 3. shī (diāk): si (dziāk); chuan (tiwan): küan (kiwan): süan (siwan). 4. ts'iao (ts'iog): siao (siog): shao (siog): piao (b'iog). 5. wei (miwar): yi (ior): fei (piwar).

- L ü y i : 1. li (ligg): yi (zigg). 2. shang ($\overline{d}iang$): wang (miwang). 3. sī (sigg): ch'ī ($\overline{d'}igg$): yu (giug). 4. feng (pium): sin (sigm).
- Yen yen: 1. yü (g_iwo) : ye (did): yü (g_iwo) . 2. hang (g'ang): tsiang (tsiang); ki (g'ipp): k'i (k'lipp). 3. yin (ipm): nan (npm): sin (sipm). 4. yüan (iwen): shen (sien): jen (nien).
- Jī yüe: 1. t'u (t'o): ch'u (\hat{t} 'io): ku (ko). 2. mao (môg): hao (χ 0g): pao (χ 0g). 3. fang (χ 1giwang): liang (χ 2giwang): wang (χ 2giwang). 4. ch'u (χ 2giwat): tsu (χ 2giwat): shu (χ 2giwat):
- Chung feng: 1. pao (b'og): siao (siog): ao (ngog): tao (d'og). 2. mai (mleg): lai (ləg): sī (siəg). 3. yi ('ied): yi ('ied): ti (tied). 4. lei (lwər): huai (g'wer).
- Ki ku: 1. t'ang (t'âng): ping (piặng): hing (g'ặng). 2. chung (d'iông): sung (sông): ch'ung (t'iông). 3. ch'u (t'iô): ma (må): hia (g'å). 4. k'o (k'wât): yüe (diwat); shou (śiôg): lao (lôg). 5. k'o (k'wât): huo (g'wât); sün (siwĕn): shen (śiĕn).
- K' a i f e n g: 1. nan $(n \ni m)$: sin $(s \ni m)$; yao $(s \ni m)$: lao (log). 2. sin $(s \ni m)$: jen $(n \ni m)$. 3. hia $(g \circ a)$: k'u (k'o). 4. yin $(s \ni m)$: sin $(s \ni m)$.
- Hiung chī: yü (g_iwo) : tsu (tsio). 2. yin (iom): sin (siom). 3. sī (siog): lai (log). 4. hing (g'ang): tsang (tsang).
- Pao yu k'u ye: 1. ye (diap): shê (diap); li (liad): k'i (k'iad). 2. ying (diĕng): ming (miĕng); kuei (kiwəg): mu (môg). 3. yen (ngan): tan (tân): p'an (p'wân). 4. tsī (tsiəg): fou (piŭg): fou (piŭg): yu (giŭg).
- K u f e n g: 1. feng (pium): sin (sipm); yü (giwo): nu (no); fei (p'iwor): t'i (l'lior): wei (giwor): sī (sipr). 2. ch'ī (d'ior): wei (giwor): k'i (g'ior): tsi (dz'ior): ti (d'ior). 3. chī (lion): yi (ziog); kou (ku): hou (g'u). 4. chou (lion): yu (diog): k'iu (g'iog): kiu (kiog); wang (miwang): sang (sang). 5. hü (χiok) : ch'ou (diog): shou (diog): kü (kiok): fu (p'iok): yü (diok): tu (d'ok). 6. tung (long): k'iung (g'iong); huei (g'wod): yi (diod): hi (χiod) .
- Shī wei: 1. wei (miw): kuei (kiw); ku (ko): lu (glag) glo). 2. kung (kio): chung (tio).
- Mao k'iu: 1. tsie (tsiet): jī (ńįėt). 2. ch'u (\hat{t} 'io): yū (zio); kiu (kiŭg): yi (ziog). 3. jung (ńįông): tung (tung): t'ung (d'ung). 4. tsī (tsiog): er (ńįog).
- Kien hi: 1. wu (miwo): ch'u (t'io). 2. yü (ngiwo): wu (miwo): hu (χο): tsu (tso). 3. yüe (diok): ti (d'iok): tsüe (tsiok). 4. chen (tsien): ling, lien (lieng, lien): jen (niĕn).
- Ts' \ddot{u} an shuei: 1. k'i (g'igg): sī (sigg): ki (kigg): mou (miug). 2. tsi (tsigg): (nigg): ti (d'igg): tsī (tsigg). 3. kan (kan): yen (ngiun); hia (g'at): mai (mwad); wei (giwad): hai (g'ad). 4. ts' \ddot{u} an (dz'iwan): t'an (t'an); ts'ao (dz'og): yu (diog): yu (iog).
- Pei men: 1. men (mwən): yin ('iən): p'in (b'iən): kien (kɛn); tsai (tseg): chī (t̄iəg): tsai (tsəg). 2. shī (śiĕk): yi ('iĕk): tsê (d'ĕk). 3. tuei (twər): yi (giwed): ts'uei (dz'wər).
- Pei feng: 1. liang (gliang): fang (p'wâng): hing (g'ăng); yü (zio) or sü (dzio): tsü (tsio). 2. kie (ker): fei (p'iwər): kuei (kiwər). 3. hu (g'wo): wu ('o): kü (kio).
- Tsing nü: 1. ch'u $(\hat{t}'i\hat{u})$: yū (ngiu): ch'u (d'iu). 2. lüan (liwan): kuan (kwan); wei (giwar): t'i (d'iar): mei (miar); yi (giag): yi (diag).
- Sin t'ai: 1, 2. ts'i $(ts'i\sigma r)$: mi $(mi\sigma r)$: ts'uei $(ts'w\sigma r)$: mei $(mw\sigma r)$; sien (sian): t'ien $(d'i\sigma n)$. 3. li (lia): shī (sia).
- Er tsī ch'eng chou: 1. king (kiặng): yang (ziang). 2. shī (diad): hai (g'âd).

YUNG FENG.

- Po chou: 1. chou $(\hat{t}iog)$: mao (mog); ho $(g'\hat{a})$: yi (ngia): t'o $(t'\hat{a})$; t'ien (t'ien): jen $(\hat{n}ien)$.

 2. t'sê (tsiok): t'ê (d'ok): t'ê (d'ok).
- Ts' i ang yu ts' \bar{i} : 1. sao $(s\hat{o}g)$: tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: ch'ou $(\hat{t}'\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$. 2. siang $(s\hat{i}ang)$: siang $(dz\hat{i}ang)$: siang $(dz\hat{i}ang)$: ch'ang $(d'\hat{i}ang)$. 3. shu $(\hat{s}iuk)$: tu (d'uk): ju $(\hat{n}iuk)$.

- K ü n tsī kie lao: l. kia (ka): t'o $(d^2\hat{a})$: ho $(g^2\hat{a})$: yi (ngia): ho $(g^2\hat{a})$. 2. ti (d^2iok) : ti (d^2ieg) : t'i (t^2ieg) : si (siek): ti (tieg). 3. chan (\hat{t}_i^2an) : fan $(b^2iw\tilde{a}n)$: yen (ngan): yüan $(g_i^2w\tilde{a}n)$.
- Sang chung: 1. t'ang $(d'\hat{a}ng)$: hiang $(\chi iang)$: kiang (kiang): shang (d'iang); chung $(ki\hat{o}ng)$: kung $(ki\hat{o}ng)$. 2. mo $(m\epsilon k)$: pei $(p \ni k)$: yi $(di\ni k)$. 3. feng (p'iung): tung (tung): yung (diung).
- Ch'un chī pen pen: 1. kiang (kiang): liang (liang): hiung (xiwăng). 2. kiang (kiang): liang (liang); pen (pwon): kün (kiwon).
- Ting chī fang chung: 1. chung (tiông): kung (kiông); jī (niệt): shī (śiệt): li (liệt): ts'i (ts'iệt): sê (ṣiet). 2. k'ü (k'io): ch'u (tṣ'io); t'ang (d'âng): king (kiặng): sang (sâng): tsang (tsâng). 3. ling (lieng, also lien?): jen (niện): t'ien (d'ien): yüan ('iwen): ts'ien (ts'ien).
- T i tung: 1. chī (tiện): ti (d'ien). (2. rimes corrupted). 3. jen (niễn): yin ('iễn): sin (siễn): ming (miặng, also miễn?).
- Siang shu: 1. p'i (b'ia): yi (ngia): yi (ngia): wei (gwia). 2. ch'ī (\hat{t} 'iəg): chī (\hat{t} iəg): chī (\hat{t} iəg): sī (dz'iəg). 3. t'i (t'liər): li (liər): li (liər): sī (siər).
- Kan mao: 1. mao (mog): kiao $(k \check{o}g)$; pi $(b'\check{i}\check{o}r)$: sī $(s\check{i}\check{o}d)$: pi $(p\check{i}\check{o}d)$. 2. yū $(z\check{i}o)$: tu (to); tsu (tso): wu (ngo): yū $(d\check{i}o)$. 3. tsing $(ts\check{i}\check{o}g)$: ch'eng $(d\check{i}\check{o}g)$; chu $(\hat{t}\check{i}o\hat{k})$: lu $(l\check{i}o\hat{k})$: ku $(k\hat{o}k)$.
- T s a i c h' \bar{i} : 1. k' \bar{u} (k' $\dot{i}u$): hou (g'u); yu (d $\dot{i}\hat{o}g$): tsao (dz' $\hat{o}g$): yu (' $\dot{i}\hat{o}g$). 2. fan (p $\dot{i}w\tilde{a}n$): y \bar{u} an (g $\dot{i}w\tilde{a}n$); tsi (tsi $\hat{o}r$): pi (p $\dot{i}\hat{o}d$). 3. meng (m $\check{a}ng$): hing (g' $\check{a}ng$): k'uang (g' $\dot{i}wang$). 4. mo (m $\hat{e}k$): ki (g' $\dot{i}\hat{o}k$); yu (g $\dot{i}\tilde{u}g$): s \bar{i} (s $\dot{i}\hat{o}g$): ch \bar{i} ($\hat{t}\hat{i}\hat{o}g$).

WEI FENG.

- K' i y ü: 1. yi ('ia): ts'o (ts'â): mo (mwâ); hien (g'ăn): hüan (χ iwăn): hüan (χ iwăn). 2. ts'ing (ts'ieng): ying ('ieng): sing (sieng). 3. tsê (tsěk): si (siek): pi (χ iek); ch'o (χ iok): küe (χ iok): hüe (χ iok): yüe (χ iok): yüe (χ iok):
- K'ao p'an: 1. kien (kan): k'uan $(k'w\hat{a}n)$: yen $(ngi\check{a}n)$: hüan $(\chi iw\check{a}n)$. 2. o (\hat{a}) : k'uo $(k'w\hat{a})$: ko $(k\hat{a})$: kuo $(kw\hat{a})$. 3. lu $(li\hat{o}k)$: chu $(d'i\hat{o}k)$: su $(si\hat{o}k)$: ku $(k\hat{o}k)$.
- Shī jen: 1. k'i (g'iər): yi ('iər): ts'i (ts'iər): yi (diər): sī (siər). 2. t'i (d'iər): chī (tiər): ts'i (dz'iər): si (siər): mei (miər); ts'ien (ts'iən): p'an (p'en). 3. ao (ngog): kiao (kŏg): k'iao (k'og): piao (piog): ch'ao (d'iog): lao (log). 4. kuo (kwât): huo (xwât): po (pwât): kie (g'iat): nie (ngiat): k'ie (k'iat).
- Meng: 1. ch'ī (t'iəg): sī (siəg): mou (miŭg): k'i (g'iəg): k'iu (k'iŭg): k'i (g'iəg): mei (mwəg): k'i (g'iəg). 2. yüan (giwăn): kuan (kwan): kuan (kwan): lien (lian): kuan (kwan): yen (ngiăn): yen (ngiăn): ts'ien (ts'ian): 3. lo (glâk): jo (niak); shen (diəm): tan (təm); shuo (śiwat): shuo (śiwat). 4. yün (giwen): p'in (b'iən); shang (śiang): shang (diang): shuang (ṣiang): hing (g'ăng); ki (g'iək): tê (tək). 5. lao (log): chao (tiog): pao (b'og): siao (siog): tao (d'og). 6. yüan ('iwăn): an (ngân): p'an (p'wân): yen ('ian): yen ('an): tan (tân): fan (piwăn); sī (siəg): tsai (təəg).
- Chu kan: 1. k'i $(g'i \ni g)$: sī $(si \ni g)$: chī $(\hat{t}i \ni g)$. 2. yu $(gi \check{u}g)$: mu $(m \ni g)$. 3. tso $(ts\hat{a})$: ts' o $(ts'\hat{a})$: no $(n\hat{a}r)$. 4. yu $(d\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: chou $(\hat{t}\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: yu $(d\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$; yu $(\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$.
- H u a n l a n: 1. chĩ ($\hat{t}_i \tilde{e}g$): huei ($\chi_i \tilde{w} \tilde{e}g$): chĩ ($t_i \tilde{e}g$); suei ($dz_i \tilde{w} \tilde{e}d$): ki ($g'i \tilde{w} \tilde{e}d$). 2. ye (diap): shê ($f_i \tilde{e}g$): kia ($f_i \tilde{e}g$
- **H** o k u a n g: 1. hang $(g'\hat{a}ng)$: wang (miwang); 2. tao (tog): chao $(\hat{t}iog)$.
- **P** o h i : 1. k'ie (k'iat): kie (g'iat); shu (diu): k'ü (k'iu). 2. tung (tung): p'eng (b'ung): jung (diung). 3. jī (niet): tsi (dz'ist). 4. pei (pwsg): mei (mwsg).
- Y u h u: 1. liang (liang): shang (diang). 2. li (liad): tai (tâd). 3. ts'ê (tsizk): fu (b'iŭk).
- **M** u k u a : 1. kua $(kw\dot{a})$: kü $(k\dot{i}o)$; pao $(p\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$. 2. t'ao (d'og): yao $(d\dot{i}og)$. 3. li $(l\dot{i}gg)$: kiu $(k\dot{i}ug)$.

WANG FENG.

- Shu li: 1. li (lia): mi (mia); miao (miog): yao (diog); yu ('iôg): k'iu (g'iôg); t'ien (l'ien): jen (niën). 2. suei (dziwod): tsuei (tsiwod); 3. shī (d'iët): ye ('iet).
- Kün tsī yü yi: 1. k'i (g'iəg): tsai (tsəg): shī (d'iəg): lai (ləg): sī (siəg). 2. yüe (ngiwät): huo (g'wât): kie (g'iat): kuo (kwât): k'o (k'ât).
- Kün tsī yang yang: 1. yang (diang): huang (g'wang): fang (b'iwang). 2. yao (diog): t'ao (d'ôg): ao (ngog).
- Yang chī shuci: 1. sin $(si\xi n)$: shen $(si\xi n)$; huai (g'wer): kuei (kiwer). 2. ch'u (ts'io): fu (piwo). 3. p'u (b'wo): hü (χio) .
- Chung ku yu t'uei: 1. kan $(k\hat{a}n)$: t'an $(t'\hat{a}n)$: nan $(n\hat{a}n)$. 2. siu $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: siao $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: shu $(d\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$. 3. shī $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}p)$: k'i $(k'l\hat{i}\hat{o}p)$: ki $(g'\hat{i}\hat{o}p)$.
- T' u y ü a n : 1. lo ($l\hat{a}$): wei (gwia): li (lia): wo ($ngw\hat{a}$). 2. fou ($b'i\hat{o}g$): tsao ($dz'\hat{o}g$): yu ($i\hat{o}g$): kiao ($k\check{o}g$). 3. ch'ung ($i\hat{t}'iung$): yung (diung): hiung ($\chi iung$): ts'ung (ts'ung).
- Ko lei: 1. lei (l_1iwar): ti (d_1iar); hu (χo): fu (b_1iwar): ku (ko). 2. sī (d_2iar): mu (mag): yu (g_1ig). 3. ch'un (d_1iwar): k'un (kwar): wen (m_1iwar).
- Ts' a i ko: 1. ko $(k\hat{a}t)$: yüe $(ng\hat{i}w\check{a}t)$. 2. siao $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: ts'iu $(ts'\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$. 3. ai $(ng\hat{a}d)$: suei $(s\hat{i}wad)$.
- Ta $\hat{\mathbf{k}}$ $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$: 1. hien (g'lam): t'an $(t'\hat{a}m)$: kan $(k\hat{a}m)$. 2. t'un (t'wan): men (mwan): pen (pwan). 3. shī $(si\tilde{e}t)$: hüe (g'iwet): jī $(ni\tilde{e}t)$.
- K'iu chung yu ma: 1. ma (ma): tsie (tsia): tsie (tsia): shī (sia). 2. mo (mek): kuo (kwak): shī (d'iak). 3. li (liag): tsī (tsiag): tsī (tsiag): kiu (kiug).

CHENG FENG.

- Ts \tilde{i} y i: 1. yi (ngia): wei (gwia); kuan $(kw\hat{a}n)$: ts'an $(ts'\hat{a}n)$. 2. hao $(\chi \hat{o}g)$: tsao $(dz'\hat{o}g)$. 3. si $(dz_i\tilde{a}k)$: tso $(ts\hat{a}k)$.
- Ts'iang Chung tsī: 1. li (ligg): k'i (k'igg): mu (mg); huai (g'wer); wei (iwg). 2. ts'iang (dz'iang): sang (sang): hiung ($\chi iw ang$). 3. yüan (giw ang): t'an (d'an): yen (ngian).
- Shu yü t'i en: 1. t'ien (d'ien): jen (niën): jen (niën). 2. shou (siôg): tsiu (tsiôg): hao $(\gamma \hat{o}g)$. 3. ye $(di\hat{d})$: ma $(m\hat{d})$: wu (miwo).
- T'ai shu yü t'ien: 1. ma $(m\dot{a})$: tsu (tso): wu $(m\dot{i}wo)$: kü $(k\dot{i}o)$: hu (χo) : so $(\dot{s}\dot{i}o)$: ju $(\dot{n}\dot{i}o)$. 2. huang $(g'w\hat{a}ng)$: siang $(sn\dot{i}ang)$: hang $(g'\hat{a}ng)$: yang $(d\dot{i}ang)$; she $(d'\dot{i}ag)$ $d'\dot{i}o'$): yü $(ng\dot{i}o)$; k'ung (k'ung): sung (sung). 3. pao $(p\hat{o}g)$: shou $(\dot{s}\dot{i}\hat{o}g)$: fou $(b'\dot{i}\hat{o}g)$; man (man): han $(\chi\hat{a}n)$; ping $(p\dot{i}ng)$: kung $(k\dot{i}ung)$.
- Ts' in g jen: 1. p'eng $(b'\check{a}ng)$: peng $(p\check{a}ng)$: ying $(i\check{a}ng)$: siang (dziang). 2. siao (siog): piao (piog): k'iao (g'iog): yao (diog). 3. chu $(d'i\hat{o}k)$: t'ao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: ch'ou $(l'i\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$.
- Kao k'iu: 1. ju $(\hat{n}_i \hat{n}_i)$: hou $(\hat{g}'u)$: yü $(\hat{d}_i \hat{u})$. 2. shī $(\hat{s}_i \hat{o}_i \hat{k})$: li $(\hat{l}_i \hat{o}_i \hat{k})$: chī $(\hat{d}'_i \hat{o}_i \hat{k})$. 3. yen $(\hat{s}_i \hat{o}_i)$: ts'an $(\hat{s}_i \hat{o}_i)$: yen $(\hat{s}_i \hat{o}_i$
- Tsum ta lu: 1. lu $(gl\hat{a}g)$ glo): k'ü (k'iab) k'io): ku (ko). 2. shou $(\hat{s}i\hat{o}g)$: ch'ou $(\hat{d}i\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\hat{\chi}\hat{o}g)$.
- N ü y ü e k i m i n g : 1. tan $(t\hat{a}n)$: lan $(gl\hat{a}n)$: yen (ngan). 2. kia (ka): yi (ngia); tsiu $(ts\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: lao $(l\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$. 3. lai $(l\hat{o}g)$: tseng $(dz\hat{o}ng)$; shun $(d\hat{i}\hat{i}w\hat{o}n)$: wen $(m\hat{i}w\hat{o}n)$; hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$: pao $(p\hat{o}g)$.
- Yu nü t'ung kü: 1. kü (kio): hua (g'wå): kü (kio): tu (to); siang (dziang): kiang (kiang). 2. hing (g'ăng): ying (iăng): siang (dziang): tsiang (tsiang): kiang (kiang): wang (miwang).
- Shan yu fu su: 1. su (so): hua (g'wd): tu (to): tsü (tsio). 2. sung (dziung): lung (liung): ch'ung (liung): t'ung (d'ung).

- T' o hi: 5. t'o $(t'\hat{a}k)$: po $(p\check{a}k)$; ch'uei $(\hat{t}'wia)$: ho $(g'w\hat{a})$. 2. p'iao (p'iog): yao (iog).
- Kiao t'ung: 1. yen $(ngi\check{a}n)$: ts'an $(ts'\hat{a}n)$. 2. shī (d'ij): si (sij).
- K'ien shang: 1. chen (tsien): jen (nien). 2. wei (giwag): shī (dz'iag).
- Feng: 1. feng (p'iung): hiang (g'iung): sung (sung). 2. ch'ang $(\hat{t}'iang)$: t'ang (d'ang): tsiang (tsiang). 3. shang (diang): hing (g'ang). 4. yi (ign): kuei (kiwn).
- Tung men chī shan: 1. shan (dian): fan (piwăn): yüan (giwăn). 2. li (liĕt): shī (śiĕt): tsi (tsiĕt).
- Fengy $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$: 1. ts'i (ts'iər): kie (kɛr): yi (diər). 2. siao (siôg): kiao (klôg): ch'ou (t'liôg). 3. huai ($\gamma mw gq$): yi (ziəg): ts $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ (tsiəg): hi ($\gamma i gq$).
- Tsī kin: 1. kin (kin): sin (sin): yin (in). 2. pei (b'wn): sī (sin): lai (ln). 3. t'a (t'at): k'üe (k'in): yüe (ngin).
- Yang chī shuei: 1. shuei (siwar): ti (d'iar); ch'u (ts'ia): ju (nia). 2. sin (sien): jen (nien): sin (sien).
- Ch'u k'i tung men: 1. men (mən): yün (giwən): ts'un (dz'wən): kin (kiɛn): yün (giwən). 2. tu (to): t'u (d'o): tsü (tsio): lü (lio): yü (ngiwo).
- Y e y u wan ts'ao: 1. t'uan (d'wân): yüan (iwăn): yüan (ngiwăn). 2. jung (niang): yang (diang): tsang (tsâng).
- Chen Wei: 1. huan $(\chi w \hat{a} n)$: kien $(k \check{a} n)$; hu (g'o): tsü $(t \circ i o)$: hu (g'o); lo (g l d k): hüe $(\chi i \circ k)$: yüe $(g i \circ k)$. 2. ts'ing $(t \circ i \circ k)$: ying $(d i \circ k)$.

TS'I FENG.

- K i m i n g: 1. ming (mįčng): ying (dįčng): ming (mįčng): sheng (śįčng). 2. ming (mįčng): ch'ang (t̄'iang): ming (mįčng): kuang (kwâng). 3. hung (χπωνης): meng (miŭng): tseng (tseng).
- S ü a n : 1. süan (dziwan): kien $(k\bar{a}n)$: kien (kian): hüan $(\chi iwan)$. 2. mou $(m\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: tao $(d^2\hat{o}g)$: mu $(m\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$. 3. ch'ang $(\hat{t}'\hat{i}ang)$: yang $(d\hat{i}ang)$: lang $(l\hat{a}ng)$: tsang $(ts\hat{a}ng)$.
- C h u: 1. chu (d'io): su (so): hua (g'wa). 2. t'ing (d'ieng): ts'ing (ts'ieng): ying ('ieng). 3. t'ang (d'ang): huang (g'wang): ying ('iang).
- Tung fang chī jī: 1. jī (nížt): shī (sížt): shī (sížt): tsi (tsížt). 2. yüe (ngịwăt): t'a (t'ât): t'a (t'ât): fa (piwăt).
- Tung fang wei ming: 1. ming (mį α̃ng): shang (d̄ iang); tao (tog): shao (d̄ iog).

 2. hi (χi̞ər): yi ('i̞ər); tien (tien): ling (li̯ĕng, liĕn).

 3. pu (pwo): kü (ki̞wo); ye (zi̞ag): mo (mâg).
- Nan shan: 1. ts'uei (dz'wər): suei (sniwər): kuei (kiwər): kuei (kiwər): huai (g'wer).

 2. liang (liang): tang (d'âng); shuang (sŭng): yung (diung): ts'ung (dz'iung).

 3. ho (g'â): ho (g'â); mu (məg): mu (məg); ku (kôk): kü (kiôk).

 4. k'o (k'ək): tê (tək); tê (tək): ki (g'iək).
- Fu t'ien: \hat{l} . t'ien (d'ien): jen (n'iën); kiao (kiog): tao (tog). 2. kie (kiat): ta (tât). 3. lüan (liwan): kuan (kwan): kien (kian): pien (b'ian).
- Lu ling: Î. ling (liĕng, liĕn): jen (niĕn); 2. huan (g'wan): k'üan (g'iwan); 3. mei (mwəg): ts'ai (ts'əg).
- Pi kou: 1. kuan $(kw\varepsilon n)$: yün $(g_iw\delta n)$. 2. sü (dz_io) : yü $(g_iw\delta)$. 3. wei $(dz_iw\delta r)$: shuei $(s_iw\delta r)$.
- T s a i k' ü: 1. p'o $(p'\hat{a}k)$: k'uo $(k'w\hat{a}k)$: si $(dz_1\check{a}k)$. 2. tsi $(tsi\sigma r)$: ni $(ni\sigma r)$: ti $(d'i\sigma r)$. 3. shang $(s_1\check{a}ng)$: pang $(p\hat{a}ng)$: tang $(d'\hat{a}ng)$: siang $(dz_1\check{a}ng)$. 4. t'ao $(t'\hat{o}g)$: piao $(p_1\check{o}g)$: ao (ngog).
- Y i t s i e: 1. ch'ang (t'iang): ch'ang (d'iang): yang (diang): ts'iang (ts'iang): tsang (tsâng). 2. ming (miĕng): ts'ing (ts'iĕng): ch'eng (diĕng): cheng (tiĕng): sheng (sĕng).
 3. lüan (liwan): yüan (iwān): süan (siwan): kuan (kwân): fan (piwăn): luan (lwân).

WEI FENG.

- Ko kü: 1. shuang (siang): shang (diang); ki (kisk): fu (b'iŭk). 2. t'i (d'ieg): pi (b'iĕg): t'i (t'ieg): ts'ī (ts'iĕg).
- Fentsüju: 1. ju ($\acute{n}io$): mu ($\acute{m}\acute{a}g$)> $\acute{m}o$ '): tu ($\acute{d}'\acute{a}g$)> $\acute{d}'o$ '): lu ($gl\acute{a}g$)> glo'). 2. fang (piwang): sang ($s\acute{a}ng$): ying ($i\check{a}ng$): hang ($g'\acute{a}ng$). 3. k'ü (k'iuk): sü (dziuk): yü (ngiuk): tsu (dz'uk).
- Y ü a n y u t 'a o : 1. t'ao (d'og): hiao $(g'\check{o}g)$: yao (diog): kiao $(k\check{i}og)$; tsai (tsag): ki $(k\check{i}ag)$: chī $(\hat{t}\check{i}ag)$: sī (siag). 2. ki $(k\check{i}ak)$: shī $(d'\check{i}ak)$: kuo (kwak): ki $(g'\check{i}ak)$.
- Chī hu: 1. hu (g'o): fu (b'iwo); tsī (tsiəg): yi (ziəg): chī (tiəg). 2. k'i (k'iəg): mu (məg); ki (kiwed): mei (miəd): k'i (k'ied). 3. kang (kâng): hiung (xiwăng); ti (d'iər): kie (ker): sī (siər).
- Shī mu chī kien: 1. kien $(k\tilde{a}n)$: hien $(g'\tilde{a}n)$: huan (g'wan). 2. wai $(ngw\hat{a}d)$: yi (ziad): shī (diad).
- Fa t'an: 1. t'an (d'an): kan (kan): lien (lian): ch'an (d'ian): huan (χwan) : ts'an (ts'an). 2. fu (piuk): ts'ê (tsink): chī (d'ink): yi (ink): t'ê (d'nk): shī (d'ink). 3. lun (liwn): ch'un (d'iwn): lun (liwn): k'ün (k'iwn): ch'un (d'iwn): sun (swn).
- Shī shu: 1. shu (śio): shu (śio): ju (ńio): ku (ko): ju (ńio): t'u (t'o): so (ṣio). 2. mo (mɛk): tê (tək): kuo (kwək): chī (d'iək). 3. miao (miog): lao (log): kiao (kŏg): hao (g'og).

T'ANG FENG.

- Si so: 1. mu $(m\hat{a}g > mo^{\cdot})$: ch'u $(d^{\prime}io)$: kü $(k\hat{i}o)$: kü $(k\hat{i}wo)$. 2. shī $(d^{\prime}iad)$: mai (mwad): wai $(ngw\hat{a}d)$: kuei $(k\hat{i}wad)$. 3. hiu $(\chi\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: t'ao $(t'\hat{o}g)$: yu $(\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: hiu $(\chi\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$.
- Shan yu ou: 1. ou ('u): yü (diu): lü (gliu): k'ü (k'iu): yü (diu). 2. k'ao $(k'\hat{o}g)$: niu $(ni\hat{o}g)$: sao $(s\hat{o}g)$: k'ao $(k'\hat{o}g)$: pao $(p\hat{o}g)$. 3. ts'i (ts'i): li (li): sê (si): jī (ni): shī (si)?
- Y ang chī shuei: 1. tso (tsdk): po (pdk): wu (ok): lo (gldk). 2. kao $(k\hat{o}g)$: siu $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: hu $(g'\hat{o}k)$: yu $(\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$. 3. lin $(l\hat{i}en)$: ming $(m\hat{i}eng, m\hat{i}en)$: jen $(\hat{n}en)$.
- Tsiao liao: 1. sheng ($\hat{s}iang$): p'eng ($\hat{b}ang$): liao ($\hat{l}i\hat{o}g$): t'iao ($\hat{d}ang$). 2. kü ($\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$): tu ($\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$).
- Ch'on mon: 1. sin $(s\underline{i}en)$: t'ien (t'ien): jen $(n\underline{i}en)$. 2. ch'u $(t\underline{s}'\underline{i}u)$: yü $(ng\underline{i}u)$: hou (g'u). 3. ch'u $(t\underline{s}'\underline{i}o)$: hu (g'o): chê $(t\underline{i}en)$.
- Ti tu: 1. tu (d'o): sü (sio): kü (kiwo): fu (b'iwo); pi (b'ivo): ts'ī (ts'ivo). 2. tsing (tsivo): k'iung (g'ivvo): sing (sivo).
- Kao k'iu: 1. k'ü (k'iab > k'io'): kü (kio): ku (ko). 2. siu (dziog): kiu (kiog): hao (χog) .
- Pao yü: 1. yü (g_iwo) : hü (χ_iwo) : ku (ko): shu (f_io) : hu (g'o): so (f_io) . 2. yi (g_isk) : ki (f_isk) : tsi (f_isk) : shī (f_isk) : ki (f_isk) : ki (f_isk) : d. hang (f_isk) : sang (f_isk) : liang (f_isk) : ch'ang (f_isk) : sang (f_isk) : ch'ang (f_isk) : ch'ang (f_isk) : sang $(f_$
- W u y i : 1. ts'i ($ts'i\tilde{e}t$): ki ($ki\tilde{e}t$). 2. liu ($li\hat{o}k$): yü ($i\hat{o}k$).
- Ju ti chī tu: 1. tso $(ts\hat{a})$: wo $(ng\hat{a})$; hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$: sī (dzigg). 2. chou $(\hat{t}i\hat{o}g)$: yu $(di\hat{o}g)$. Ko sheng: 1. ch'u (ts'io): ye $(di\hat{a})$: ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$. 2. ki (kigk): yü (giwgk): si (sigk).
 - 3. ts'an $(ts'\hat{a}n)$: lan $(gl\hat{a}n)$: tan $(t\hat{a}n)$. 4. ye (ziag > zio): kü (kio). 5. jī (nii): shī (sii).
- Ts'ai ling: 1. ling (lieng, lien): tien (tien): $\sin (sien)$; chan ($\hat{t}ian$): jan ($\hat{n}ian$): yen (ngian): yen (gian). 2. k'u (k'o): hia (g'a): yü (zio). 3. feng (p'iung): tung (tung): ts'ung (dz'iung).

TS'IN FENG.

- K ü lin: 1. lin (liĕn): tien (tien): ling (liĕng, liĕn). 2. ts'i (ts'iĕt): li (liĕt): sê (ṣiɛt): tie (d'iet). 3. sang (sâng): yang (diang): huang (g'wâng): wang (miwang).
- Sī t'ie: 1. fou $(b'i\hat{o}g)$: shou $(s'i\hat{o}g)$: shou $(si\hat{o}g)$. 2. shī $(di\check{a}k)$: huo $(g'w\check{a}k)$. 3. yüan $(giw\check{a}n)$: hien $(g'\check{a}n)$; piao (piog): hiao (γiog) .
- Siao jung: 1. shou (\$\hat{siog}\$): chou (\$\tio g\$); sü (\$dziuk\$): ku (\$kuk\$): chu (\$\tiu g\$): yü (\$ngiuk\$): k'ü (\$k'iuk\$). 2. fou (\$b'iog\$): shou (\$\hat{siog}\$); chung (\$\tio iong\$): ts'an (\$ts'om\$); ho (\$g'op\$): na (\$nop\$): yi ('iop\$); k'i (\$g'iog\$): chī (\$\tio iong\$): 3. kün (\$g'iwon\$): tuei (\$d'wor\$): yün (\$giwon\$); ying ('iong*): kung (\$kiung\$); t'eng (\$d'ong*): hing (\$giong*): yin ('iong*).
- Kien kia: 1. ts'ang (ts'âng): shuang (siang): fang (piwang): ch'ang (d'iang): yang (iang). 2. ts'i (ts'iər): hi (χ iər): mei (miər): tsi (ts'iər): ch'ī (d'iər). 3. ts'ai (ts'əg): yi (ziəg): sī (dz'iəg): yu (giug): chī (tiəg).
- Chung nan: 1. yu (giŭg): mei (mwəg): chī (t̄jəg): k'iu (g'iôg): tsai (tsəg). 2. t'ang (d'âng): shang (diang): ts'iang (ts'jang): wang (miwang).
- H u a n g m i a o : 1. ki (kijk): si (sijk): si (sijk): t'ê (d'jk); hüe (g'iwet): li (likt); t'ien (t'ien): jen (nikn): shen (kikn): 2. sang (sang): hang (g'ang): hang (g'ang): fang (b'iwang). 3. ch'u (ts'ig): hu (χo) : hu (χo) : yü (ngig).
- Ch'en feng: 1. feng (pium): lin (glipm): k'in (k'ipm); ho $(g'\hat{a})$: to $(t\hat{a})$. 2. li (liok): po $(p\check{o}k)$: lo $(gl\hat{a}k)$. 3. ti (d'ipd): suei (dziwpd): tsuei (tsiwpd).
- W u y i: 1. yi ('iər): shī (ṣiər); p'ao (b'ôg): mao (miôg): k'iu (g'iôg). 2. tsê (d'āk): ki $(ki\bar{a}k)$: tso $(ts\hat{a}k)$. 3. shang (diang): ping $(pi\bar{a}ng)$: hing $(g'\bar{a}ng)$.
- Wei yang: 1. yang (diang): huang (g'wang). 2. sī (sizg): pei (b'wzg).
- K' $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ an $\ddot{\mathbf{v}}$ $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$: 1. $\ddot{\mathbf{k}}$ ' $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ (g'io): $\ddot{\mathbf{v}}$ $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ (dio): $\ddot{\mathbf{v}}$ $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ (zio). 2. $\ddot{\mathbf{k}}$ uei (kiwog): pao (pog).

CH'EN FENG.

- Y ü a n k'i u: 1. tang (d'ang): shang (diang): wang (miwang). 2. ku (ko): hia (g'a): hia (g'a): yü (giwo). 3. fou $(pi\hat{o}g)$: tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$.
- Tung men chī fen: 1. hū (χiwo) : hia (g'a). 2. ts'o (ts'a): ma (ma): so (sa). 3. shī (a'jad): mai (mwad); k'iao (g'iog): tsiao (tsiog).
- Heng men: 1. ch'i $(d'i\sigma)$: ki $(ki\varepsilon)$. 2. fang (b'iwng): kiang (king). 3. li $(li\sigma)$: tsi $(lsi\sigma)$.
- Tung men chī ch'ī: l. ch'ī (d'ia): ma (ma): ko (kâ). 2. chu (dio): yü (ngio). 3. kien (kan): yen (ngiăn).
- Tung men chī yang: 1. yang (diang): tsang (tsang): huang (g'wang). 2. fei (p'iwad): chī $(\hat{t}iad)$.
- M u men: 1. sī (siĕg): chī (tiĕg); yi (ziəg): yi (ziəg). 2. tsuei (dz'iwəd): suei (siwəd; this is Sü Miao's variant and reading). 3. ku (ko): yü (dio).
- Fang yu ts' üe ch'ao: 1. ch'ao (dz'ŏg): t'iao (d'iog): tao (tog). 2. p'i (b'iek): yi (ngliek): t'i (t'iek).
- Y ü e ch' u : 1. kiao (kiog): liao (liog): kiao (g' \hat{i} og): ts'iao (ts' \hat{i} og). 2. kao (kôg): liu (l \hat{i} og): yu (' \hat{i} og): sao (sôg). 3. chao (\hat{t} og): liao (l \hat{i} og): shao (d \hat{i} og): ts'ao (ts'og).
- Chulin: 1. $\lim (gligam)$: nan (nam). 2. $\lim (ma)$: ye (dia). 3. $\lim (kiu)$: chu (tiu).
- Tsê pi: 1. pi (pia): ho $(g'\hat{a})$: ho $(g'\hat{a})$: wei (gwia): to $(d'\hat{a})$. 2. kien $(k\check{a}n)$: k'üan $(g'\hat{i}wan)$: yüan $(\hat{i}wan)$. 3. tan (d'an): yen $(ng\hat{i}am)$: chen $(\hat{t}\hat{i}am)$.

KUEI FENG.

Kao k'iu: 1. yao (diog): ch'ao (d'iog): tao (tog). 2. siang (dziang): t'ang (d'âng): shang (siang). 3. kao (kog): yao (diog): tao (d'og).

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- Su kuan: 1. kuan (kwân): luan (lwân): t'uan (d'wân). 2. yi ('i̞ər): pei (pɨ̞ər): kuei (kiwər). 3. pi (pɨ̞ĕt): kie (kiet): yi ('i̞ĕt).
- Si y u ch' a n g ch' u : 1. chī $(\hat{t}_i \not e g)$: chī $(t_i \not e g)$. 2. hua (g'wa): kia (ka). 3. shī $(\hat{d}'_i \not e t)$: shī $(\hat{s}_i \not e t)$.
- Fei feng: 1. fa (p_iwat) : k'ie (k'iat): ta (tat). 2. piao (p_iog) : p'iao (p'iog): tiao (tiog). 3. sin (dz_iom) : yin (iom).

TS'AO FENG.

- Fou yu: 1. yü (giwo): ch'u (ts'io): ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$. 2. yi (gipk): fu $(b'i\check{u}k)$: si (sipk). 3. yüe (diwat): süe (siwat): shuei (siwat).
- Hou jen: 1. tuei $(tw\hat{a}d)$: fei $(piw\partial d)$. 2. yi $(gi\partial k)$: fu $(b'i\dot{u}k)$. 3. tou (tu): kou (ku). 4. wei $(\dot{v}u\hat{a}d)$: wei $(\dot{v}u\partial d)$; yüan $(\dot{v}u\partial d)$: lüan (liwan); tsi $(tsi\partial r)$: ki $(ki\partial r)$.
- Shī kiu: 1. ts'i (ts'iĕt): yi ('iĕt): kie (kiet). 2. mei (mwəg): sī (siəg): sī (siəg): k'i (g'iəg). 3. ki (kiək): t'ê (t'ək): t'ê (t'ək): kuo (kwək). 4. chen (tṣiɛn): jen (niện): nien (nien).
- H i a t s' ü a n : 1. ts' üan (dz'iwan): t'an $(t'\hat{a}n)$; lang $(l\hat{a}ng)$: king $(kli\check{a}ng)$. 2. siao $(si\hat{o}g)$: chou $(\hat{t}i\hat{o}g)$. 3. shī $(\hat{s}i\hat{\sigma}r)$: shī $(\hat{s}i\hat{\sigma}r)$. 4. kao (kog): lao (log).

PIN FENG.

- Ts'i y ü e: 1. huo (χwâr): yi ('i̞ər); fa (piwǎt): lie (li̞at): ho (g'ât): suei (si̞wad); sī (dzi̞əg): chī (li̞əg): tsī (tsi̞əg): mu (məg): hi (χi̞əg). 2. yang (di̞ang): keng (kăng): k'uang (k'i̞wang): hing (g'ձng): sang (sâng); ch'ī (d'i̞ər): k'i (g'i̞ɛr): pei (pi̞ər): kuei (ki̞wər). 3. huo (χwâr): wei (gi̞wər); sang (sâng): ts'iang (ts'i̞ang): yang (di̞ang): sang (sâng): huang (g'wâng): yang (diョng): shang (diョng); kü (kiwek): tsi (tsiek). 4. yao ('i̞og): t'iao (d'iôg); huo (g'wâk): t'o (t'âk): ho (g'lâk); li (li̞əg): k'iu (g'i̞og); t'ung (d'ung): kung (kung): tsung (tsung): kung (kung). 5. ku (ko): yü (gi̞wo): ye (di̞â): yü (gi̞wo): hu (g'o): hia (g'â): shu (śi̞o): hu (g'o): ch'u (l'i̞o). 6. yü ('i̞ok): shu (śi̞ok); tsao (tsôg): tao (d'ôg): tsiu (tsi̞og): shou (di̞og); kua (kwâ): hu (g'o): ts'ü (ts'i̞o): ch'u (l'i̞o): fu (piwo). 7. pu (pwo): kia (kâ); lu (glɨ̞ok): mo (mwek); t'ung (d'ung): kung (kung); mao (môg): t'ao (d'ôg); wu ('uk): ku (kuk). 8. ch'ung (d'i̞ong): yin ('i̞əm); tsao (tsôg): kiu (kiôg); shuang (si̞ang): ch'ang (d'i̞ang): hiang (χi̞ang): yang (zi̞ang): t'ang (d'âng): kuang (kwāng): kiang (kiang).
- Ch' ī yao: 1. yao (giog): tsī (tsiog); en (on): k'in (g'ion): min (mion). 2. yü (giwo): t'u (t'o): hu (g'o): yü (dio). 3. kü (kio): t'u (d'o): tsu (tso): t'u (d'o): kia (ka). 4. ts'iao (dz'iog): siao (siog): k'iao (g'iog): yao (diog): hiao (γiog) .
- Tung shan: 1. shan (săn): kuei (kiwər); tung (tung): meng (mung); kuei (kiwər): pei (piər): yi ('iər): mei (mwər); shu (diuk): su (siôk); ye (dia): hia (g'a). 2. shī (diet): shī (śiēt); yü (giwo): hu (g'o); ch'ang (d'iang): hing (g'ăng); wei ('iwər): huai (g'wer). 3. tie (d'iet): shī (śiēt): chī (tiēt): chī (tiēt): chī (tiēt): nien (nien). 4. fei (piwər): kuei (kiwər); yü (giwo): ma (ma); li (lia): yi (ngia): kia (ka): ho (g'a).
- P' o f u : 1. ts'iang (ts'iang): huang ($g'w\hat{a}ng$): tsiang (tsiang). 2. ki (g'ia): wo ($ngw\hat{a}$): kia (ka). 3. k'iu ($g'i\hat{o}g$): ts'iu ($dz'i\hat{o}g$): hiu ($\chi i\hat{o}g$).
- Fako: 1. k'o $(k' \ni k)$: tê $(t \ni k)$. 2. yüan (giwăn): tsien (dz'ian).
- Kiu yü: 1. fang (b'iwang): shang (diang). 2. chu (tio): so (sio): ch'u (t'io). 3. lu (liôk): fu (biôk): su (siôk). 4. yi (ior): kuei (kiwər): pei (piər).
- Lang po: 1. 1. hu (g'o): fu (piwo); wei (miwor): ki (kier). 2. hu (g'o): fu (piwo): hia (g'a).

LU MING.

- Lu ming: 1. ming (mɨğng): p'ing (b'ieng): sheng (sĕng); huang (g'wâng): tsiang (tsiang): hing (g'ăng). 2. hao (χοg): chao (t̄iog): t'iao (t'iog): hiao (g'ŏg): ao (ngog). 3. k'in (g'iəm): k'in (g'iəm): tan (təm): sin (siəm).
- Sī mu: 1. fei (p'iwr): ch'ī (d'ir): kuei (kiwr): pei (pir). 2. fei (p'iwr): kuei (kiwr); ma (ma): ku (ko): ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$. 3. hia (g'a): hü (χiwo) : ku (ko): fu (b'iwo). 4. chī $(\hat{t}irg)$: k'i (k'irg): mu (mrg). 4. ts'in (ts'irg): shen (sirg).
- H uang huang chế hua: 1. hua $(g'\hat{a})$: fu (piwo); si (dzipp): ki (g'ipp). 2. kü (kiu): ju (niu): k'ü (k'iu): tsü (tsiu). 3. k'i (g'ipg): sī (sipg): mou (miug). 4. lo $(gl\hat{a}k)$: jo (niak): to $(d'\hat{a}k)$. 5. yin (ien): kün (kiwen): sün (siwen).
- C h' ang ti: 1. wei (giwar): ti (d'iar). 2. wei (iwar): huai (g'war); p'ou (b'ug): k'iu $(g'i\hat{o}g)$. 3. yüan (ngiwan): nan (nan): t'an (t'an). 4. (text uncertain). 5. p'ing $(b'i\tilde{e}ng)$: ning (nieng): sheng $(s\tilde{e}ng)$. 6. tou (d'u): wu (?): kü (g'iu): ju (niu). 7. ho (g'ap): hi (χiap) ; k'in (g'iam): tan (tam). 8. kia (ka): nu (no): t'u (d'o): hu (g'o).
- F a m u: 1. cheng (těng): ying ('ěng); ku (kuk): mu (muk); sheng (śiĕng): sheng (śiĕng): sheng (śiĕng): 2. hu (xo): sü (dzio): chu (d'io): fu (b'iwo): ku (ko); sao (sôg): kuei (kiwəg): mu (môg): kiu (g'iôg): kiu (g'iôg). 3. fan (piwăn): yen (gian): tsien (dz'ian): yüan (giwăn): k'ien (k'ian); sü (sio): hu (g'o): ku (ko): wu (miwo): hia (g'd): sü (sio).
- T'ien pao: 1. ku (ko): ch'u (d'io): shu (śiwag > śiwo'). 2. ku (kuk): lu (luk): tsu (tsiuk). 3. hing (xiong): ling (liong): tseng (tsong). 4. hiang (xiong): ch'ang (diang): wang (giwang): kiang (kiang). 5. fu (piŭk): shī (d'iok): tê (tok). 6. heng (g'ong): sheng (śiong): peng (pong): ch'eng (diong); shou (diôg): mou (miôg).
- T s 'a i w e i: 1. wei (miwər): kuei (kiwər); tso (tsâk): mu (mâg); kia (kâ): ku (ko): kü (kio): ku (ko). 2. jou (niôg): yu (iôg); lie (liat): k'o (k'ât); ting (d'ieng): p'ing (p'iĕng). 3. kang (kâng): yang (diang); ku (ko): eh'u (î'io); kiu (kiŭg): lai (ləg). 4. hua (g'wå): kü (kio); ye (ngiāp): tsie (dz'iap). 5. k'uei (g'iwer): yi (iər); fei (b'iwər): yi (giək): fu (b'iwà); kie (keg): ki (kiək). 6. yi (iər): fei (p'iwər): ch'ī (d'iər): ki (kier): pei (piər): ai (iər).
- Ch 'u k û: 1. kü (kio): so (ṣio): fu (piwo); mu (miôk): lai (ləg): tsai (dz'əg): ki (kiək).

 2. kiao (kŏg): chao (d'iog): mao (mog); chao (d'iog): ts'iao (ts'iog); pei (b'wâd): tsuei (dz'iwəd).

 3. fang (piwang): pang (pâng): yang (iang): fang (piwang): siang (sniang).

 4. hua (g'wâ): t'u (d'o): kü (kio): shu (śio).

 5. ch'ung (d'iông): chung (liông): ch'ung (t'iông): kiang (kông): chung (d'iông): ts'i (ts'iər): kie (ker): k'i (g'ier): kuei (kiwər): yi (diər).
- T i tu: 1. tu (d'o): ku (ko); shī (đ'įžt): jī (ńįžt); yang (diang): shang (śiang): huang (g'wâng). 2. ts'i (ts'iər): pei (piər): kuei (kiwər). 3. k'i (k'iəg): mu (məg); ch'an (t'ian): kuan (kwân): yüan (ngiwăn). 4. lai (ləg): kiu (kiŭg); chī (tiĕd): sü (siwĕt); kie (ker): kin (g'iən): er (ńiăr).
- Y $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$ 1 i : 1. liu $(li\tilde{o}g)$: tsiu $(tsi\tilde{o}g)$; sha (sa): to $(t\hat{a})$. 2. li $(li\tilde{o}r)$: chī $(\tilde{l}i\tilde{o}r)$. 3. li $(li\tilde{o}g)$: yu $(gi\tilde{u}g)$. 4. to $(t\hat{a})$: kia (ka). 5. chī $(\tilde{l}i\tilde{o}r)$: kie $(k\epsilon r)$. 6. yu $(gi\tilde{u}g)$: shī $(\tilde{d}i\tilde{o}g)$.

NAN YU KIA YÜ.

- Nan yu kia yü: 1. chao $(t\check{o}g)$: lo $(gl\mathring{a}k)$. 2. shan (san): k'an $(k'\hat{a}n)$. 3. lei (liw): suei (sniw). 4. lai (lig): yu $(gi\check{u}g)$.
- Nan shan yu t'ai: l. t'ai $(d' \circ g)$: lai $(l \circ g)$: ki $(k \circ g)$: k'i $(g' \circ g)$. 2. sang $(s \circ g)$: yang $(d \circ g)$: kuang $(k \circ g)$: kiang $(k \circ g)$: d. k'i $(k' \circ g)$: li $(k \circ g)$: mu $(m \circ g)$: yi $(z \circ g)$. 4. k'ao $(k' \circ g)$: niu $(n \circ g)$: shou $(d \circ g)$: mou $(m \circ g)$. 5. kü $(k \circ g)$: yü $(d \circ g)$: kou $(k \circ g)$: hou $(g' \circ g)$:



- Lu siao: 1. sü (sio): sie (siag > sio): yü (ngio): ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$. 2. jang $(\hat{n}iang)$: kuang $(kw\hat{a}ng)$: shuang (siang): wang (miwang). 3. ni (nior): ti (d'ior): k'ai (k'or). 4. nung (nung): ch'ung $(d'i\hat{o}ng)$: yung (iung): t'ung (d'ung).
- Chan lu: 1. hi $(\chi i \sigma r)$: kuei $(k i w \sigma r)$. 2. ts'ao $(ts' \hat{o}g)$: k'ao $(k' \hat{o}g)$. 3. ki $(k i \sigma k)$: tê $(t \sigma k)$. 4. yi $(t i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$: yi $(t i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$: yi $(t i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$: yi $(t i \sigma)$: li $(l i \sigma)$:
- T'ung kung: 1. ts'ang $(dz'\hat{a}ng)$: huang $(\chi iwang)$: hiang $(\chi iang)$. 2. tsai (tsag): hi $(\chi iang)$: yu (gi ug). 3. kao $(k\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi \hat{o}g)$: ch'ou $(\tilde{d}i\hat{o}g)$.
- Tsing tsing chê o: 1. o $(ng\hat{a})$: o (\hat{a}) : yi (ngia). 2. chī $(\hat{t}i\partial g)$: hi $(\chi i\partial g)$. 3. ling $(li\partial ng)$: p'eng $(b'\partial ng)$. 4. chou $(\hat{t}i\partial g)$: fou $(b'i\partial g)$: hiu $(\chi i\partial g)$.
- Liu yüe: 1. si (siər): k'uei (g'iwer); ch'ī (t'iək): fu (b'iŭk): ch'ī (t'iəg): kie (keg: wo shī yung kie 戒, so ap. Yen t'ie lun): kuo (kwək). 2. tsê (tsək): fu (b'iŭk); ch'eng (điĕng): cheng (tiĕng); li (liəg): tsī (tsiəg). 3. yung (ngiung): kung (kung); yi (giək): fu (b'iŭk): fu (b'iŭk): kuo (kwək). 4. to (dâk: hien yün fei to 度, so ap. Yi lin): huo (g'wâk); fang (piwang): yang (diang): chang (tiang): yang (iang): hing (g'ăng). 5. an (ân): hien (xiăn): hien (g'ăn): yüan (ngiwăn): hien (xiăn). 6. hi (xiəg): ch'ī (t'iəg): kiu (kiŭg): yu (giŭg): li (liəg): yi (ziəg): yu (giŭg).
- Ts'ai k'i: 1. k'i (k'iəg): mu (məg): chī (t̄iəg): shī (śiəg): chī (t̄iəg): k'i (g'iəg); t'ien (d'ien): ts'ien (ts'ien); yi (giək): hi (χiək): fu (b'iŭk): ko (kɛk). 2. hiang (χiang): yang ('iang): heng (g'ăng): ts'iang (ts'iang): huang (g'wâng): heng (g'ăng). 3. chī (t̄iəg): shī (śiəg): chī (t̄iəg); ku (ko): lū (glio); yūan ('iwen): t'ien (d'ien). 4. ch'ou (d̄iôg): lao (lôg): yu (ziôg): ch'ou (t'iôg); t'un (t'wən): yūn (ziwən); lei (lwər): wei ('iwər).
- K ü k u n g: 1. kung (kung): t'ung (d'ung): lung (lung): tung (tung). 2. hao (χôg): fou (b'iôg): ts'ao (ts'ôg): shou (śiôg). 3. miao (miog): hiao (χiog): mao (mog): ao (ngog). 4. yi (diāk): si (siāk): yi (diāk). 5. ts'ī (ts'iər): tsī (tsiār); t'iao (d'iôg): t'ung (d'ung). 6. kia (ka): yi ('ia): ch'ī (d'ia): p'o (p'wâ). 7. ming (miĕng): tsing (tsiĕng): king (kiĕng): ying (diĕng). 8. cheng (tiĕng): sheng (śiĕng): ch'eng (d'ĕng).
- Ki jī: 1. mou (mug): tao $(t\hat{o}g)$: hao $(\chi\hat{o}g)$: fou $(b'\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: fou $(b'\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$: ch'ou $(\hat{i}'\hat{i}\hat{o}g)$. 2. wu (ngo): ma $(m\hat{a})$: yü $(ng\hat{i}wo)$: so $(\hat{s}\hat{i}o)$; t'ung (d'ung): ts'ung $(dz'\hat{i}ung)$. 3. yu $(g\hat{i}\tilde{u}g)$: sī $(dz'\hat{i}og)$: yu $(g\hat{i}\tilde{u}g)$: yu $(g\hat{i}\tilde{u}g)$: tsï $(ts\hat{i}og)$. 4. shī $(\hat{s}\hat{i}or)$: sī $(dz\hat{i}or)$: li (tior).

HUNG YEN.

- H u ng yen: 1. yü (giwo): ye (did): kua (kwd). 2. tsê $(d'\check{a}k)$: tso $(ts\hat{a}k)$: tsê $(d'\check{a}k)$: 3. ao (ngog): lao (log): kiao (kiog).
- T'ing liao: 1. yang ('iang): kuang (kwâng): ts'iang (ts'iang). 2. ai (ngâd): chī (\hat{t} iad): huei (χ wâd). 3. ch'en (\hat{d} ian): yün (giwan): k'i (giar).
- Mien shuei: 1. shuei ($\dot{s}iwar$): sun ($\dot{s}iwar$): ti ($\dot{d}'iar$); hai (χmag): chī ($\dot{t}iag$): mu (mag). 2. shang ($\dot{s}iang$): yang ($\dot{d}iang$): hing ($g'\check{a}ng$): wang (miwang). 3. ling (liang): ch'eng (d'iang): hing ($\chi iang$).
- Ho ming: 1. ye $(di\mathring{a})$: chu $(\hat{t}io)$; yüan $(giw\check{a}n)$: t'an $(d'\hat{a}n)$; t'o $(t'\hat{a}k)$: ts'o $(ts'\hat{a}k)$. 2. t'ien (t'ien): yüan (iwen); ku (kuk): yü (ngiuk).
- K'i fu: 1. ya $(ng\mathring{a})$: kü $(k\check{i}o)$. 2. shī $(d\check{z}'\check{i}\circ g)$: chī $(\hat{t}\check{i}\circ g)$: ts'ung (ts'ung): yung $(\check{i}ung)$. Po kü: 1. miao $(m\check{i}og)$: chao $(t\check{i}og)$: yao $(d\check{i}og)$. 2. huo $(\chi w\hat{a}k)$: si $(dz\check{i}\check{a}k)$: k'o $(k'l\check{a}k)$. 3. lai $(l\partial g)$: k'i $(g'\check{i}\partial g)$: sī $(s\check{i}\partial g)$. 4. ku (kuk): shu $(s\check{i}uk)$: yü $(ng\check{i}uk)$; yin $(\check{i}\partial m)$: sin $(s\check{i}\partial m)$.
- Huang niao: 1. ku (kuk): su (siuk): ku (kuk): tsu (dz'uk). 2. sang (sang): liang (liang): ming (miang): hiung (xiwang). 2. hü (xiwang): shu (siang): ch'u (t'iang): fu (b'iang):
- Wohing k'i ye: 1. ye $(d\dot{i}a)$: ch'u $(t'\dot{i}o)$: ku (ko): kü $(k\dot{i}o)$: kia $(k\dot{a})$. 2. ch'u $(t'\dot{i}o\dot{k})$: su $(s\dot{i}o\dot{k})$: hü $(\chi\dot{i}o\dot{k})$: fu $(b'\dot{i}o\dot{k})$. 3. fu $(p\dot{i}u\dot{k})$: t'ê $(d'o\dot{k})$: fu $(p\dot{i}u\dot{g})$: yi $(g\dot{i}og)$.

- Sī kan: l. kan (kân): shan (săn); pao (pộg): mou (miôg): hao (χôg): yu (ziôg). 2. tsu (tso): tu (to): hu (g'o): ch'u (t̂'io): yü (ngio). 3. ko (klâk): t'o (t'âk); ch'u (d'io): k'ü (k'iab > k'io'): hü (χiwo). 4. yi (giək): ki (kiək): ko (kɛk); fei (piwər): tsi (tsiər). 5. t'ing (d'ieng): ying (diĕng): cheng (t̂iĕng): ming (mieng): ning (nieng). 6. tien (d'iəm): ts'in (ts'iəm); hing (χiəng): meng (miŭng); ho (g'â): pi (pia): shê (d'ia). 7. pi (pia): shê (d'ia); siang (dziang): siang (dziang). 8. ch'uang (dz'iang): shang (diang): chang (t̄iang): hung (g'wāng): huang (g'wāng): wang (giwang). 9. ti(d'ia): wa (ngwa): yi (ngia): yi (ngia): li (lia).
- W u yang: 1. k'ün (g'iwən): jun (niwən); chi (tṣiəp): shī (śiəp): li (liəp); o (â): ch'ī (d'ia): o (ngwâ); hou (g'u): kü (g'iu). 3. cheng (tiəng): hiung (giŭng): king (kiəng): peng (pəng): kung (kwəng): sheng (śiəng). 4. yü (ngio): yü (zio); nien (nien): chen (tṣiɛn).

TSIE NAN SHAN.

- Ts i e n a n s h a n: 1. yen (ngam): chan (tiam): t'an (d'âm): t'an (d'âm): chan (tsăm): kien (klam). 2. yi ('ia): ho (g'â): ts'o (dz'â): to (tâ): kia (ka): tsie (tsia). 3. shī (ṣiər): ti (tiər): wei (diwər): p'i (b'iər): mi (miər): shī (ṣiər). 4. ts'in (ts'iĕn): sin (siĕn); shī (dz'iəg): tsī (tsiəg): yi (ziəg): tai (d'əg): shī (dz'iəg). 5. yung (diung): hiung (xiung); huei (g'iwəd): li (liəd): kie (ked): k'üe (k'iwət); yi (diər): wei (giwər). 6. ting (d'ieng): sheng (sĕng): ning (nieng): ch'eng (d'iĕng): ch'eng (diĕng): cheng (tiĕng): sing (siĕng). 7. ling (liĕng): ch'eng (t'iĕng). 8. o ('âk): yi (diāk); mao (miôg): ch'ou (d'iôg). 9. p'ing (b'iĕng): ning (nieng): cheng (tiĕng). 10. sung (dziung): hiung: (γiung): pang (pŭng).
- Cheng yüe: 1. shuang (siang): shang (siang): tsiang (tsiang): king (kliăng): yang (ziang). 2. yü (diu): hou (g'u): k'ou (k'u): yü (diu): wu (miu). 3. lu (luk): pu (b'uk): lu (luk): wu ('uk). 4. cheng (ting): meng (miŭng): sheng (sing): tseng (tsing): 5. ling (ling): ch'eng (d'ing): meng (miŭng): hiung (giŭng). 6. tsi (tsik): tsi (tsik): yi (dik); t'ê (d'ing): k'o (k'ing): tsê (tsik): tê (ting): li (ling). 8. kie (kiet): li (ling): mie (miat): huei (miwat). 9. yü (giwo): fu (b'iwo): yü (dio). 10. fu (piŭk): tsai (tsig): yi ('ing). 11. chao (ting): chao (ting): yao (g'og); lo (glåk): nüe (mgiok). 12. yün (giwin): yin ('ing). 13. wu ('uk): ku (kuk): lu (luk): cho (tŭk): tu (d'uk).
- Shī yüe chī kiao: 1. mao (môg): ch'ou (t'iôg); wei (miwər): ai (ər). 2. hing (g'āng): liang (liang): ch'ang (diang): tsang (tsâng). 3. tien (d'ien): ling (lieng, lien); t'eng (d'əng): peng (pəng): ling (liəng): ch'eng (d'iəng). 4. t'u (d'o): fu (piwo): ma (mâ): ch'u (t'io); shī (dz'iəg): tsai (tsəg): shī (sliəg). 5. shī (diəg): mou (miŭg): lai (ləg): yi (ziəg). 6. hiang (xiang): tsang (dz'âng): wang (giwang): hiang (xiang). 7. lao (log): ao (ngog); t'en (t'ien): jen (niën). 8. li (liəg): mei (mwəg); yu ('iôg): hiu (xiôg); ch'ê (t'iat): yi (diĕt).
- Y ü w u c h e n g: 1. tê $(t \ni k)$: kuo $(k w \ni k)$; t'u (d'o): ku (ko): p'u (p'wo). 2. mie $(m \nmid at)$: li $(l \ni d)$: yi $(d \nmid ad)$; ye $(z \nmid ag)$: si $(dz \nmid ak)$: o $(\neg ak)$. 3. t'ien $(t' \ni en)$: sin $(s \nmid en)$: chen $(t \nmid en)$: shen $(s \nmid en)$: t'ien $(t' \ni en)$. 4. t'uei $(t' w \ni d)$: suei $(dz \nmid en)$: tsuei $(dz \mid en)$: suei $(s \mid en)$: suei $(s \mid en)$: tuei $(t' w \ni en)$: tsuei $(t \mid en)$: suei $(t \mid en)$: suei (t
- Siao min: 1. t'u (t'o): tsü (tsio); ts'ung (dz'iung): yung (diung): k'iung (g'iung). 2. tsī (tsiār): ai ('ər): wei (giwər): yi ('iər): chī (tiər). 3. yu (ziôg): tsiu (dz'iôg; shī yung pu tsiu 默, so ap. Han shī wai chuan): kiu (g'iôg): tao (d'ôg). 4. ch'eng (d'iōng): king (kieng): t'ing (t'ieng): cheng (tsĕng): ch'eng (diĕng). 5. chī (tiəg): fou (piūg): mou (miūg); yi (ngiād): pai (b'wad). 6. ho (g'â): t'o (t'â); king (kiəng): ping (piəng).



- Siao yüan: 1. t'ien (t'ien): jen (niën). 2. k'o (k'ək): fu (piŭg): yu (giŭg). 3. ts'ai (ts'əg): fu (b'iŭg): sī (dziəg); ling (lieng): ming (miĕng): cheng (tieng): sheng (sĕng); mai (mwad): mei (miəd). 5. su (siuk): yü (ngiuk): pu (puk): ku (kuk). 6. mu (muk): ku (kuk); king (kiəng): ping (piəng).
- Siao p'an: 1. sī $(si\check{e}g)$: ch'ī $(\check{d}i\check{e}g)$; li (lia): ho $(g'\hat{a})$. 2. tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: ts'ao $(ts'\hat{o}g)$: tao $(t\hat{o}g)$: lao $(l\hat{o}g)$: shou $(si\hat{o}g)$. 3. tsī $(tsi\hat{o}g)$: chī $(ti\hat{o}g)$: mu $(m\hat{o}g)$: li (liag): tsai $(dz'\hat{o}g)$. 4. huei $(\chi iw\hat{o}d)$: p'i $(p'i\hat{o}d)$: kie $(k\hat{e}d)$: mei $(m\hat{o}d)$. 5. k'i $(g'i\check{e}g)$: (ts'ī): chī $(ti\check{e}g)$: chī $(ti\check{e}g)$. 6. sien $(si\hat{o}n)$: kin $(g'i\hat{e}n)$: jen $(ni\hat{o}n)$: yün $(giw\hat{e}n)$. 7. ch'ou $(ti\hat{o}g)$: kiu $(ki\hat{o}g)$; ki (kia): chī (d'ia): to $(t'\hat{a})$. 8. shan (san): ts'üan (dz'iwan): yen (ngian): yüan (giwan); kou (ku): hou (g'u).
- K'iao yen: 1. tsü (tsio): ku (ko): hu (χmwo) ; wei $(\dot{i}war)$: tsuei (dz'wad). 2. han (g'am): ch'an $(dz'\tilde{a}m)$; nu (no): tsü (tsio); ch'ī (t'iag): yi (ziag); 3. ming $(mi\tilde{a}ng)$: chang (tiang); tao $(d'\hat{o}g)$: pao (b'og); kan $(k\hat{a}m)$: t'an $(d'\hat{a}m)$; kung (kiung): k'iung (g'iung). 4. tso $(ts\hat{a}k)$: mo $(m\hat{a}k)$: to $(d'\hat{a}k)$: huo $(g'w\tilde{a}k)$. 5. shu (diu): shu (siu): k'ou (k'u): hou (g'u). 6. mi $(mi\hat{a}r)$: kie (ker); yung (diung): chung (diung); yi (iir): ki (kiar); to (a): ho (a):
- Ho jen sī: 1. kien (ken): men (mwən): yün (giwən). 2. huo (g'wâ): wo (ngâ): k'o (k'â). 3. ch'en (d'iĕn): shen (śiĕn): jen (ńiĕn): t'ien (t'ien). 4. feng (pium): nan (nəm): sin (siəm). 5. shê (śiå): kü (kio): hü (χiwo). 6. yi (diĕg): chī (tiĕg): chī (tiĕg). 7. ch'ī (d'iĕg): chī (tiĕg): sī (siĕg). 8. yü (giwək): tê (tək): ki (g'iək): ts'ê (tsiək).

KU FENG.

- K u f e n g : 1. yü (giwo): ju (nio): yü (dio). 2. t'uei (d'wor): huai (g'wer): yi (g'iwed). 3. wei (ngwor): wei (iwar): yüan (iwan).
- Lu o: 1. hao (χog) : lao (log). 2. wei (iwod): tsuei (dz'iwod). 2. ch'ī (t'iog): kiu (kiug): shī (diog); sü (siwet): chī (tied). 3. kü (kioh): hü (χioh) : yü (dioh): fu (b'ioh): fu (pioh); tê (toh): ki (g'ioh). 4. lie (liat): fa (piwat): hai (g'ad). 5. lü (bliwot): fu (piwot): tsu (tsiwot).
- Ta tung: 1. pi (piər): chī (t̄iər): shī (śiər): li (liər): shī (d̄iər): t'i (t'iər). 2. tung (tung): k'ung (k'ung); shuang (ṣiang): hang (g'âng); lai (ləg): kiu (kṭŭg). 3. ts'üan (dz'iwan): t'an (t'ân); sin (siĕn): jen (niĕn); tsai (tsəg): si (siək). 4. tsī (tsiəg): lai (ləg): fu (b'iŭk): k'iu (g'iôg): shī (śiəg). 5. tsiang (tsiang): ch'ang (d'iang): kuang (kwâng): siang (sniang). 6. siang (sniang): chang (tiang): siang (siang): ming (miang) keng (kăng): hang (g'âng). 7. yang (diang): tsiang (tsiang); shê (d'iat): kie (g'iat).
- Sī yüe: 1. hia (g'a): shu (sio): yü (dio). 2. ts'i (ts'ior): fei (b'iwor): kuei (kiwor). 3. lie (liat): fa (piwat): hai (g'ad). 4. mei (mwog): yu (giug). 5. cho (tuk): ku (kuk). 6. ki (kiog): shī (dz'iog): yu (giug). 7. t'ien (t'ion): yüan (iwon). 8. wei (miwor): yi (dior): ai (ior).
- Peishan: 1. k'i (k'iəg): tsī (tsiəg): shī (dz'iəg): mu (məg). 2. hia (g'â): t'u (t'o); pin (piĕn): ch'en (diĕn): kün (kiwĕn): hien (g'ien). 3. pang (pâng): peng (pwang): tsiang (tsiang): kang (kâng): fang (piwang). 4. si (siək): kuo (kwək); ch'uang (dz'iang): hing (g'āng). 5. hao (g'og): lao (log); yang (ngiang): chang (tiang). 6. tsiu (tsiôg): kiu (g'iôg); yi (ngia): wei (gwia).
- Wutsiang takü: 1. (text uncertain). 2. ming (mieng): kiung (kiweng). 3. yung ('iung): chung (d'iung).

- Siao ming: 1. t'u (t'o): ye $(d\hat{i}d)$: shu $(\hat{s}io)$: k'u (k'o): yü (giwo): ku (ko). 2. ch'u $(d'\hat{i}o)$: mu $(m\hat{a}g > mo')$: shu $(\hat{s}iwag > \hat{s}iwo')$: hia $(g'\hat{a})$: ku (ko): nu (no). 3. yü $(\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: tsu $(t\hat{s}\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: shu $(\hat{s}\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: tsu $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: su $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: fu $(p'\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$. 4. ch'u $(\hat{t}'\hat{i}o)$: yü $(z\hat{i}o)$: ju $(\hat{n}\hat{i}o)$. 5. si $(s\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: chī $(d'\hat{i}\hat{o}k)$: fu $(p\hat{i}\tilde{u}k)$.
- K u chung: 1. ts'iang (ts'iang): shang (siang): shang (siang): wang (miwang). 2. kie (ker): hie (g'er): pei (pier): huei (g'wer). 3. kao (keg): chou (tieg): ch'ou (tieg): yu (tieg): yu (tieg): yu (tieg): win (tieg): win (tieg): yin (tieg): nan (tieg): ts'in (tieg): win (tieg): wang (tieg): yin (tieg): nan (tieg): ts'in (tieg): tieg).
- Ch'uts'ī: 1. ki (kiək): tsi (tsiək): yi (giək): yi ('iək): shī (d'iək): sī (dziəg): yu (giŭg): fu (piŭk). 2. ts'iang (ts'iang): yang (ziang): ch'ang (diang): p'eng (p'ăng): tsiang (tsiang): peng (păng): ming (miăng): huang (g'wâng): hiang (χiang): k'ing (k'iăng): kiang (kiang). 3. ts'üe (ts'iak): shī (diāk): chī (fiāk): mo (mâk): k'o (k'lāk): ts'o (ts'âk): to (d'âk): huo (g'wāk): ko (klāk): tso (dz'âk). 4. k'ien (k'ian): sun (swən); sī (dziəg): shī (d'iək): fu (piŭk): shī (śiək): tsi (tsiək): ch'ī (t'iək): ki (g'iək): yi ('iək). 5. pei (b'iəg): kie (keg): kao (kôg): chī (fiəg): k'i (k'iəg); shī (śiər): kuei (kiwər): ch'ī (d'iər): ti (d'iər): sī (siər). 6. tsou (tsug): lu (luk); tsiang (tsiang): k'ing (k'iāng); pao pôg): shou (śiôg): k'ao (k'ôg); tsin (dz'iĕn): yin (diĕn).
- Sinnanshan: 1. tien (d'ien): t'ien (d'ien); li (liəg): mu (məg). 2. yün (giwən): fen (p'iwən); mu (muk): wo ('ŭk): ku (kuk). 3. yi (giək): yü ('iŭk): sê (siək): shī (d'iək); pin (pièn): nien (nien). 4. lü (lio): kua (kwå): tsü (tṣio): tsu (tso): hu (g'o). 5. tsiu (tsio): mu (môg): k'ao (k'ôg); tao (tog): mao (mog): liao (liog). 6. hiang (xiang): ming (miăng): huang (g'wâng): kiang (kiang).

FU TIEN.

- Fut'ien: 1. t'ien (d'ien): ts'ien (ts'ien): ch'en (d'iĕn): jen (niĕn): nien (nien); mu (məg): tsī (tsiəg): yi (ngiəg): chī (t̄iəg): shī (dɛ'iəg). 2. ming (miặng): yang (ziang): fang (piwang): tsang (tsâng): k'ing (k'iặng); ku (ko): tsu (tso): yü (giwo): shu (śio): nü (nio). 3. chī (t̄iəg): tsī (tsiəg): mu (məg): hi (χiəg): yu (giŭg): fou (piūg): mu (məg): yu (giūg): min (?). 4. liang (liang): king (kliāng): ts'ang (ts'âng): siang (siang): liang (liang): k'ing (k'iāng): kiang (kiang).
- Ta t'ien: 1. kie $(k\varepsilon g)$: shi $(dz'i\vartheta g)$: sī $(dzi\vartheta g)$: mu $(m\vartheta g)$; shī $(di\check{a}k)$: jo $(\acute{n}i\mathring{a}k)$. 2. tsao $(dz'\vartheta g)$: hao $(\chi \vartheta g)$: yu $(z_i\vartheta g)$; tê $(d'\vartheta k)$: tsê $(dz'\vartheta k)$; chī $(d'\mathring{i}\vartheta r)$: huo $(\chi w \vartheta r)$. 3. ts'i $(ts'i\vartheta r)$: k'i $(g'i\varepsilon r)$: sī $(s_i\vartheta r)$: chī $(d'i\vartheta r)$: tsi $(dz'i\vartheta r)$; suei $(dz'iw\vartheta d)$: li $(li\vartheta d)$: 4. chī $(li\vartheta g)$: tsī $(lsi\vartheta g)$: mu $(m\vartheta g)$: hi $(\chi l\vartheta g)$: sī $(dz_i\vartheta g)$; hei $(\chi m\vartheta k)$: tsi $(ts_i\vartheta k)$: sī $(dz_i\vartheta g)$: fu $(p_i\check{u}k)$.
- Chan pi Lo yi: 1. yi (zi)9): chĩ $(\hat{t}i)$ 9); ts'ĩ (dz'i)9): shĩ (si)97). 2. pi (pi)8): shĩ (si)98). 3. t'ung (d'ung): pang (p)199).
- Shang shang chê hua: 1. sũ (sio): sie (siag > sio) ch'u $(\hat{i}'io)$. 2. huang (g'wang): chang $(\hat{t}iang)$: k'ing (k'iang). 3. po (b'ak): lo (glak): jo (niak). 4. tso (tsa): yi (ngia); yu (giag): yu (giag): sī (dzig).
- Sang hu: 1. hu (g'o): yũ $(g\dot{\imath}wo)$: sũ $(s\dot{\imath}o)$: hu (g'o). 2. ling $(l\dot{\imath}eng)$: p'ing (b'ieng).

 3. han (g'an): hien $(\chi\dot{\imath}an)$: nan (nan): no (nan). 4. k'iu $(g'\dot{\imath}og)$: jou $(n\dot{\imath}og)$: ao (ngog): k'iu $(g'\dot{\imath}og)$.
- Y ii a n y a n g: 1. li (lia): yi (ngia). 2. yi (gizk): fu (piŭk). 3. mo (mwât): ai (ngâd). 3. ts'uei (dz'wər): suei (sniwər).
- K'uei pien: 1. ho $(g'\hat{a})$: kia (ka): t'o $(t'\hat{a})$; po $(p\check{a}k)$: yi $(d\check{i}\check{a}k)$: yi $(d\check{i}\check{a}k)$. 2. k'i $(g'\check{i}\check{o}g)$: shī $(d\check{i}\check{o}g)$: lai $(l\check{o}g)$; shang $(d\check{i}ang)$: ping $(p\check{i}\check{a}ng)$: tsang $(ts\hat{a}ng)$. 3. shou $(s\check{i}\hat{o}g)$: fou $(b'\check{i}\hat{o}g)$: kiu $(g'\check{i}\hat{o}g)$; sien $(s\check{i}an)$: kien (kian): yen (ian).
- K ü h i a : 1. hia $(g'\check{a}t)$: shī $(d\check{a}ad)$; k'o $(k'\hat{a}t)$: kuo $(kw\hat{a}t)$; yu $(g\check{a}\check{u}g)$: hi $(\chi\check{a}g)$. 2. kiao $(k\check{a}g)$: kiao $(k\check{o}g)$: yi $(d\check{a}\check{a}k)$. 3. tsiu $(ts\check{a}g)$: yao $(g'\check{o}g)$; ju $(n\check{a}g)$: wu $(m\check{a}wg)$. 4. sü $(s\check{a}g)$: sie $(s\check{a}g)$ s $\check{a}g$ s \check{a}

- Ts'ing ying: 1. fan (b'iwan): yen (ngian). 2. ki (kink): kuo (kwnk); chen (tsin): jen (niin).
- Pin chì chì u yen: 1. ch'u (tṣ'io): lü (glio); shê (śiat): yi (diễt); k'ang (k'âng): chang (tiang); t'ung (d'ung): kung (kung); ti (tiok): tsüe (tsiok). 2. ku (ko): tsu (tso); li (liər): chì (tiễd); lin (gliəm): tan (təm); neng (nəng): yu (giũg): shì (diəg). 3. yen (dian): fan (piwăn): fan (p'iwăn): ts'ien (ts'ian): sien (sian); pi (b'iễt): chì (diễt). 4. nao (?): k'i (k'iəg): yu (giũg); o (ngâ): ts'o (ts'â); fu (piũk): tê (tək); kia (ka): yi (ngia); fou (piũg): shì (sliəg): ch'ì (t'iəg): tai (d'əg); yü (ngio): ku (ko); chì (tiəg): yu (giũg).

YÜ TSAO.

- Y ü t s a o : 1. shou $(\dot{s}\dot{i}\hat{o}g)$: tsiu $(ts\hat{o}g)$. 2. wei $(m\dot{i}w\partial r)$: k'ai $(k'\partial r)$. 3. p'u (b'wo): kü $(k\dot{i}o)$.
- Ts'aî shu: 1. kü (klio): yü (dio); ma (må): fu (piwo). 2. k'in (g'ion): k'i (g'ior); p'i (p'iad): huei (xiwod): sī (siod): kie (ked). 3. ku (ko): hia (g'a): shu (sio): yü (dio); ming (miang, mien): shen (sien). 4. p'eng (b'ung): pang (pung): t'ung (d'ung): ts'ung (dz'iung). 5. wei (diwor): k'uei (g'iwer): p'i (b'ior): li (liod).
- Küe kung: 1. fan (piwan): yüan (giwan). 2. yüan (giwan): fan (nian); kiao (kog): hiao (gog). 3. yü (giug): yü (diu). 4. liang (liang): fang (piwang): jang (niang): wang (miwang). 5. kü (kiu): hou (gou): k'ü (kou): ts'ü (ts'iu). 6. mu (muk): shu (diuk). 7. piao (piog): siao (siog): kiao (kiog). 8. fou (bou): liu (liog): mao (mog): yu (ou): (ou): (ou): (ou): (ou): yu (ou): (o
- Y ü liu: 1. si (sizk): ni (*nizk? the Anc. Ch. form is niët, but both the phonetic and this Shī rime indicate a *nizk): ki (g'izk). 2. k'i (k'izad): chai (tsăd): mai (mwad): 3. t'ien (t'ien): chen (tsien): k'in (g'iĕn).
- Tu jen shī: 1. huang (g'wang): chang $(\hat{t}iang)$: wang (miwang). 2. ts'o (ts'wat): fa (piwat): yüe (diwat). 3. shī $(\hat{d}'i\delta t)$: ki $(ki\delta t)$: kie (kiet). 4. li (liad): ch'ai (t'ad): mai (mwad). 5. yü (dio): yü (zio): hü (χiwo) .
- Ts'ai lü: 1. lü (liuk): kü $(ki\delta k)$: kü (g'iuk): mu (muk). 2. lan $(gl\hat{a}m)$: chan $(\hat{t}'iam)$: chan $(\hat{t}iam)$. 3. kung (kiing): sheng $(\hat{d}'ing)$. 4. sü (dzio): chê $(\hat{t}i\hat{a})$.
- Shu miao: 1. kao (kog): lao (log). 2. niu (ngiug): tsai (tseg). 3. yü (ngio): lü (glio): ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$. 4. ying (giweng): ch'eng (dieng). 5. p'ing (b'ieng): ts'ing (ts'ieng): ch'eng (dieng): ning (nieng).
- S i sang: 1. o ('â): no $(n\hat{a}r)$: ho $(g'\hat{a})$. 2. wu ('ok): lo $(gl\hat{a}k)$. 3. yu (' $i\hat{o}g$): kiao $(kl\hat{o}g)$. 4. ai (' ∂d): wei $(giw\partial d)$; ts'ang $(dz'\hat{a}ng)$: wang (miwang).
- Po hua: 1. shu (\dot{sink}) : tu $(\dot{d'uk})$. 2. mao $(m\hat{og})$: yu $(zi\hat{og})$. 3. t'ien $(\dot{d'ien})$: jen $(\dot{n}i\tilde{en})$. 4. sin $(si\hat{en})$: jen $(\dot{n}i\tilde{en})$; shen $(\dot{d'ien})$: sin $(si\hat{en})$. 5. wai $(ngw\hat{ad})$: mai (mwad). 6. lin $(gli\hat{en})$: sin $(si\hat{en})$. 7. liang (liang): liang (liang); yi $(gi\hat{en})$: tê $(t\hat{en})$. 8. pei $(pi\hat{eg})$: k'i $(g'i\hat{eg})$.
- Mien man: 1. o (\hat{a}): ho ($g'\hat{a}$); sī ($dz_1\hat{z}g$): huei (χmwg): tsai (tsg). 2. yū ($ng_1\hat{u}$): ts'ü ($ts'_1\hat{u}$). 3. ts'ê ($ts_1\hat{z}g$): ki ($g'_1\hat{z}g$).
- H u y e: 1. p'eng $(p'\check{a}ng)$: ch'ang $(d\check{i}ang)$. 2. shou $(\acute{s}i\acute{o}g)$: tsiu $(ts\acute{i}\acute{o}g)$; fan $(b'\check{i}w\check{a}n)$: hien $(\chi_i\check{a}n)$. 3. chī $(t\check{i}\check{a}k)$: tso $(dz'\hat{a}k)$. 4. p'ao $(b'\acute{o}g)$: ch'ou $(d\check{i}\acute{o}g)$.
- Ch'an ch'an chī shī: 1. kao (kog): lao (log): chao (tiog). 2. tsu (tsiwət): mo (mwət): ch'u $(\hat{t}'iwət)$. 3. po $(pw\hat{a})$: t'o $(d'\hat{a})$: t'o $(t'\hat{a})$.
- T'i a o chī hua: 1. huang $(g'w\hat{a}ng)$: shang $(\hat{s}iang)$. 2. ts'ing $(t\hat{s}'ieng)$: sheng $(\hat{s}eng)$. 3. shou $(\hat{s}eng)$: liu $(l\hat{e}eng)$: pao $(p\hat{e}g)$.
- Ho ts'ao pu huang: 1. huang (g'wang): hing $(g'\check{a}ng)$: tsiang (tsiang): fang (piwang). 2. hüan (g'iwen): k'in $(g'i\check{e}n)$: min $(mi\check{e}n)$. 3. hu (χo) : ye $(di\mathring{a})$: fu (piwo): hia $(g'\mathring{a})$. 4. hu (g'wo): kü (kio); ts'ao $(ts'\circ g)$: tao $(d'\circ g)$.

WEN WANG.

- Wen wang: 1. t'ien (t'ien): sin (siĕn); shī (diəg): yu (giŭg). 2. yi (ziəg): tsī (tsiəg): shī (dz'iəg); shī (śiad): shī (śiad). 3. yi (giək): kuo (kwək); sheng (sĕng): cheng (tiĕng) ning (nieng). 4. chī (tiəg): tsī (tsiəg); yi (iək): fu (b'iŭk). 5. ch'ang (diang): king (kliăng); hū (χiwo): tsu (tso). 6. tê (tək): fu (piŭk); ti (tieg): yi (diĕg). 7. shen (śiĕn; A demanded by the rime, instead of the obviously erroneous A.; t'ien (t'ien); ch'ou (t'iog): fu (p'iug).
- Ta ming: 1. shang (địang): wang (gịwang): fang (pịwang). 2. shang (śịang): king (klịăng): hing (g'ăng): wang (gịwang). 3. yi (gịok): fu (pịŭk): kuo (kwok). 4. tsi (dz'iəp): ho (g'əp); sī (dz'iəg): chī (tiəg): tsī (tsiəg). 5. mei (mwod): wei (gịwod); liang (lịang): kuang (kwâng). 6. t'ien (t'ien): shen (ṣiɛn); wang (gịwang): king (kliặng): hing (g'ăng): wang (gịwang): shang (śiang). 7. lü (glio): ye (diâ): ju (nio); lin (gliom): hing (xiəng): sin (siəm). 8. yang (ziang): huang (g'wâng): pang (pâng): yang (diang): wang (giwang): shang (śiang): ming (miāng).
- Mien: 1. tie (d'iet): ts'i (ts'iĕt): hüe (g'iwet): shī (śiĕt). 2. fu (piwo): ma (må): hu (χο): hia (g'å): nü (nio): yü (giwo). 3. yi (diəg): mou (miŭg): kuei (kiwəg): shī (diəg): tsī (tsiəg). 4. chī (tiəg): yu (giūg): li (liəg): mu (məg): shī (dz'iəg). 5. t'u (d'o): kia (kå); chī (d'iək): tsai (tsəg): yi (giək). 6. jeng (niəng): hung (χπωνοης): teng (təng): p'ing (b'iəng): hing (χiəng): sheng (śiəng). 7. k'ang (k'âng): ts'iang (ts'iang): hing (g'ăng). 8. yün ('iwən): wen (miwən); pei (b'wâd): tuei (d'wâd): t'uei (t'wâd): ch'uei (t'iwad). 9. ch'eng (diĕng): sheng (sĕng); fu (b'iu): hou (g'u): tsou (tsu; yü yüe yu pen tsou 走, so ap. King tien shī wen): wu (miu).
- Y ü p u: 1. yu (zįôg): ts'ü (ts'įu; probably faulty text). 2. wang (gįwang): chang (t̄iang) o (ngâ): yi (ngia). 3. tsie (tsięp): ki (g'iəp). 4. t'ien (t'ien): jen (ñien). 5. chang (t̄iang): siang (siang): wang (giwang): fang (piwang).
- H a n lu: 1. tsi (tsiər): ti (d'iər). 2. chung (tiong): kiang (kong). 3. t'ien (t'ien): yüan (iwen): jen (nien). 4. tsai (tsag): pei (b'iag): sī (dziag): fu (piuk). 5. liao (liog): lao (log). 6. mei (mwar): huei (g'war).
- Si chai: 1. mu (məg): fu (b'įŭg); yin ('įəm): nan (nəm). 2. kung (kung): t'ung (t'ung): pang (pŭng); ts'i (ts'iər): ti (d'iər). 3. miao (miog): pao (pôg). (4, 5 no regular rimes).
- H u a n g y i: 1. ho $(\chi \hat{a}k)$: mo $(m\hat{a}k)$: huo $(g'w\tilde{a}k)$: to $(d'\hat{a}k)$: k'uo $(k'w\hat{a}k)$: tsê $(d'\tilde{a}k)$. 2. yi ('ied; k'i tsī k'i yi \mathbb{R} , so the Han version ap. L.): li (liad); pi $(b'i\tilde{e}k)$: t'i (t'iek); kü (kio): chê $(\hat{t}iag > \hat{t}io)$: lu $(gl\hat{a}g > glo)$: ku (ko). 3. pei $(b'w\hat{a}d)$: tuei (twad): ki (kiwed); hiung $(\chi iw\tilde{a}ng)$: k'ing $(k'i\tilde{a}ng)$: kuang $(kw\hat{a}ng)$: sang $(s\hat{a}ng)$: fang (piwang). 4. sin (sion): yin (ion); pi (pion): lei (liwod); huei $(\chi mwog)$: ch'ī (t'ion): tsī (tsion). 5. yüan $(giw\tilde{a}n)$: sien (dzian): an $(ng\hat{a}n)$; kung (kung): pang (piung): kung (kung); nu (no): lü (glio): hu (g'o): hia $(g'\hat{a})$. 6. king $(kli\tilde{a}ng)$: kiang (king): wang $(k\hat{a}ng)$; o (\hat{a}) : ch'ī (d'ia); yang (diang): tsiang (tsiang): fang (piwang): wang (miwang). 7. tê (tok): sê (siok): ko (kek): tsê (tok); wang (giwang): fang (piwang): hiung $(\chi iw\tilde{a}ng)$; t'ung er ti hiung, so ap. Hou Han shu); ch'ung (l'iung): yung (diung). 8. hien $(g'\tilde{a}n)$: lien (lian): an $(\hat{a}n)$; fu (b'iu): wu (miu); fu (piwot): yi (ngiot): sī (siod): hu $(\chi mwot)$: fu (b'iwot).
- Ling t'ai: 1. ying (giwěng): ch'eng (điềng); ki (kiek): lai (leg). 2. yü (giùk): fu (b'iùk); cho (d'ok): ho (xok): chao (tiog): yüe (diok). 3. tsung (tsiung): yung (diung): chung (tiung): yung (tiung): yung (tiung): yung (tiung): yung (tung): kung (kung).
- H i a wu: 1. wang (giwang): king $(kli\tilde{a}ng)$. 2. k'iu $(g'i\hat{o}g)$: fu (p'iug). 3. shī (sijk): tsê (tsik). 4. tê (tik): fu $(b'i\tilde{u}k)$. 5. wu (miwo): hu (g'o). 6. ho $(g'\hat{a})$: tso $(ts\hat{a})$.



Wen wang yu sheng: 1. sheng (śiĕng): ning (nieng): ch'eng (điĕng). 2. kung (kung): ch'ung (dz'iông): feng (p'iông). 3. hü (χiwět, chu ch'eng yi hü և, so the Han version ap. L.; this word is read χiwək in Ts'ie yün, through confusion with a synonymous word with to as phonetic, but both its fin phonetic and the rime here indicate final *-t): p'i (p'iĕt); yü (giuk): hiao (χŏg). 4. yüan (giwăn): han (g'ân). 5. tsi (tsiek): pi (piĕk). 6. yung (iūng): tung (tung); pei (pək): fu (b'iūk). 7. wang (giwang): king (kliāng); cheng (tiĕng): ch'eng (diĕng). 8. k'i (k'iəg): shī (dz'iəg): mou (miūg): tsī (tsiəg).

SHENG MIN.

Sheng min: 1. min (mɨĕn): yüan (ngɨwän); sī (dzɨzg): tsī (tsɨzg): chī (tɨzg); su (sɨck): yü (dɨck): tsi (tsɨzk). 2. yüe (ngɨwät): t'a (t'ât): hai (g'âd); ling (lieng): ning (nieng); sī (dzɨzg): tsī (tsɨzg). 3. tsī (dz'ɨzg): yi (gɨzk); lin (glɨzm): ping (pɨzng); k'ü (k'ṭab > k'ɨc): ku (kwo); hü (xɨwo): lu (glâg > glo). 4. po (b'zk): yi (ngɨzk): shī (d'ɨzk); pei (b'wâd): suei (dzɨwəd); meng (mung): peng (pung). 5. tao (d'ôg): ts'ao (ts'ôg): mou (mɨcôg): pao (pôg): yu (zɨcôg): siu (sɨcôg): hao (xôg); li (lɨĕt): shī (śɨĕt). 6. p'ei (p'ɨzg): k'i (k'ɨzg): mu (məg): k'i (k'ɨzg): fu (b'ɨxg): sī (dzɨzg). 7. yu (dɨcôg; huo chuang huo yu 🔁, so ap. Shuo wen): jou (nɨcôg): sou (ṣɨcôg): fou (b'ɨcôg); wei (dɨwər): chī (tɨzr); po (b'wât): lie (lɨat): suei (sɨwad). 8. teng (təng): sheng (śɨzng); hin (xɨzm): kin (kɨzm); shī (dɨzg): sī (dzɨzg): huei (xmwəg).

H i n g w e i : 1. wei (giwar): li (liar): t'i (t'liar): ni (niar): ti (d'iar): er (niar): ki (kier). 2. si (dziak): tso (dz'ak): chī (liak): küe (g'iak): o (ngak); yü (ngia): kia (ka). 3. kien (kien): kün (kiwen): kün (kiwen): hien (g'ien); kou (ku): hou (g'u): shu (diu): wu (miu). 4. chu (liak): ju (niak): tou (tu): kou (ku); pei (pwag): yi (giak): k'i (g'iag):

fu $(pi\check{u}g)$.

K i tsuei: 1. tê $(t\partial k)$: fu $(p\check{\imath}\check{u}k)$. 2. tsiang $(ts\check{\imath}ang)$: ming $(m\check{\imath}\check{a}ng)$. 3. yung $(d\check{\imath}\hat{o}ng)$: chung $(\hat{t}\check{\imath}\hat{o}ng)$; ch'u $(\hat{t}\check{\imath}\hat{o}k)$: ku $(k\hat{o}k)$. 4. ho $(g'\hat{a})$: kia (ka): yi (ngia). 5. shī $(d\check{\imath}\partial g)$: tsī $(ts\check{\imath}\partial g)$; kuei $(k\check{\imath}wed)$: lei $(l\check{\imath}wed)$. 6. k'un $(k\check{\imath}wen)$: yin $(d\check{\imath}\partial n)$. 7. lu (luk): pu (b'uk). 8. shī $(dz\check{\imath}\partial g)$: tsī $(tsi\partial g)$.

Fu yi: 1. king (kieng): ning (nieng): hing (χ ieng): ch'eng (dièng). 2. sha (sa): yi (ngia): to ($t\hat{a}$): kia (ka): wei (gwia). 3. chu (\hat{t} io): ch'u (\hat{t} 'io): sü (sio): fu (piwo): hia (g' \hat{a}). 4. ts'ung (dz'ung): tsung ($ts\hat{o}ng$): hiang ($ts\hat{o}ng$): ch'ung ($ts\hat{o}ng$). 5. men

 $(mw \ni n)$: hün $(\chi iw \ni n)$: hin $(\chi i \ni n)$: fen $(p'iw \ni n)$: kien $(k \in n)$.

K i a lo: 1. tsī (tsiəg): tê (tək); jen (niĕn): t'ien (t'ien); ming (miang, miĕn): shen (śiĕn).

2. fu (piūk): yi ('iək); huang (g'wang): wang (giwang): wang (miwang): chang (tiang).

3. yi ('iək, 'iĕt'): chī (d'iĕt): p'i (p'iĕt); kiang (kiang): wang (miwang).

4. ki (kiəg):

yu $(gi\check{u}g)$: shī $(dz'i\partial g)$: tsī $(tsi\partial g)$; wei $(giw\varepsilon d)$: hi $(\gamma i\partial d)$.

Kung Liu: 1. k'ang (k'âng): kiang (kiang): ts'ang (ts'âng): liang (liang): nang (nâng): kuang (kwâng): chang (tiang): yang (diang): hing (g'ăng). 2. yüan (ngiwăn): fan (b'iwăn): süan (siwan): t'an (t'ân): yen (ngiăn): yüan (ngiwăn); yao (diog): tao (tog). 2. ts'üan (dz'iwan): yüan (ngiwăn); kang (kâng): king (kliăng); ye (diâ): ch'u (t'io): lü (glio): yü (ngio). 4. yi ('ior): tsi (tsior): ki (kier): yi ('ior); ts'ao (dz'ôg): lao (lôg): p'ao (b'ôg); yin ('iom): tsung (tsông). 5. ch'ang (d'iang): kang (kâng): yang (diang); ts'üan (dz'iwan): tan (tân): yüan (ngiwăn); liang (liang): yang (diang): huang (xwâng). 6. kuan (kwân): luan (lwân): tuan (twân); li (liog): yu (giŭg); kien (kan): kien (kan); mi (miĕt): tsi (tsiok, tsiĕt).

Hiung cho: 1. tsī (tsigg): ch'ī (\hat{t}^2igg) : tsī (tsigg): mu (migg). 2. lei (lwigg): kuei

(kiw r). 3. kai (k r d): hi $(\chi i r d)$.

K' ü a n o: 1. o (\hat{a}): ko (\hat{ka}); nan ($n \neq m$): yin ($\hat{i} \neq m$). 2. yu ($\hat{d} \neq \hat{i} \neq 0$): hiu ($\hat{\chi} \neq \hat{i} \neq 0$): ts'iu ($\hat{d} \neq \hat{i} \neq 0$). 3. hou ($\hat{g} \neq 0$): chu ($\hat{t} \neq \hat{i} \neq 0$). 4. ch'ang ($\hat{d} \neq 0$): k'ang ($\hat{d} \neq 0$): ch'ang ($\hat{d} \neq 0$).

- 5. yi (gi): tê (ti): tsê (tsi). 6. ang (ngang): chang (fiang): wang (miwang): wang (miwang). 7. chī (fi): shī (dz'i): shī (sli): tsī (tsi): shī (ti): jen (ni): jen (ni): jen (ni): jen (ni): sheng (mi): she
- Min lao: 1. k'ang (k'âng): fang (piwang): liang (liang): ming (miặng): wang (giwang). 2. hiu (χiôg): k'iu (g'iôg): nao (?): yu ('iôg): hiu (χiôg). 3. si (siək): kuo (kwək): ki (g'iək): t'ê (t'nək): tê (tək). 4. k'i (k'iad): yi (ziad): li (liad): pai (b'wad): ta (d'âd). 5. an (ân): ts'an (dz'ân): k'üan (k'iwăn): fan (piwăn): kien (klan).
- Pan: 1. pan (pwan): tan (tân): jan (nṣan): yüan (gṣwān): kuan (kwân): tan (tân): yüan (gṣwān): kien (klan). 2. nan (nân): hien (χṣān); kuei (kṣwad): yi (zṣad); tsi (dz'ṣəp): hia (g'ɛp); yi (dṣāk): mo (mâk). 3. liao (liog): ao (ngog): siao (sṣog): jao (nṣog).
 4. nüe (ngṣok): hüe (χṣok): küe (g'ṣok): mao (mog): hüe (χṣok): hu (χοk): yüe (gṣok).
 5. tsi (dz'ṣər): p'i (b'ṣər): mi (mɨər): shī (sṣər): hi (?): k'uei (g'ṣwɛr): tsī (tsṣər): shī (sṣər). 6. ch'ī (d'ṣĕg): kuei (kɨweg): hi (g'ɨweg); yi ('ṣĕk): yi (dṣĕk): p'i (p'ṣĕk): pi (b'ṣĕk).
 7. fan (pṣwān): yüan (gṣwān): han (g'ân); p'ing (b'ēng): ning (nēng): ch'eng (dṣĕng); huai (g'wɛr): wei ('ṣwər). 8. nu (no): yü (dṣo); yü (dṣu): k'ü (k'ṣu); ming (mṣĕng): wang (gṣwang); tan (tân): yen (gṣan).

TANG.

- Tang: 1. ti (tieg): pi (piěk): ti (tieg): p'i (p'iěk); shen (diem): chung ($\hat{t}i\hat{o}ng$). 2. k'o (k'ək): fu (b'iŭk): tê (tək): li (liək). lei (liwəd): chuei (d'iwəd): tuei (twəb > twəd): nei (nwəb > nwəd); chu ($\hat{t}i\hat{o}k$): kiu (kiôg). 4. kuo (kwək): tê (tək): ts'ê (tṣiək); ming (miăng): k'ing (k'iăng). 5. shī (śiək): chī ($\hat{t}i\hat{o}g$): huei (xmwəg); hu (xo): ye (ziag > zio'). 6. t'ang (d'âng): keng (kăng): sang (sâng): hing (g'ăng): fang (piwang). 7. shī (diəg): kiu (g'iŭg); hing (g'ieng): t'ing (t'ieng): k'ing (k'iwěng). 8. kie (g'iat): hai (g'âd): po (b'wât): shī (śiad).
- Y i: 1. yü (ngiu): yü (ngiu); tsi (dz'izt): li (lizd). 2. hün $(\chi iwzn)$: shun (d'iwzn); ku $(k\hat{o}k)$: tsê (tszk). 3. cheng $(\hat{t}i\tilde{e}ng)$: hing (g'ieng); tsiu $(tsi\hat{o}g)$: shao (digg). 4. shang (diang): wang (miwang): chang $(\hat{t}iang)$: ping (piang): fang (piwang); mei (mizd): nei (nwzb) > nwzd). 5. tu $(d'\hat{a}g) > d'o'$: yü (ngiwo); yi (ngia): kia (ka): mo $(mw\hat{a})$: wei (gwia). 6. shê (d'iat): shī (diad); ch'ou (digg): pao $(p\hat{o}g)$; yu $(gi\hat{o}g)$: tsī (tsizg); sheng (d'izng): ch'eng (dizng). 7. yen (ngan): k'ien (k'ing); lou (lu): kou (ku); ko (klak): to (d'ak): yi (diak). 8. kia (ka): yi (ngia); tsê (dz'zk): tsê (tszk); li (lizg): tsī (tsizg). 9. sī (sizg): kii (kizg); tsien (tsizm): sin (sizm). 10. tsī (tsizg): pei (pizg): shī (dz'izg): er (nizg): tsī (tsizg); ying (dieng): ch'eng (dieng). 11. chao (tizg): lo (glak): ts'ao (ts'g): mo (mok): kiao (kog): nüe (ngiok): mao (mog). 12. tsī (tsizg): ch'i (tizg): mou (miug): huei (mwzg); nan (nan): yüan (giwan); kuo (kwzk): t'ê (tzzk): tê (tzk): ki (kizk).
- Sang jou: 1. jou (nɨjôg): liu (lɨjôg): yu (ijôg); sün (dziwěn): min (miĕn): t'ien (d'ien): k'in (g'iĕn). 2. k'uei (g'iwɛr): yi (diər): li (liər): ai (iər); p'ien (p'ian): min (miĕn); tsin (dz'iĕn): p'in (b'iĕn). 3. tsī (tsiər): wei (diwər): kie (kɛr); tsiang (tsiang): wang (giwang): king (g'iăng): keng (kăng). 4. yin (iən): ch'en (diən): si (siər; the line should run: tsī tung ts'u si): hun (xmwən); yü (giwo): nu (no): ch'u (î'io): yü (ngio). 5. pi (piĕd): sü (siwĕt): jê (niat); süe (siok): tsüe (tsiok): cho (d'ŏk): ni (niok). 6. feng (pium): sin (siəm); ai (iod): tai (d'od); sê (siək): shī (d'iək); pao (pôg): hao (xôg). 7. wang (giwang): yang (ziang): huang (xwâng): ts'ang (ts'âng); tsei (dz'ək): kuo (kwək): li (liək). 8. siang (siang): tsang (tsâng): ch'ang (d'iang): k'uang (g'iwang). 9. lin (gliəm): chen (tṣiəm); lu (luk): ku (kuk): ku (kuk). 10. li (liəg): hi (xiəg): ki (g'iəg). 11. ti (d'iôk): fu (b'iôk): tu (d'ôk). 12. ku (kuk): ku (kuk): ku (ku). 13.



- suei (dz_iwad) : lei (l_iwad) : tuei (twab > twad): tsuei (ts_iwad) : pei (b'wad). 14. tso (tsak): huo (g'wak): ho (χak) . 15. ki (g'iak): pei (b'wag): ko (k'ak): li (l_iak) . 16. k'o (k'ak): ko (kak).
- Y ü n H a n: 1. t'ien (t'ien): jen (nížn): chen (tṣiɛn); sheng (sěng): t'ing (t'ieng). 2. ch'ung (d'iông): kung (kiông): tsung (tsông): lin (bliəm): kung (kiông). 3. t'uei (t'wər): lei (lwər): yi (g'iwed): wei ('iwər): ts'uei (dz'wər). 4. tsü (tsio): so (ṣio): ku (ko): chu (dz'io): tsu (tso): yü (dio). 5. ch'uan (\hat{t} 'iwən): fen (b'iwən): hün (xiwən): wen (miwən): tun (d'wən). 6. k'ü (k'iab > k'io'): ku (ko): mu (mâg > mo'): yü (ngiwo): nu (no). 7. ki (kiəg): tsai (tsəg): yu (giŭg): chī (\hat{t} iəg): li (liəg). 8. sing (sieng): ying (diĕng): ch'eng (diĕng): cheng (\hat{t} iĕng): ning (nieng).
- Sung kao: 1. t'ien (t'ien): shen (d'iĕn): shen (śiĕn); han (g'ân): fan (piwăn): süan (siwan). 2. shī (dz'iəg): shī (śiək); po (păk): tsê (d'āk); pang (pŭng): kung (kung). 3. pang (pŭng): yung (diung); t'ien (d'ien): jen (niĕn). 4. ying (giwĕng): ch'eng (diĕng): ch'eng (diĕng); mo (mŏk): küe (g'iok): cho (d'ŏk). 5. ma (må): t'u (t'o); pao (pôg): pao (pôg). 6. mei (miər): kuei (kiwər); kiang (kiang): chang (tiang): hing (g'āng). 7. po (pwâr): t'an (t'ân): han (g'ân): hien (χiān). 8. tê (tək): chī (d'iək): kuo (kwək); shī (diāk): po (pāk).
- Cheng min: 1. tsê (tsik): tê (tsik); hia $(g'\hat{a})$: fu (piwo). 2. tê (tsik): tsê (tsik): sê (siik): yi (giik): shī (siik): li (liik); jo (niag > nio): fu (piwo). 3. k'ao (k'og): pao (pog); shê (d'iat): wai (ngwad): fa (piwat). 4. tsiang (tsiang): ming (miang); shen (siin): jen (niin). 5. ju (nio): t'u (t'o); fu (piwo): ju (nio): t'u (t'o): kua (kwa): yü (ngio). 6. kü (kio): t'u (d'o): kü (kiwo): chu (dz'io): pu (pwo). 7. ye (ngiap): tsie (dz'iap): ki (g'ipp); pang (pang): ts'iang (ts'iang): fang (piwang). 8. k'uei (g'iwer): kie (ker): ts'i (dz'ior): kuei (kiwor); feng (pium): sin (siom).
- Han yi: 1. tien (d'ien): ming (miặng, miĕn); tao (d'ôg): k'ao (k'ôg); hie (g'ĕg): yi (diĕg): pi (piĕk). 2. chang (tiang): wang (giwang): chang (tiang): heng (g'ăng): yang (diang); mi (miek): o ('ĕk). 3. tsu (tso): t'u (d'o): hu (g'o): yü (ngio): p'u (b'wo): kü (kio): tsü (tsio): sü (sio). 4. tsi (tsiog): chī (tiog): li (liog); pang (pâng): ts'iang (ts'iang): kuang (kwâng); yün (giwon): men (mwon). 5. tao (tog): lo (glâk); t'u (t'o): hü (xiwo): yü (ngiwo): hu (xo): kü (kio): yü (zio). 6. wan (g'wân): man (mlwan); mo (māk): po (pāk): ho (xâk): tsi (dz'iāk); p'i (b'ia): pi (pia).
- Kiang Han: 1. fou (b'iôg): t'ao (t'ôg): yu (diôg): k'iu (g'iôg); kü (kio): yü (zio): shu (śio): p'u (p'wo). 2. shang (śiang): kuang (kwâng): fang (piwang): wang (giwang); p'ing (b'iĕng): ting (d'ieng): cheng (tsĕng): ning (nieng). 3. hu (χο): hu (χο): t'u (t'o); ki (kiək): ki (g'iək); li (liəg): hai (χməg). 4. süan (siwan): han (g'ân); tsī (tsiəg): sī (ziəg): ch'ī (t'iəg). 5. jen (niĕn): t'ien (d'ien): ming (miang, miĕn): nien (nien). 6. shou (śiôg): hiu (χiôg): k'ao (k'ôg): shou (diôg): tsī (tsiəg): yi (ziəg); tê (tək): kuo (kwək).
- Ch'ang wu: 1. tsu (tso): fu (piwo); kie (keg): kuo (kwok). 2. fu (piwo): lü (glio): p'u (p'wo): t'u (t'o): ch'u $(\hat{t}'io)$: sü (dzio). 3. ho (χak) : tso (tsak); yu (diog): sao (sog); t'ing (d'ieng): king (kieng). 4. wu (miwo): nu (no): hu (χo) : lu (lo): p'u (p'wo): so (sio). 5. t'an (t'an): han (g'an): han (χan) ; pao (pog): liu (liog); yi (giok): k'o (k'ok): kuo (kwok). 6. sê (sok): lai (log); t'ung (d'ung): kung (kung); p'ing (b'ieng): t'ing (d'ieng); huei (g'wor): kuei (kiwor).
- Chan yang: 1. huei (g'iwəd): li (liad): chai (tsăd); ning (nieng): ting (d'ieng); tsi (dz'iət): kie (kɛd); shou (śióg): ch'ou (t'liôg). 2. t'ien (d'ien): jen (ńiĕn); to (d'wât): t'o (t'wât). 3. ch'eng (diĕng): k'ing (k'iĕng); ch'ī (t'iər): kie (kɛr); t'ien (t'ien): jen (ńiĕn); huei (xmwəg): sī (dziəg). 4. t'ê (t'ək): pei (b'wəg): ki (g'iək): t'ê (t'ək): pei (b'wəg): shī (śiək): shī (dz'iəg): chī (tiək). 5. ts'i (tsiĕk): ti (d'iek); fu (piŭg): ki (g'iəg); siang (dziang): wang (miwang); lei (liwəd): tsuei (dz'iwəd). 6. wang (miwang):

- wang (miwang); yu $(ij\hat{o}g)$: yu $(ij\hat{o}g)$; ki (kipr): pei (pipr). 7. shen (sipm): kin (kipm) (the rest unrimed).
- Shao min: 1. sang (sâng): wang (miwang): huang (xwâng). 2. hung (g'ung): kung (kung): pang (pũng). 3. tien (tiam): pien (piam). 4. mou (miôg): chĩ (tiag). 5. fu (piũg): shĩ (địag): kiu (kiũg): tsĩ (tsiag) (the rest unrimed). 6. kie (g'iat): hai (g'âd); chung (tiông): hung (g'wang): kung (kiông). 7. li (liag): tsai (tsag): kiu (g'iũg).

CHOU SUNG.

Chī king: wang (giwang): k'ang (k'âng): huang (g'wâng): fang (piwang): ming (miang): hung (g'wang): ts'iang (ts'iang): jang (niang); kien (kan): fan (piwan): fan (piwan).

CH'EN KUNG.

- Chen lu: yung ('iung): jung (diung); o ('âk): yi (diăk); ye (ziag > zio'): yü (zio).
- Feng nien: shu (sio): t'u (t'o); tsī (tsior): li (lior): pi (pior): li (lior): kie (ker).
- Y u k u : ku (ko): kü (g'io): yü (giwo): ku (ko): yü (ngio): kü (kio); t'ing (d'ieng): sheng (sièng): ming (mièng): t'ing (t'ieng): ch'eng (d'ièng).
- Ts'ien: tsü (tsio): yü (ngio); wei (giwəg): li (liəg): sī (dziəg): fu (piŭk).
- Y u n g: yung ('iung): kung (kung); su (siôk): mu (miôk); mu (môg): k'ao (k'ôg); sī (dziəg): tsī (tsiəg); jen (niën): t'ien (t'ien); hou (g'u): hou (g'u); shou (diôg): k'ao (k'ôg); ch'ī (t'iəg): mu (məg).
- Tsai hien: wang (giwang): chang (\hat{t} iang): yang (diang): yang ('iang): ts'iang (ts'iang): kuang (ts'iang): hiang (ts'iang); shou (ts'iang); pao (ts'iang); hu (ts'iang): kia (ts'iang): hiang (ts'iang); shou (ts'iang); hu (ts'iang): hiang (ts'iang); hu (ts'iang): hiang (ts'iang); hu (ts'iang): hiang (ts'iang); hu (ts'iang): hiang (ts'
- Yu k'o: ma (må): lü (glio); chuei (tiwər): suei (sniwər); wei ('iwər): yi (diər).

MIN YÜ SIAO TSI.

- Min yü siao tsī: tsao $(dz'\hat{o}g)$: k'ao $(k'\hat{o}g)$: hiao (χog) ; t'ing (d'ieng): king $(ki\check{e}ng)$; wang (giwang): wang (miwang).
- K i n g c h ī : chī (t̄iəg): sī (siəg): tsai (tsəg): tsī (tsiəg): tsī (tsiəg): chī (t̄iəg); tsiang (tsiang): ming (miang): hing (g'ang).
- Siao pi: feng (p'iung): ch'ung $(d'i\hat{o}ng)$; niao [tiao] $(ti\hat{o}g)$: liao $(gli\hat{o}g)$.
- Tsai shan: tsê (tsāk): shī (śiāk); yūn (giwən): chen (t̄iən); yi (ziəg): fu (b'iŭg): shī (dz'iəg): sī (dziəg): mu (məg); huo (g'wât): ta (d'ât): kie (g'iat); miao (miog): piao (piog); tsi (tsiər): tsi (tsiər): li (liər): pi (piər): li (liər); hiang (χiang): kuang (kwâng); hing (χieng): ning (nieng).
- Liang sī: si (dzizg): mu (mzg); ju (nizg): kü (klizg): shu (sizg); kiu (kizg): tiae (d^2izg) : liae (glizg); hiu (χizg) : mou (mizg); chī (tizg): li (lizg): chī (tzizg): shī (sizg); ying (dzizg): ning (nizg); küe (kuk): sü (dzizg).
- Sī yi: fou $(p'i\check{u}g)$: k'iu $(g'i\check{u}g)$: ki (kigg): niu $(ngi\check{u}g)$: tsī (tsigg); k'iu $(g'i\hat{o}g)$: jou $(ni\hat{o}g)$: hiu $(\gamma i\hat{o}g)$.

LU SUNG.

- K i u n g: 1. ma (må): ye (dįå): chê (t̄jā); huang (g'wâng): (pâng): kiang (kiang): tsang (tsâng). 2. p'ei (p'iəg): k'i (g'iəg): p'ei (p'iəg): k'i (g'iəg): ts'ai (dz'əg). 3. lo (glâk): lo (glâk): yi (diāk): yi (diāk): tso (tsâk). 4. hia (g'å): yü (ngio): k'ü (k'iab > k'io'): sie (dziā): ts'u (dz'o).
- Y u p i : 1. huang (g'wang): ming (miang); hia (g'a): wu (miwo). 2. mu (mog): tsiu (tsiog); fei (piwor): kuei (kiwor). 3. hüan $(\chi iwan)$: yen (ian); shī (siog): yu (giug): tsī (tsiog).



- P'an shuei: 1. k'in (g'in): k'i (g'in); pei (b'wad): huei (χwad) : ta (d'ad): mai (mwad). 2. tsao (tsog): kiao (kiog): chao $(\hat{t}iog)$: siao (siog): kiao (kog). 3. mao (mog): tsiu (tsiog): lao (log): tao (d'og): ch'ou $(\hat{t}'iog)$. 4. tê (tok): tsê (tok); wu (miwo): tsu (tso): hu (g'o). 5. tê (tok): fu (b'iik): kuo (kwek); yao (diog): siu (dziog). 6. sin (siom): nan (nom); huang (g'wang): yang (diang); hiung $(\chi iung)$: kung (kung). 7. k'iu (g'iog): sou (siog); po (pak): yi (diak): yi (ngiak): huo (g'wak). 8. lin (gliom): shen (diom): yin (iom): ch'en (t'iom): kin (kiom).
- Pi kung: 1. mei (mwər): huei (g'wər): yi ('iər): ch'ī (d'iər); tsi (tsiək): fu (piŭk): lu (gliôk): mo (mwɛk): kuo (kwək): sê (siək); shu (śio): kü (g'io): t'u (t'o): sü (dzio). 2. wang (giwang): yang (diang): shang (śiang); wu (miwo): sü (dzio): ye (diâ): yü (ngiwo): ju (nio): lü (glio): fu (b'iwo): lu (lo): yü (gio): fu (b'iwo). 3. kung (kung): tung (tung): yung (diung); tsī (tsiəg): sī (dziəg): er (niəg); hie (g'ēg): ti (tieg); hi (χia): yi (ngia): to (tâ); tsu (tso): ju (nio). 4. ch'ang (diang): heng (g'ăng): kang (kâng): ts'iang (ts'iang): keng (kăng): fang (b'iwang): yang (ziang): k'ing (k'iăng): ch'ang (l'iang): tsang (tsâng): fang (piwang): ch'ang (diang); peng (pəng): t'eng (d'əng): p'eng (b'əng): ling (liəng). 5. sheng (d'iəng): t'eng (d'əng): kung (kiŭng): ts'in (ts'iəm): tseng (tsəng): ying (iəng): ch'eng (d'iəng): ch'eng (d'iəng); ch'ī (t'iəg): fu (piūg): pei (pwəg): shī (śiəg); ta (d'âd): ai (ngâd): suei (siwad): hai (g'âd). 6. yen (ngam): chan (liam); meng (mung): tung (tung): pang (pūng): t'ung (d'ung): ts'ung (dz'iung): kung (kung). 7. yi (diāk): tsê (d'āk): mo (māk): no (nâk): jo (niak). 8. kia (kâ): lu (lo): hü (χio): yü (gio); hi (χiəg): mu (məg): shī (dz'iəg): yu (giūg): ch'ī (l'iəg): ch'ī (t'iəg). 9. po (pāk): to (d'âk): ch'ī (l'iāk): si (siāk): shī (diāk): yi (diāk): tso (tsâk): jo (niak).

SHANG SUNG.

- No: ku (ko): tsu (tso); ch'eng $(\tilde{d}_{1}\tilde{e}ng)$: sheng $(\tilde{s}_{1}\tilde{e}ng)$: p'ing $(b'_{1}\tilde{e}ng)$: sheng $(\tilde{s}_{1}\tilde{e}ng)$; yi $(d_{1}\tilde{a}k)$: yi $(d_{1}\tilde{a}k)$: k'o $(k'l\tilde{a}k)$: yi $(d_{1}\tilde{a}k)$: si $(s_{1}\tilde{a}k)$: tso $(ts\hat{a}k)$: si $(dz_{1}\tilde{a}k)$: k'o $(k'l\hat{a}k)$; ch'ang $(\tilde{d}_{1}\tilde{a}ng)$: tsiang $(ts_{1}\tilde{a}ng)$.
- Lie tsu: tsu (tso): hu (g'o): so (sio): hu (g'o); ch'eng (điệng): p'ing (b'iệng): cheng (tsěng); kiang (kiang): heng (g'ăng): ts'iang (ts'iang): hiang (χiang): tsiang (tsiang): k'ang (k'âng): jang (niang): hiang (χiang): kiang (kiang): ch'ang (điang): tsiang (tsiang).
- H ü a n n i a o : 1. shang ($\acute{s}iang$): mang ($mw\^{a}ng$): t'ang ($\'{t}'ang$): fang (piwang); yu ($gi\~{u}g$): tai ($\'{d}'ag$): tsī ($tsi\~{e}g$); sheng ($\acute{s}i\~{e}ng$): sheng ($\~{d}'i\~{e}ng$): ch'eng ($\~{d}i\~{e}ng$); li ($li\~{e}g$): chī ($\~{l}i\~{e}g$): hai ($\chi m g$); ho ($g'\^{a}$): yi (ngia): ho ($g'\^{a}$).
- Ch' ang fa: 1. shang (śiang): siang (dziang): mang (mwâng): fang (piwang): kiang (kiang): ch'ang (d'iang): tsiang (tsiang): shang (śiang). 2. po (pwât): ta (d'ât): yüe (giwāt): fa (piwāt): lie (liat): tsie (dz'iat); 3. wei (giwər): tsi (dz'iər): ch'ī (d'iər): tsi (tsiər): ch'ī (d'iər): wei (giwər). 4. k'iu (g'iôg): liu (liôg): hu (xiôg): k'iu (g'iôg): jou (niôg): yu (iôg): ts'iu (dz'iôg). 5. kung (kung): mang (mũng): lung (liung): yung (diung): tung (d'ung): sung (siung): tsung (tsung). 6. pei (b'wâd): yüe (giwāt): lie (liat): o (iât): nie (ngiat): ta (d'ât): tsie (dz'iat): fa (b'iwāt): kie (g'iat). 7. ye (diap): ye (ngiāp); tsī (tsiəg): shī (dz'iəg); heng (g'ăng): wang (giwang).
- Y i n w u: 1. wu (miwo): ch'u (tṣ'io): tsu (tṣio): lü (glio): so (ṣio): sü (dzio). 2. hiang (χiang): t'ang (t'âng): k'iang (k'iang): hiang (χiang): wang (giwang): ch'ang (diang).
 3. pi (piĕk): tsi (tsiek): pi (piĕk): tsê (d'ĕk): hie (g'ĕg). 4. kien (klam): yen (ngiām): lan (glâm); kuo (kwək): fu (piūk). 5. yi (giək): ki (g'i¾k); sheng (śiĕng): ling (lieng): ning (nieng): sheng (sĕng). 6. shan (săn): huan (g'wân): ts'ien (ts'ian): k'ien (g'ian): ch'an (t'ian): hien (g'ăn): an ('ân).



ARCHAIC GRAPHS.

In the dictionary below archaic graphs will be quoted according to the following system.

Oracle inscriptions.

Yin time graphs on tortoise shell and bone will be quoted directly, by küan and page in one or other of the following repertories, represented, for brevity's sake, by capital letters:

A = Yin k'ü shu k'i ts'ien pien;
B = Yin k'ü shu k'i hou pien;
C = Yin k'ü shu k'i sü pien;
D = Yin k'ü shu k'i tsing hua;
E = T'ie yün ts'ang kuei;
F = T'ie yün ts'ang kuei chī yü;
G = T'ie yün ts'ang kuei shī yi;
H = Kuei kia shou ku wen tsī;
I = Tsien shou t'ang so ts'ang Yin k'ü wen tsī;
K = Yin k'i pu ts'ī;
L = Yin k'ü wen tsī ts'un chen;
M = Sin huo pu ts'ī sie pen;
N = T'ien ye k'ao ku pao kao I;

O = Yin k'i tsuei pien; P = Yin k'i yi ts'un.

(or bone) n:o 5.

Thus, for instance, an entry like this: A 5: 40,5 means that the graph in question is to be found in Lo Chen-yü's Yin k'ü shu k'i ts'ien pien, k ü a n 5, p. 40, shell

Bronze and stone inscriptions.

The inscriptions upon which I have drawn I register here in a numbered series, and in the dictionary an entry like this: Chou I 57 means that the graph in question is to be found in our inscription 57 below, which is an inscription of the period Chou I (cf. the introduction above). In our list of inscriptions here, the repertories are indicated by the following abbreviations:

Chengsung = Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen; Chengts'iu = Cheng ts'iu kuan ki kin t'u; Eumorf. = The George Eumorfopoulos collection of Chinese and Korean Bronzes 1929, 1930; = Huai mi shan fang ki kin t'u; Huaimi K'i = K'i ku shī ki kin wen shu; K'ia = K'ia chai tsi ku lu; = Kün ku lu kin wen; Kün = Meng wei ts'ao t'ang ki kin t'u; Mengwei Paoyün = Pao yün lou yi k'i t'u lu; Santai = San tai ki kin wen ts'un;

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= Senoku seishō (Sumitomo cat.);
Senoku
             = Shan chai ki kin lu;
Shan
Shierkia
             = Shī er kia ki kin t'u lu;
             = Shī ku shu ki (stone drums);
Shiku
             = Siao kiao king ko kin shī wen tsī;
Siaokiao
Sung chai, sü = Sung chai ki kin sü lu;
             = T'ao chao ki kin lu;
             = Tsun ku chai so kien ki kin t'u;
Tsunku
T'ulu
             = Liang Chou kin wen ts'ī ta hi t'u lu;
Wuying
             = Wu ying tien i k'i t'u lu.
                    List of inscriptions quoted:
                                     Yin:
    Chengsung 2: 24
                                          28. K'ia 6: 8
    Chengsung 2:41
                                          29. Kün 2/1 20
                                          30. Kün 2/1:41
    Chengsung 2: 44
    Chengsung 4: 12
                                          31. Kün 2/1:49
                                          32. Kün 2/3:86
    Chengsung 4: 43
 6.
    Chengsung 7:18
                                          33. T'ao 1:25
 7.
    Chengsung 8: 23
                                          34. Chengsung 2:9
                                          35. Chengsung 8: 14
 8.
    Chengsung 8: 24
 9.
    Chengsung 8: 28
                                          36. Chengsung 8: 18
10. Chengsung 8:31
                                          37. Chengsung, sü shang 19
11.
    Chengsung, sü shang 26
                                          38. Chengsung, sü hia 10
12. Chengsung, sü chung 4
                                          39. Chengsung, pu shang 19
13. Chengsung, sü chung 8
                                          40. Chengsung, pu shang 22
14. Chengsung, sü chung 9
                                          41. Chengsung, pu chung 18
15. Chengsung, sü chung 19
                                          42. Chengsung, pu chung 21
16.
    Chengsung, sü chung 24
                                          43.
                                               Chengsung, pu chung 29
17. Chengsung, pu shang 18
                                          44. K'ia 7: 16
18. Chengsung, pu chung 9
                                          45. Siaokiao 4:51
19. K'i 2:1
                                          46. Siaokiao 2: 34
20. K'i 3: 20
                                          47. Siaokiao 2:48
                                          48. Siaokiao 3:70
21. K'i 3: 20
22. K'i 5: 12
                                          49. Siaokiao 4: 46
23. K'i 6: 13
                                          50. Siaokiao 5: 20
24. K'i 16:3
                                          51. Siaokiao 5: 94
                                          52. Shīerkia 4: 12
25. K'i 16:4
26. K'i 16:6
                                          53. Shan 5: 44
27. K'ia 6:5
                 Chou I (circa 1122—circa 950 B. C.).
    Chengsung 6: 6, T'ulu 9
54.
                                          61.
                                               Kün 1/2: 47
55. Chengsung 4: 47, T'ulu 11
                                               Chengsung 3:15, Paoyün 8, T'ulu
                                          62.
56. Shan 2: 81, T'ulu 12
57. K'i 16: 9, Kün 3/1: 14
                                          63.
                                               Chengsung 4: 48, Eumorf I: 26, T'ulu
58. Chengsung, pu shang 29, Shan 8:98
                                                 20
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64. Chengsung 8: 42, T'ulu 21

65. K'i 2: 35, Kün 3/3: 31, T'ulu 18

Chengsung, pu chung 12, T'ulu 24

Chengsung 4: 48, T'ulu 12

Chengsung 3: 18, Kün 2/3: 22, T'ulu

67 .	Kün 3/3: 42, T'ulu 19	101.	K'i 2: 3
68.		102.	
69 .		103.	
70 .		104.	0 0 .
7 1.		101.	3: 109
72 .		105.	K'i 16: 13, T'ulu 14
73 .		103.	
74.	Chengsung, sü chung 23, T'ulu 16	107.	•
		107.	· ·
7 5.			
7 6.		109.	
7 7.		110.	
7 8.	Chengsung, pu chung 12, T'ulu 36	111.	0 0 1
79 .		112.	e c
80.		113.	
81.		114.	
82.		115.	
83.		116.	0 0 ,
84.		117.	,
85.		118.	
86 .		119.	
87.		120.	0 0 1
88.		121.	
89.		122.	
90.			Shan 8: 48
91.		124.	
92 .		125.	
93 .		126.	
94 .	Chengsung, pu shang 12, T'ulu 14	127.	
95 .		128.	
	K'i 16: 7	129.	Shan 3: 33
97 .	K'i 16: 36, T'ulu 64		K'i 6: 23
98.	K'i 6: 14	131.	K'i 6:8
99 .	Chengsung 4: 5, Shan 3: 19	131 a	a. Tsunku 1:36
100.	K'i 6: 15	131 1	o. Sungchai, sü 37
	Chou II (circa	9 5 0	circa 770).
132.	K'i 2: 21, T'ulu 83	146.	K'i 9: 30, T'ulu 118
	K'ia 4: 26, T'ulu 61		K'i 8: 21, T'ulu 127
	K'ia 11:7, T'ulu 58	148.	
135.	Chengsung 3: 30, T'ulu 38	149.	Chengsung 3: 22
	Chengsung 3: 31, T'ulu 39		Kün 3/2: 25, T'ulu 133
137.	Chengsung 3: 33, T'ulu 62	151.	K'i 4: 27, T'ulu 135
138.	K'i 4: 15, T'ulu 60	152.	K'i 9: 17, T'ulu 140
139.	K'ia 5: 1, T'ulu 110	153.	Chengsung 6: 17, T'ulu 146
140.	Chengsung 3: 34, T'ulu 113	154.	Chengsung 6: 20
141.	Chengsung 6: 3, T'ulu 107	155.	Chengsung, pu shang 39, T'ulu 84
142.	K'ia 15: 18, T'ulu 112	156.	K'ia 9: 17, T'ulu 137
142. 143.	Chengsung 6: 44, T'ulu 116	150. 157.	K'i 8: 15, T'ulu 88
143. 144.	Chengsung 6: 9, T'ulu 116	158.	K'ia 15: 16, T'ulu 79
144. 145.	K'i 2: 15, T'ao 1: 40, T'ulu 118	159.	K'i 16: 10, T'ulu 99
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160.	T'ao 2: 10, T'ulu 101	182.	K'i 4: 25, T'ulu 135
161.	·	183.	
162.	·	184.	
163.	Chengsung 6: 5, T'ulu 43	185.	K'ia 11: 23, T'ulu 137
164.	Chengsung 3: 36, T'ulu 45	186.	Kün 3/2: 49, T'ulu 36
165.		187.	K'i 5: 19, T'ulu 58
166.	Chengsung, pu shang 14, T'ulu 71	188.	Kün 3/1:32, T'ulu 67
167.		189.	
168.	Chengsung, pu shang 16	190.	Chengsung 6: 3, T'ulu 27
169.	Chengsung 6: 7, T'ulu 73	191.	K'i 4:4
170.	K'i 4: 29, T'ulu 73	192.	K'i 4: 7, T'ulu 69
171.	Chengsung 5: 25, T'ulu 90	193.	K'ia 13: 9, T'ulu 70
172.	K'i 4: 30, T'ulu 89	194.	T'ao 2:16, T'ulu 130
173.	K'i 2: 7, T'ulu 90	195.	Chengsung 6: 2
174.	K'ia 11: 9, T'ulu 129	196.	K'i 16: 33, Chengsung 6: 4
175.	Chengsung 6: 10, T'ulu 74	197.	Chengsung 1:18, T'ulu 124
176.	Chengsung 3: 35, T'ulu 75	198.	Chengsung 5: 23
177.	K'i 4: 22, T'ulu 76	199.	K'ia 16: 25, Kün 2/2: 11
178.	Chengsung 6: 42, T'ulu 144	200 .	Kün 3/1: 15, T'ulu 92
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180.	K'i 2: 41, T'ulu 131	202.	K'ia 5:11, T'ulu 29
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Chou I/II (circa 1122—circa 950 B. C.).

2 03.	Kün 2/3: 74, T'ulu 80	210.	Chengsung 3: 23
204 .	K'i 16: 32, T'ulu 79	211.	Kün 2/2: 61
205.	K'ia 14: 13, T'ulu 80	212.	K'i 3: 15
206 .	Chengsung 3: 16	213.	Siaokiao 3: 22
207.	T'ulu 24	214.	Siaokiao 3: 26
20 8.	K'i 4: 1, T'ulu 30	215.	Siaokiao 3:98
209.	K'i 4: 2		

181. K'i 18: 25, T'ulu 117

Chou III (circa 770—circa 450 B. C.)

216	Chengsung, sü chung 1	228	K'i 18: 21, T'ulu 239
	Chengsung 1: 16, Kün 3/1: 38, T'ulu		Chengsung 6: 13, T'ulu 288
211.	213		Chengsung 1: 13, T'ulu 152
218.	Kün 3/2: 6, T'ulu 216.		K'i 18: 23, T'ulu 182
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	Chengsung, sü shang 1, T'ulu 227		Chengsung 11: 8, T'ulu 211
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	K'ia 2: 19, T'ulu 165		K'i 17: 19
	K'i 9: 14, T'ulu 172	237.	Burlington Mag. Jan. 1937
226 .	K'i 17: 35, T'ulu 170		Kün 3/3: 28, T'ulu 268
227 .	K'i 17: 36, T'ulu 170		Burlington Mag. 1930

	Chou II/III (circa 9	50—	circa 450 B. C.)
240 .	Chengsung 10: 39, T'ulu 205	261.	K'i 1: 28
241 .	Shan 8: 78	262.	
242.	K'ia 14: 14	263 .	•
243.	Chengsung 6: 31, T'ulu 237	264.	
244.	Chengsung 6: 29	265.	
245.	Kün 2/2: 80	266.	U U
246.	Kün 2/2: 10	267.	
			0 0
247.	Shan 2: 70	268.	
248 .	Chengsung 3: 5, and 5: 19	269 .	,
249 .	Kün 2/2: 70	270 .	•
250.	K'i 16: 34, T'ulu 226	271.	
251.	Chengsung 10: 35	272.	9,10,0
252 .	Kün 2/3: 18	273 .	
253 .	K'i 16: 20	274.	T'ao, sü shang 18
254 .	Kün 2/2: 58, T'ulu 224	275.	Shan 8: 47
255 .	T'ao 2: 18, T'ulu 190	276 .	Chengsung 3: 6
256 .	T'ao 1:29, T'ulu 190	277.	K'ia 12: 6, Shan 8: 65
257.	Chengsung 7: 33, T'ulu 208	27 8.	
	K'i 5: 26, T'ulu 207	279 .	
	K'i 3:18	280.	Wuying 100
26 0.		281.	
		201.	
	Chou IV (circa 45	0 — с і	rca 250 B. C.)
282.	K'ia 1: 21, T'ulu 217	288.	T'ulu 261, BMFEA 7, p. 26
283.			
284.		289.	
4 01 .	0 0 , ,	290.	
905	yün 74, Wuying 79	291 .	•
285 .	Chengsung 6: 33	292 .	
286 .	K'i 4: 13, T'ulu 260	293 .	Kün 2/3: 66, T'ulu 266
287 .	Kün 3/1: 21, T'ulu 257		
204	•		-circa 250 B. C.)
294.	K'i 5: 26, T'ulu 194	3 09.	
29 5.	Chengsung 1: 18, Eumorf. I: 29,	310.	
	T'ulu 269	311.	
296 .	Chengsung 3: 24, T'ulu 282	312.	Chengsung 12: 20, T'ulu 279
297 .	K'ia 5: 15, T'ulu 205	313.	T'ao 2:48
29 8.	K'i 3: 29, T'ulu 254	314.	Shan 9: 7
299 .	K'i 8: 14, T'ulu 253	315.	Chengsung 1: 21
300 .	K'i 8: 12, T'ulu 238	316.	K'ia 2: 17
3 01.	K'ia 2: 21, T'ulu 251	317.	Chengsung 4: 46
302 .	K'i 3: 14, Shan 8: 62	318.	Chengsung 7: 14
303 .	Kün 2/1: 55	319.	K'i 8: 11
304.	Kün 2/3: 64, T'ulu 156	320.	Chengsung, pu shang 2
3 05.	Kün 3/1: 12, T'ulu 158	321.	Santai 1: 2
306.	K'ia 1: 2, T'ulu 167	321. 322.	Siaokiao 1: 13
307.	Chengsung 1: 20, T'ulu 175		
307. 308.		323.	Shīku: Wu kü
JUO.	Kün 3/1: 8, T'ulu 187	324.	Shīku: K'ien yi

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325. Shīku: T'ien kü
                                           329. Shīku: Er shī
326. Shīku: Luan kü
                                           330. Shīku: T'ien
327. Shīku: Ling yü
                                           331. Shīku: Wu shuei
328. Shiku: Yu tso
                                           332. Shīku: Wu jen
                                    Chou.
                                           366. K'i 18: 13
333. Kün 2/2: 74, T'ulu 182
334. T'ulu 186
                                           367. K'i 18: 19
335. K'i 5: 18, T'ulu 191.
                                          368. K'ia 11:13
336. Chengsung, sü shang 24, T'ulu 191
                                          369. K'ia 19: 25
                                          370. Kün 2/1:57
337. T'ulu 200
                                          371. Kün 2/1:58
338. Kün 2/1:65, T'ulu 222
                                          372. Kün 3/1:16
339. Kün 2/3: 5, T'ulu 286
                                          373. Santai 3: 36
340. Chengsung 2: 42
                                          374. Santai 6:51
341. Chengsung 2: 42
342. Chengsung 3: 14
                                          375. Siakiao 1:7
343. Chengsung 3: 18
                                          376. Siaokiao 1:13
344. Chengsung 3: 20
                                          377. Siaokiao 1:18
                                          378. Siaokiao 2:89
345. Chengsung 3: 23
                                          379. Siaokiao 2:92
346. Chengsung 5: 41
347. Chengsung 6: 26
                                          380. Siaokiao 3:96
                                          381. Siaokiao 9: 29
348. Chengsung 6: 27
349. Chengsung 6: 38
                                          382. K'i 8: 10
                                          383. Siaokiao 9: 79
350. Chengsung 6: 39
351. Chengsung 6: 40
                                          384. Chengsung 2: 33
                                          385. K'ia 11:18
352. Chengsung 6: 41
353. Chengsung 7: 32
                                          386. see Ku wen sheng hi, cheng 1
354. Chengsung 10: 29
                                          387.
                                                see Ku wen sheng hi, yu 7
                                          388. Chengsung 2: 47
355. Chengsung 10: 32
356. Chengsung 10: 41
                                          389. Kün 2/1:50
                                          390. Chengsung 3:17
357. Chengsung, pu shang 37
                                          391.
358. Chengsung, pu chung 29
                                                Kün 2/2: 65
                                          392. Chengsung 4:11
359. K'i 1: 25
                                          393. K'i 17: 22
360. K'i 3: 30
361. K'i 5: 31
                                           394. see Shuo wen ku chou san pu 7:7
362. K'i 16:1
                                          395. K'i 8:11
363. K'i 16: 23
                                           396. K'ia 12:9
                                          397. Chengsung 11:6
364. K'i 17:23
365. K'i 17: 29
                                                see Shuo wen ku chou pu pu
                                  Pre-Han.
399. Wuying 63
                                                Chengsung 4: 47
400. Shan 2: 45
                                          408.
                                                Chengsung 5: 10
401. Chengsung 2: 32
                                          409. Chengsung 7: 10
402. Chengsung 2: 35
                                          410. Chengsung 7:13
403. Chengsung 3: 14
                                          411. Chengsung 7:15
404. Chengsung 4: 43
                                          412. Chengsung 7: 25
405. Chengsung 4: 44
                                          413. Chengsung 8: 36
406. Chengsung 4: 45
                                          414. Chengsung, pu chung 11
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BERNHARD KARLGREN: GRAMMATA SERICA

415.	K'i 5:9	439 .	see Ku wen sheng hi, siao 5
416.	K'i 16:8	44 0.	K'ia 11: 27
417.	K'i 17:13	441.	Chengsung, sü shang 27
418.	K'i 18: 11		Yin wen ts'un, hia 31
419.	K'ia 3: 12	443.	see Ku wen sheng hi, yü 13
420 .	K'ia 5: 14	444.	
421.	K'ia 6: 13	445.	•
422 .	K'ia 17: 14	446.	•
	Kün 1/2: 47	447.	O .
	Kün 1/2: 52	448.	9 .
	Kün 1/3: 52	449.	
	Kün 2/1:79	450 .	
	Santai 3: 18	451.	K'i 1: 19
428 .	K'ia 6: 13	452 .	Chengsung 8: 41
429 .	K'ia 14: 23	453 .	
43 0.	K'i 1:9	454.	
431 .	Chengsung 9: 9	455 .	K'i 7: 30
432 .	T'ao 3:7	456 .	Kün 2/1:5
433 .	K'i 7: 19	457 .	Kün 1/3: 52
434 .	see Ku wen sheng hi, yu 8	458 .	K'i 1: 17
435 .	see Ku wen sheng hi, yang 4	459 .	K'i 18: 7
436 .	see Ku wen sheng hi, yang 15	460 .	Chengsung 8: 42
437 .	Kün 1/2: 33	461.	
438 .			-

I give here in Chinese characters the names of the vessels which carry these inscriptions, and the figures in the Chinese table refer to the inscription list above. So 1 P'eng nu ting is the vessel the inscription of which is reproduced in Chengsung 2: 24 etc.

1彭女鼎 27宜子鼎 53四合觚 2 哄父哭鼎 28 父甲鼎 54伯 懋父殷 29 亳鼎 3 夾鼎 55 衛飽 4 稻鬲 30日壬锭 56師旅鼎 5向舞 31 處仲輝 57 中(南宮)鼎 6能每尊 32戊辰舞 58 沈子它段 7夾卣 59小臣宅饮 33 豐鼎 34 登 鼎 60 禽飲 8 對卣 67大祝鼎 9 纨卣 35 紀婦自 62獻侯鼎 10母辛卣 36旅卣 37伯禾鼎 63周公餃 11 林岛 38祖己爵 64 麥盃 72 禦 簋 13父丁尊 39 矢叠 65大盂鼎 A父乙尊 40父戊彝 66 盂卣 万父丁卣 41夫胍 67小盂鼎 68 盂爵 76婦鼠斝 42若觶 17祖丁獻 43父丙觥 69矢令毁 18 愁卣 44乙亥毁 70 矢令弊 69矢令毁 19師睪鼎 45冊刺鼎 77明公铨 20小子毁 40立鼎 72大保 27年已段 47祖辛父庚鼎73旅鼎 72 大保餃 22 艅尊 48襲鬲 74 臣辰盉 23 小臣兒卣 49 父丁卣 75 作册大鼎 24 宥鼎 50 季尊 76 效卣 57束東觶 77獻彝 25旅鼎 26戊寅父丁鼎52母亞癸斝 78 競卣

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80伯遅鼎 81 臤尊 82 遙厲 83 跋鼎 84 隶 截 卣 85 录 钦 86 泵伯茲飳 87.稍卣 88師湯父鼎 89 夏鼎 90 趙 尊 91 眾卣 92 庚赢卣 93 趠 鼎 94 安鼎 95毛公肇鼎 96 菱鼎 99 戒鬲 100農卣 101 師眉鼎 102 史獸鼎 128 中卣

79 档改段 105 令(耤田)鼎 131 井季夐卣 107刺鼎 108伯亥钦 109 静飽 133師至父鼎 110曾伯鼎 134師虎鈴 加航且丁剪 135 趙曹鼎一 加鄭餐原父的136趙曹鼎二 113已侯貉子段737利鼎 114自作幔仲鼎138豆閉餃 115 北伯卣 139 大克鼎 116 滕虎餃 140小克鼎 177蔡姬尊 44無異飲 118 賢餃 119结至母雕 120刺雞鼎 121周岁 122伯衛父螽 97格伯钦 123季咏父钦 98 貉子郎 124 員父尊 125鮮父 鼎 126康侯段 127魯侯父爵 103 国侯旨鼎 129 军伯属 104 运伯钦 130 宰 桃角 754師兑設二

1316 農 尊 1376任氏段 132 智鼎 142克纽 柳荫从组 144伊毁 145爵攸从鼎 46號叔旅鐘 柳散氏盤 148 克鐘 149師越鼎 150召伯虎毁一 157召伯虎毁二 152井人安鐘 753年 兑钞一

181 裏盤 207段段 155智壺 208 君夫毁 156師養飲 182師裏段 157號季子伯盤 183師望鼎 209 守餃 158史沈簠 184宗周鐘 210 井 鼎 159伯晨鼎 211癸未尊 185前伯餃 加辣飽 272周棘生篦 186善鼎 187吳彝 161師晨鼎 213 諮伯 鼎 274 閈碩鼎 162 揚餿 188 匡卣 1895甲盤 275 穀蘇 163史頌飽 764公頁 鼎 190 透飲 276 王仲媯簠 165史頌簠 217朱公坚鐘 191友 餿 218朱公華鐘 219王子嬰次盧 166康鼎 192師建設 193師慶舞 167 崖鐘一 220廳羌鐘 168 鄭井叔蒦父鬲 194番生段 169同艘 221宋公戌鐘 195 满毁 222若公鐘 196 追 段 170 卯飽 171 噩侯饮 197叔氏(士父)鐘223徐王耀鼎 198叔向父殷二224沈兒鐘 172不要毁 173 噩侯鼎 225 傳兒(余義)鐘 199史頌匹 226徐王義楚鍴 174叔向父段 200敔毁 201號文公子鼎227徐王岩 175大艘 228 國差鰭 176大鼎 202趙鼎 177師 西餃 203 汇盤 229 秦公餃 178杜伯盨 204 定 段 230 者減鐘 179 無惠鼎 205史懋壺 231 王子申落 206萬鼎 232 鄭伯壽父鼎 180 毛公鼎

233鄫太保盆 234齊侯壺 235衛子簠 236伯其父簠 237趙孟青 238晉公金 239楚熊盤 265復公子飽 240陳伯元匜 266叔姬簠 247鄭仲子紳簋267師 受父盤 242 鄭楙叔壺 268變姬餃 243绪公簠 244 鑄子叔黑頤簠 270 軽 叔殷 245寒似鼎 246戲伯鬲 247 告史碩父鼎 273 易姚鼎 248杞伯每鼎 274仲宦父鼎 249號季氏簋 275績仲父殷 301齊侯鎮 250 魯太幸原父盛 276伯筍父鼎 302 武釐母 餃 257鲁伯愈父匹277伯疑父钦 303甫父父匹 252 曼龑父缰 278 叔蜈父毁 304 其 苍 句 鑃 253仲셝父鼎 254 郭伯鼎 255鄧公設 281交各壺 307徐日庚句鑺 256 鄧伯氏鼎 282 邾公舒鐘 308 鄰侯段 257曾伯陭壺 283曾姬無卹壺 309 屬 大史申鼎 258鄫伯聚簠 284陳侯午 段敦370子璋鐘

259格伯飲 200 商丘叔簋 261 陳侯鼎 262陳子匹 263陳公子廳 24徐王銷 269中伯壺 277師趙父段 272%底段 279 宜桐盂 280 殷句壺 306王孫遺者鐘

285齊陳曼簠 286陳侯因育敦 287陳財飲 288陳騂壺 289楚王畲章鐘 290陳純釜 297陳逆 簠 292陳逆段 293匽侯載藥 294 鄦子妝簠 295 召鐘 297宋走馬亥鼎 298齊侯敦 299齊侯盤 300齊大宰盤 305姑漁句墾

337鄭成句父鼎363叔喿父段 377杜氏霓 338 郑討鼎 364 强仲 簋 3/2吉日鐱 373師麻簠 339吳尨父殷 365鬲叔盨 340仲於父鼎 366 安季良壺 374師 移 簠 375鉦鐵 347羅鼎 367喪吳鉳 3% 戰狄鐘 342 昶伯鼎 368 量侯段 343鐘伯侵鼎 317 未 段 369 叉 卣 378 啓疆尊 34 謎鼎 370 丕易戈 377 雜鼎 319拍盤 345貿鼎 320者污鐘 36 買飽 372 豦飽 327留鐘 347伯矩蓋 373鄲小子鼎 322 昆龙王鐘 348 奢虎簠 374 筥小子钗 323石鼓吾車 349課季飲 375點伯鐘 324石鼓汧段 350遣叔吉父段376邾公糧鐘 325石鼓田車 357食中走父段377楚公嘆鐘 326石鼓鑾車 352弭叔殷 378秋晶 327石鼓靈雨 353番匆生壺 379 辛 鼎 328石 鼓猷作 354 334 4 盘 329石 鼓而師 355 单叔匹 380邕子属 387中閔父盨 330石鼓天 36公父它匹 382取届盤 331石鼓吾水 357奚仲壺 383叔多父盤 332石鼓吾人 358楚嬴匜 384沖子鼎 333仲子化盤 359犀伯魯父鼎 385 對仲飽 334黄章俞父盤360面皇父殷 386季宫父簠 335蔡姑飽 367走飲 387麓伯星父殷 336蔡大師鼎 362康侯鼎 388金高鼎

389弘尊 390亳鼎 397仲虛父盤 393邾太宰簠 49父戊晶 394周般匹 395殷敦盤 3%相侯段 397仲 義 父鑩 398拍盤 399 數段 400伯液鼎 401餘鼎 402顯詞鼎 403 知鼎 444係飲 405辨飽 406仲爵段 407辛巳餃 408女奚仲 包殳 409龍母 尊 410史伏尊 411 進善 412 小垚 413 黄斝 44 今 自

415傳尊 4167單晶 417居飽 392右獻高 418芳熬壺 40万午鼎 427遂鼎 纽兜帕岛 知嘉長鼎 细宵飲 45汪伯卣 426市師鼎 427余鼎 428 龔鼎 429伯舂盉 430 旁鼎 437乙公觚 457岛卣 432治量 433父戊舟爵 439病 單 44父舟寶飲 460伯定益 435白 段 4%戊辰段 437帚女卣 438并目父癸爵 彻史喜鼎 40來獸飽

441好奴顱 42前朋罍 443族父乙爵 44子雨己晶 45改复 46丙申角 47公建鼎 448君妻子葵 49替母鬲 450美齡 457甚誤鼎 452 屮 益 43组子鼎 454雄罍 45% 夏爵 46征钦 458 叔鼎 细处辛 段

- 1 a—c. *k'â / k'â / k' o T can, able, may (Shī), suitable (Chuang). b. is Chou III/IV (inscription 301), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** * $k\hat{a} / k\hat{a} / k$ o T, L axe-handle (Shī).
- **e.** $*k\hat{a} / k\hat{a} / k$ o T shaft of an arrow (Chouli); character also applied to a synonymous word $*k\hat{a}n / k\hat{a}n / kan^{1}$.)
- f. *g'â / γâ / h o T carry (Shī); loan for id. (by idem is always meant, in this dictionary, the same reading, Archaic, Ancient and Mandarin, as the one just recorded, in this case *g'â / γâ / h o) which, what, how, why (Shī), where (Meng).
- **g—h.** * $g'\hat{a}/\gamma\hat{a}$ / h o T river, esp. the Yellow River (Shī). h. is Chou II (inser. 169); the meaning of the additional element at the top is obscure.
- *g'â / γâ / h o T, L small herbs (Kuots'ê); loan for id. molest, tyrannize (Li), scold, rebuke (Chouli), itch, prurigo (Li).
- j. * $\chi \hat{a} / \chi \hat{a} / h$ o T scold (Hanfei).
- **k**—l. * $\chi \hat{a} / \chi \hat{a} / h$ o T shout, scold (only Han time text ex). l. is Chou III (inscr. 225, sense of r. below).
- m. *'â / 'â / o T high mound, hill (Shī), tall, stately (sc. tree) (Shī), river bank (Tso), slope (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); (to slope, lean towards:) be insinuating, servile (Kuoyü); pillar (Chouli), ridge-pole (Yili); loan for id. yes (Lao).
- **n.** * $\hat{a}/\hat{a}/o$ T, and * $\hat{i}a/\hat{i}e/y$ i T flutter as a banner (Ch'uts'i).
- o. * $g'\hat{a}/\gamma\hat{a}/h$ o T, L lotus (Shī); loan for id. carry (Lunyü).
- **p.** $*k\hat{a}/k\hat{a}/k$ o T sing (Shuo wen says this was an Arch. form of r. below); in later times loaned for id. elder brother.
- **q.** $*k\hat{a}/k\hat{a}/k$ o T sing, song (Shī).
- r. $*k\hat{a} / k\hat{a} / k$ o variant of the preceding (Sün).
- s. *g'ia / g'jig / k' i T strange, extraordinary (Tso); *kia / kjig / k i T, L odd (number) (Yi), unique (Li), surplus, supernumerary (Hanfei), irregular (Li).
- t. *g'ia / g'jig / k' i T precious stone (only Han time text ex.); to fondle, handle (Sün).
- u. *g'ia / g'jig / k' i (even tone) T to ride (Chuang); *g'ia / g'jig / k i (oblique tone) rider (Li).

¹⁾ It was my intention, as stated on p. 5 above, to place all reconstructed Archaic Chin. forms of unusual words in parenthesis, thereby indicating that they are only conditionally conclusive. It turned out, however, typographically very clumsy and inconvenient, so it had to be given up, and the reader, once warned, shall have to keep in mind, regarding rare words, the reservations concerning their reconstructed Archaic readings expressed on p. 5.

- *g'ia / g'jig / k i (oblique tone) T, L and *g'ia / g'jig / k i (even tone) T, and *ngia / ngjię / y i — T, L cooking pot (Shī); *g'ia / g'jię / k ' i — (even tone) L chisel (Shī).
- *kia / kjie / k i T, L lodging (Kuoyü); give as residence, place at (Tso); commit to one's charge (Lunyü), entrust to (Li), communicate (Li); to place in exile (Li).
- *kia / kjię / k i T, L pull by one leg (Tso), pull aside (Shī).
- *kia / kjie / k i T, L odd (number) (Sün), odd, singular, exceptional (Chuang); wing of an army (Kuoyü).
- *kia / kjię / k i T lodging-house (Tso).
- b'. *k'ia | k'jig | k' i T patterned silk (Kuots'ê).
 c'. *k'ia | k'jig | k' i T, L one-footed (Kuoyü); *kia | kjig | k i L, K stand around close to the door (Kungyang); *kia / kjie / k i — L, and *ngia / ngjie / y i — L knock against (Chuang).
- *k'ia / k'jig / k'i K, and *kia / kjig / ki K slanting (Sün).
- *kia / kjie / k i T, L, and *k'ia / k'jie / k' i T, L one horn turning up and one down (Yi, one version), odd (Chuang).
- f'. *ia / ie / y i T, L lean upon, rely upon (Kuots'ê), leaning to one side (Li); loan for s. above (Chuang).
- g'. * ia / ig / y i T, L Catalpa (Shī).
- h'. *ia / ig / y i T, L oh! (Shī), final particle (Shī); long (Shī); pull in and collect (sc. leaves) (Shī); *'â / 'â / o — L pliant (Shī); loan for f' (Shī).
- i'. * ia / ie / y i T, L sides of carriage box (Kuots'ê, one version).
- j'—k'. *'ia / 'ig / y i T place name (only Han time text ex.). k'. is Chou II/III
- 1'. *ia / ie / y i T unfold in the wind (sc. a banner) (Ch'uts'i).
- 2 a—g. *ngâ / ngâ / wo T I, me, we, us, my, our (Shī). Pek. wo is irregular, we should expect o. The form b. is Yin bone (A 1:27,4), c. is Yin bone (A 2:16,2), d. is Yin (inser. 12), e. is Chou I (inser. 58), f. is Chou I (inser. 65), g. is Chou I (inser. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *ngâ / ngâ / o T, L slanting (Shī); in a moment (Kungvang).
- i—j. *ngå / ngå / o T graceful (Lie). j. is Yin bone (A 4: 52,2, sense of name).
- *ngâ / ngâ / o T, L high (Ch'uts'ī), solemn (Shī).
- *ngâ / ngâ / o T, L look, regard (Kungyang).
- m. *ngâ / ngâ / o T, L name of a plant (some kind of Artemisia?) (Shī).
- *ngâ / ngâ / o T approve (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- *ngâ / ngâ / o T hungry, starve (Meng).
- **p.** * $ng\hat{a} / ng\hat{a} / o$ T, L goose (Meng).
- a. *ngâ / ngâ / o T, L silkworm moth (Shī); *ngia / ngjig / y i T, L ant (Li).
- r-t. *ngia | ngjie | y i T righteous, righteousness (Shī), true sense, meaning (Li). S. is Yin bone (B hia 13:5), t. is Chou I (inscr. 56). Y ang 'sheep' is radical, a. above phonetic.
- u. *ngia / ngjig / y i T proper demeanour, decorum (Shī), ceremony, rule (Li), model, imitate (Shī); (proper match:) mate, associate (Shī); (proper fittings:) ornaments (Shī); (judge what is proper:) estimate, judge (Shī).
- *ngia / ngjig / y i T to plan for (Shī), discuss (Shī), select (Yili).
 *ngia / ngjig / y i T, L ant (Li), ant-coloured (Shu).
- X.
- *xia / xjie / h i T a proper name (Shu).
- *\gammaia / \chi jig / h i T, L sacrificial animal, pure victim (Shī).

- 3 a—c. *td/td/to—T much, many (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 27,4), c. is Chou I (inser. 58). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *t'â / t'â / t' o T, and tâ / tâ / t o T disease (sc. of horses) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- e. * $ta / \hat{t}a / c h a T$, L (after Sü Miao) to open (Chuang).
- f.—g. *t'a / î'a / c h 'a T Shuo wen says: thick-lipped; but there are no text ex. in support of this. g. is Chou I (inscr. 121, sense of name).
- h. *tia / tsig / c h i T confident (Sün).
- i. *î'ia / tś'ię / c h ' i T, L extravagant, overbearing (Tso), great (Kuoyü).
- i. * $t'ia / \hat{t}'ig / ch' i L$ take away (Chuang).
- k. \hat{t} ia / ts ig / c h i T, L, and \hat{t} ia / ts ia / c h i T, L open the mouth wide (Shī).
- 1. *d'ia / d'ig / c h' i T, and $\hat{t}'ia / ts'ig / c h' i T$ separate (Kuots'ê).
- m—n. *d'ia / d'ie / c h' ī (even tone) T to run (inscr. 326, stone drums). n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 326).
- o—p. *d'ia / d'ig / c h ī (oblique tone) T fall down, crumble (only post-Han text ex.). p. is Chou III/IV (inser. 314, sense of name).
- q. *dia / ig / y i T transfer, move (Shu), change, alter (Meng); *t̂'ia / tś'ig / c h' i L enlarge (Li).
- r—s. *dia / ig / y i T move, remove (Ch'uts'ī). s. is Chou III (inscr. 232, sense of name).
- t. *t'ia / tś'ię / c h ' i T wide, extend (Kuoyü).
- 4 a—e. *t'â / t'â / t' o T. The primary sense in the Yin bone inscriptions seems to have been: danger, harm, obstacle; loan for id. another (Kuoyü). b. is Yin bone A 1: 39,2), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 52,1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense of name), e. is Chou II (inscr. 185, sense of: another). The Yin drawing shows a foot treading on a snake, the Chou drawing a cobra-like snake. It may be the primary graph of l. below.
- f. This is but another modern variation of the same Arch. graph.
- g. This, again, is a third modern variation of the same Arch. graph, as shown by the characters o. and u. below; loan for: *dia / ia / y = T final particle (Shī). All three modern variants occur in the derivate series:
- h. *t'â / t'â / t'o T, L lay burden on (Shī); *d'â / d'â / t'o T, L elegant (Shī); sometimes used for c'. below.
- i. Variant of f'. below.
- j. * $d'\hat{a}/d'\hat{a}/t$ ' o T, L piece of string (Shī).
- **k.** * $d'\hat{a}/d'\hat{a}/t$ ' o T, L to flow (Shi).

- L *d'ia / dż'ia / s h ê T snake (Shī); loan for *dia / ig / y i T, L self-contented, complacent (Shī).
- m. *śia / śia / s h ê T short lance (Sün).
- n—p. *dia / ig / y i T, L ewer (Tso), ewer-shaped (sauce-boat-shaped) ritual vessel (Yili). o. is Chou II (inser. 199, rad. 167 inst. of rad. 22), p. is Chou II/III (inser. 262, rad. 167 and 108 inst. of rad. 22).
- q. *dia / ie / y i T conceited (Meng).
- r. *dia / ig / y i T, L slant, deflect (Chouli).
- s. *dia / ig / y i T, L rice or millet broth (Li; so acc. to Kia K'uei and Cheng Hüan; Shuowen takes it to be some kind of spirits made of millet).
- t—u. *d'ia / d'ig / c h' i T pool, pond (Shī), moat (Shī); a kind of ornamental covering (spout?) over funeral car (Li); loan for id. uneven, of unequal length (Shī). Sometimes used for k. above. The form u. is Chou I (inser. 109).
- v. *d'ia / d'ie / c h ' i L a kind of flute (Li).
- x. *d'ia / d'ig / c h' i T gallop (Shī), dash after (Tso).
- y. *d'ia / d'ie / c h ï (oblique tone) T, L (after Sü Miao), and *t'ia / t'ie / c h ' ï L, K to split wood (Shī); *dia / ie / y i L, K a tree resembling a white poplar (Li); loan for n'. below (Li, one version).
- z. *d'ia / d'ig / c h ī T, L slope (Chouli); fall down, collapse (Kuoyü).
- a'. *\$ia | \$i\tilde{e}_i | s h i T, L unstring, slacken (sc. a bow) (Li); release, be indulgent towards (Li); remove (Tso); extend (Li).
- b'. *d'ia / d'i / t i T earth, ground (Shī); position (Meng). The Anc. Chin. form d'i is irregular. The Shī king rimes, as well as the hie sheng character clearly indicate Arch. *d'ia, and this ought to give Anc. d'ig.
- c'. $t'\hat{a}/t'\hat{a}/t$ o another (Shī) (enlarged form of a. above).
- d'. variant of f'. below.
- e'. see group 易 below.
- \mathbf{f}' . $\mathbf{f}'\hat{a}/t\hat{a}/t$ o T to draw (Lungyü).
- g'. *dia / ig / y i T disembowel (Chuang).
- h'. *dia / ig / y i T, L lower hem of robe (Yili).
- i'. *dia / ie / y i T, L turn aside (Shu).
- j'. *śia / śię / s h i T throw away, destroy (Kuoyü).
- k'. variant of s. above (Mu t'ien tsi chuan).
- l'. *\$ia | \$i\vec{e}\$ | s h \(\text{i}\) T, L expand (Yi), spread out, expose (Shu); (extend:) set (sc. a net) (Sh\(\text{i}\)); (drawn out:) sluggishly (sc. to walk) (Sh\(\text{i}\), so acc. to Mao comm.); dodgingly (sc. to walk) (Meng); give, bestow (Tso); contentedly (Meng); *dia | i \(\vec{e}\) | y i L transfer, extend to (Sh\(\text{i}\)).
- m'. *sia / sig / s h ī T name of a plant (Ch'uts'ī).
- n'. *dia / ig / y i T, L a clothes' stand (Li).
- 5 a—d. *tsâ / tsâ / t so T left, to the left (Shī); to aid (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 31,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67), d. is Chou II (inscr. 157). The graph is a drawing of the left hand, in the last case with addition of k u n g 'work'.
- e. $ts\hat{a}/ts\hat{a}/ts$ o T to aid, assist (Shi).
- 1—g. *ts'a / tṣ'a / c h 'a L, K diverge, discrepancy (Shu), mistake (Sün); ? / tṣ'ai / c h 'a T, L and, ? / tṣ'āi / c h 'a i T choose (Shī); *tṣ'ia / tṣ'iɛ / t s 'ī L, K graduated, of different length (Shī); *ts'â / ts'â / t s 'o L to rub (Li). g. is Chou III (inser. 228). The meaning of the upper part is obscure.
- h. *dz'a / dz'a / c h a (oblique tone) T, L, and *dz'a / dz'a / c h' a (even tone) T cut trees (Kuoyü).

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冥槎瑳磋傞窪鹾
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- *ts'â / ts'â / ts' o T, L white and brilliant (Shī).
- * $ts'\hat{a}$ / $ts'\hat{a}$ / ts' o T, L to file, polish (Shī).
- k. *sâ / sô / so T, L, and *ts'â / ts'â / ts' o T, L onomatop. depicting a tipsy and continued dancing (Shi).
- *dz'â / dz'â / ts' o T, L, and *tsia / tsie T disease (Shī).
- m. *dz'â / dz'â / t s ' o L, K salt, salty (Li).
 n. *tsia / tsia / t s i e T sigh, alas! (Shī).
- *dz'ia / dz'ię / t s i K bone with meat on (Lü).
- 6 a. *lâ / lâ / lo T bird-net (Shī); gauze (Kuots'ê). From 'net', 'silk' and 'bird'. **b.** * $l\hat{a}/l\hat{a}/l$ o — T, L n \ddot{u} - l o Cuscuta (Sh \ddot{i}).
- **7 a—d.** *kwâ / kuâ / k u o T dagger-axe (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 9,2), c. is Yin bone (B shang 10: 11), d. is Chou I (inser. 59). The graph is a drawing.
- e. *g'wa / ywa / h u a K to punt (a boat) (Lü).
- f...h. *g'wa / nva / h u a ... T Shuowen says: thrust; but there are no text examples of this. g. is Yin (inser. 11, sense of name), h. is Chou I (inser. 79, sense here uncertain).
- 8 a—d. *g'wâ / γuâ / h u o, h o T growing grain (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 29,3), c. is Yin (inscr. 37, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph is a drawing.
- e—f. *g'wâ / yuâ / h o T harmony, harmonious (Shī); peaceful (Tso); reconcile (Tso); make correct proportions, blend, mix (Tso), attune (instruments) (Li); small flute (Chouli); ho-luan bells on chariot yoke (Shī); ho-men camp gate (Chouli); respond in singing (Shī); laudatory tablet at grave (Kuots'è). f. is Chou IV (inser. 287, sense of name).
- g-j. same word as e. (Kuoyü). h. is Yin bone (A 2: 45,2), i. is Chou II (inscr. 146), j. is Chou II (inser. 153).
- **k.—m.** *g'wâ / yuâ / h u o T a kind of vessel (for blending) (inscr. 64 and 203). l. is Chou I (inser. 64), m. is Chou I/II (inser. 203).
- n. *k'wâ / k'uâ / k ' o T, L class, degree (Lunyü); rule, statute (Kuotsê); loan for id. hollow of a tree trunk (Yi), a hollow, cavity (Meng); k'o-tou tadpole (Chuang).
- 9 a. *ngwâ / nguâ / w o T lie down, sleep (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 10 a-b. *twâ / tuâ / to T, L move (sc. the jaw, in chewing) (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 11 a. *d'wâ / d'uâ / t o Shuowen gives this as the primary form of e. below (hence the reading), and considers 左, doubled, as phonetic. There are no text examples in support of this.
- *t'wâ / t'uâ / t'o T, and *swia / swig / suei L, and *xwia / xjwig / huei L shred sacrificial meat (which was buried after the sacrifice), a sacrifice of shred meat (Chouli); in later times used as name of the Suei dynasty; loan for e. below (Mo). The discrepancy in initials in these readings is very enigmatic; are they traces of some early consonant combinations?
- *t'wâ / t'uâ / t ' o T narrow and long, oval (Ch'uts'ī).
- *d'wa / d'ua / to T long and narrow mountain (Shī).
- e. *d'wâ / d'uâ / t o Τ, L, and *χwia / χjwig / h u e i Τ, L dismantle, destroy the walls of (sc. a city) (Ch'unts'iu), destroy, overthrow (Shu), spoil (e. g. someone's reputation) (Kuots'ê); loan for l. below (Li).
- *xwia / xjwig / h u e i T, L destroy (Lao).
- g. *dzwia | zwię | suei T follow (Shu), to conform to (Shi); foot (Yi).
- h. *swia | swig | s u e i T marrow (Kuots'ê).
- i. *swia / swię / s u e i L, K slippery (Li).
- j. *twa / tua / to T, L, and *d'wa / d'ua / to T, L (after Liu), and *d'wia / d'wig / ch'uei — T hanging tuft of hair (Li).
- **k.** * $t'w\hat{a}/t'u\hat{a}/t'$ o T, and * $d'w\hat{a}/d'u\hat{a}/t$ o T beautiful (Lie).
- 1. *d'wâ / d'wâ / t o T, L lazy, negligent (Shu), careless (Tso); useless (Li). Of the above, c. *t'wâ and d. *d'wâ are cognate words.
- **12 a.** $*dz'w\hat{a} / dz'w\hat{a} / t$ s o (oblique tone) T sit (Shī); seat (Lunyü); kneel (Li). The graph has two 'men' and 'earth'.
- *dz'wâ / dz'uâ / t s ' o (even tone) T, L ulcer (Hanfei).
- c. *tswâ / tsuâ / t s ' o T, L push (Lao); maltreat (Meng); break (Chouli), eliminate (Ch'uts'i), destroy (Kuoyü). The aspirate in Mandarin is irregular.
- d. *tswâ / tsuâ / t s o L, and *tsa / tṣa / c h a L to sham (sc. an obeisance) (Li).
- *ts'wâ / ts'uâ / ts' o T, and *tswâ / tsuâ / ts o L cut (Chuang).
- *ts'wâ / ts'uâ / ts' o T, L cut small, minute (Shu).
 *tswa / tṣwa / c h u a T, L a kind of hair knot worn by women in mourning (Li).
- 13 a. *swâ / suâ / s o K Shuowen says: the sound of cowries; but there are no text examples in support of this, and it seems more likely that this is the primary form of b. next, consisting of 'small' and 'cowry'.
- **b.** *swâ / suâ / s o T, L small, fragment (Shï).
- 14 a. The sense and reading of this element is unknown. Shuowen says: name of an animal; but there is no text example in support of this. The Sung editors of the Shuowen read it $lu\hat{a}/lo$, but neither T nor K has it recorded.
- *lwâ / luâ / lo T, L kuo-lo a small wasp (Shī); a kind of molluse (Kuoyü).
- *lwia / ljwig / lei T, L lean, emaciated (Kuoyü), weak (Tso); loan for id. entangle (Yi).
- 15 a-b. *ka / ka / k i a T add (Lunyü); apply (Lunyü); attain, hit (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 157, sense of g. below). The graph has 'strength' and 'mouth'.
- *ka / ka / kia T, L flail (Kuoyü); a stand, support (Li).
- *ka / ka / k i a T, L women's hair ornament, gem on hairpin (Shī).

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- e—f. *ka / ka / k i a T to yoke (Shī); yoke-horses (of a team) (Tso), yoked carriage (Lie); loan for a. (Chuang). f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 331).
- g—h. *ka / ka / k i a T good, excellent (Shī), happy (Tso); approve (Shī); gratify (Li). h. is Chou III (inser. 224).
- i. *kâ / kâ / k o T, L good, passable, possible, all right (Shī).
- j. * $g'\hat{a}/\gamma \hat{a}/h$ o T congratulate (Shī). Of the above, g. *ka, i. * $k\hat{a}$ and j. * $g'\hat{a}$ are cognate words.
- 16 a—c. *sa / ṣa / s h a T, L sand (Shī); loan for id. shrill, rough (sc. voice) (Chouli); satin (Li; in later times wr. with rad. 120 'silk' instead of 'water' to the left). b. is Chou II (inscr. 179), c. is Chou II (inscr. 181). The graph shows grains of sand and 'water'.
- d. *sa / ṣa / s h a T, L a small fish living in the beach sand (Shī); word cognate to the preceding.
- e. $*s\hat{a} / s\hat{a} / s$ o L, K saunter, dance (Shi).
- f. *swâ / suâ / s o T, L name of a plant (Cyperus) (only Han time text ex.); *sa / ṣa / s h a L s h a k i a kind of locust (Shī).
- 17 a—b. *ma / ma / m a T hemp (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 313, sense of name). The graph shows bundles of hemp suspended under a roof.
- c. *mwâ / muâ / m o T dust (Ch'uts'ï).
- d. *mwâ / muâ / m o T small (Lie).
- e. *mwâ / muâ / m o T, L rub (Tso); touch (Li), close to (Tso); crush, extinguish (Chuang); loan for id. conceal (Chouli).
- f. *mwa / mua / m o T grind, polish (Shī); etym. s. w. a. last.
- g. *mia / mjwie / m i T, L rice gruel (Li).
- h. *mia / mjwig / mi T, L not, there is not (Shī); loan for id. small, tiny (Yi); lay down, let fall (Tso); squander, prodigal (Li), exhaust (Kuoyü); to share with (Yi); implicate, commit oneself (Shī, so Mao comm.); to rub (Chuang); slowly (Shī); obey (Sün).
- i. *\text{mwia / \text{ziwig / h u e i } -- T, L signal flag (Tso), to signal (Shī); loan for id. quick (Li).
- j. *mia / mjwig / m i L the part of a bell which is beaten (Chouli).
- 18 a. *kwa / kwa / k u a T cut the meat from the bone, to bare a skeleton (Lie, one version). The graph was probably originally a drawing of a skeleton.
- b. *kwa / kwa / k u a T, L, and ? / kwai / k u a T yellow horse with black mouth (Shī).

- c. *kwa / kwa / kua T, L, and ? / kwai / kua T, and *glwâ / luâ / lo L
- *kwa / kwa / k u a L, K, and ? / kwai / k u a T, L a proper name (Li).
- *kwâ / kuâ / k u o T to pass (Shī), transgress (Lunyü), excess, fault (Tso).
- *g'wâ / yuâ / h u o T calamity (Shī).
- variant of the preceding (Sün). g.
- * $k'w\hat{a}/k'u\hat{a}/k'u$ o T, L at ease (Shī).
- 19 a—b. *\gammawa / \gammawa / h u a T transform, reform (Yi); change (Shu). b. is Chou (inscr. 333). The graph shows one man turning away from another (turn: change).
- c. *χwâ / χuâ / h u o T property, goods, ware (Tso).
- *ngwâ / nguâ / o L, K move (Shī), change (Shī).
- e. *ngwâ / nguâ / o L, K move (Shī), change (Shī), false (Shī). Of the above, d. and e. *ngwâ 'change' are cognate to a. *ywa 'transform, change'.
- 20 a. *ngwa / ngwa / w a T tile (Shī); ridge of a shield (Tso). The original graph has probably been a drawing.
- **21 a—g.** *ngia / ngiig / y i T sacrifice to the deity of the soil (Li); loan for id. right, proper, beseem (Shī), adjust (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 37,2), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 39,2), d. is Yin (inscr. 27), e. is Chou I (inscr. 69), f. is Chou I (inscr. 98), g. is Chou III (inscr. 229). Many authors take these early forms to be 2H tsu 'sacrificial table', but I follow Shuowen; it may be tsu in some cases (the same graph serving for both words, just as the same graph serves for both si 'evening' and y ü e 'moon'), but in a great many contexts it is undoubtedly yi. The graph shows the sacred (phallic) pole of the shê altar to the soil, behung with slices of meat.
- *ngia / ngjię / y i T right principle (Kuots'ê).
- 22 a. *yia / yiie / h i Shuowen says: earthenware vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph has 'vessel' and 'tiger', the meaning of the latter obscure.
- **b—c.** *\(\chi a \) / \(\chi jig \) h i T, L to sport (Tso), joke, jest (Shī); an interjection (Li, said to be read χuo for \mathbf{P} , T, L); loan for \mathbf{R} (Chuang), for \mathbf{R} (Chouli, certain versions). c. is Chou II (inser. 138, sense of name).
- 23 a. *t'lia / t'ig / c h' i T Shuowen says: a mountain demon, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- * $t'lia / \hat{t}'ig / ch' i T$, L a kind of demon (Tso).
- *t'lia / t'ie / c h ' i T, L a kind of dragon (Lü), a demon (Tso).
- *lia / ljig / l i T girdle-satchel (Shī).
 *lia / ljig / l i T thin wine (Ch'uts'ī).
- *lia / ljig / li T liu li name of a bird (Shī, so acc. to Mao comm.); loan for id. leave, depart from (Shī); to be dispersed (Shī); divide, distribute (Li), arrange (Tso); vis-à-vis each other (Li); meet with, come across, fall into, incur (Shī), pass through (Shī); droop, hang down (Shī); light, brilliance (Yi); loan for g. below (Kuoyü).
- *lia / ljig / li T, L hedge (Ch'uts'i).
- *lia / ljie / l i T drip, drop (Kuots'ê).
- 24 a. *lia / ljig / l i T, L drag into, involve (Shu); sorrow, trouble (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.





- 25 a—c. *b'ia / b'jig / p'i (even tone) T skin (Shī). b. is Chou III (inser. 230), c. is

 Chou III/IV (inser. 307). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *b'ia / b'jig / p'i T, L weary, exhausted (Tso), emaciated (Kuan).
- e. *b'ia / b'jie / p e i (oblique tone) T, L coverlet (Ch'uts'ī); outer garment (Tso); be covered by, wear (Tso); outside of garment (Yili); (be covered by:) be exposed to, receive (Shī); reach out over (Shu); (covering:) head dress (Shī); (covered part:) handle of a weapon (Chouli); *p'ia / p'jie / p' i L cover oneself with (Tso).
- f. *b'ia / b'jig / p i T pulling strap on carriage (Kuoyü).
- g. *pia / pjie / p i T that, they (Shī).
- h. *pia / pjig / p i T, L one-sided (sc. words), insincere (Meng).
- i. *pia / pjie / pi T, L river bank (Shī), dyke (Shu), slope, slanting (Yi), oblique, unjust (Shu).
- j. *p'ia / p'jie / p' i T, L divide (Tso); *pia / pjie / p i L side supports (ropes on coffin) (Li).
- k. *p'ia / p'jig / p' i T, L short sword, dagger (Tso); loan for j. above (Sün).
- 1. *pwâ / puâ / p o T wave, surge (Shī); to be shaken as on waves (Chuang).
- m. *pwâ / puâ / p o T, L to walk lame (Yi); *pia / pjie / p i L, K to lean to one side (Li).
- n. *pwâ / puâ / po T, L to winnow (Shī) (to the left in the char. is ki winnowing basket).
- o. *p'wâ / p'uâ / p ' o T break (Shī).
- p. *p'wâ / p'uâ / p ' o T, L slanting, oblique (Ch'uts'ī); partial, unfair (Tso).
- q. *b'wâ / b'uâ / p' o T, L p' o s o saunter, dance (Shī).
 Of the above, h. *pia 'one-sided', m. *pwâ' walk lame' and p. *p'wâ 'slanting, partial' are cognate words.
- 26 a. *b'ia / b'jig / p'i L, K wear out, exhaust (Tso); ? / b'ai / p a T, L stop, cease (Lunyü).
- b. *pia / pjie / p i T, L a kind of bear (Shī).
 - Char. a. may have been the primary form of b. and then it may have been a drawing similar to 能 bear, see that word.
- 27 a—e. *gwia / jwig / wei T make, do (Shī), to act as, to be (Shī), (make it to be:) for, because (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 10:11), c. is Yin (inser. 46), d. and e. are Chou I (both inser. 101). The drawing shows an elephant and a hand. The inference of some scholars that the archaic Chinese had tamed the elephant, causing it to 'make', work is perhaps somewhat bold.

- 1. *gwia / jwię / w e i T to open (Kuoyü).
- g—j. *kwia / kjwig / k u e i T, L place and family name (Tso). h. is Chou I (inscr. 120), i. and j. are Chou III (both inscr. 216).
- k. *ngwia | ngjwig | w e i T false, spurious (Sün), cheat (Tso); change (Ch'uts'i).
- 1. *xwia / xjwig / h u e i T, L to signalize, manifest (Yi, so acc. to certain comm.).
- m. *ngwâ / nguâ / o T deceive, false (Shī ap. Shuowen), cognate to k.
- 28 a. *k'wia / k'jwig / k' u e i T, L to fail, wane (Shī), diminish (Yi), lack, be missing (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 29 a. *ngwia / ngjwię / w e i T high (Li), precipitous (Kuoyü), lofty (Lunyü); danger, dangerous (Yi); name of a constellation (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kwia / kjwię / k u e i T, L perverse (Shī), treacherous (Kuliang); weird (Chuang).
- c. *kwia / kjwig / k u e i L, K oppose (Chouli).
- d. *kwia / kjwig / k u e i T, L ruinous, dilapidated (sc. wall) (Shī).
- e. *kwia / kjwię / k u e i T, L treacherous (Chuang). Etym. s. w. as b. above.
- f. *g'wia / g'jwig / k u e i T, L, and *k'wia / k'jwig / k'uei T kneel (Tso); foot (Sün).
- **30 a.** *î'wia / tś'wię / c h 'u e i T, L to blow (Shī). From 'mouth' and 'gape'. Abbreviated phonetic in:
- b. *t'wia / ts'wig / c h ' u e i T, L to heat, cook, prepare food (Kungyang); (loan for a., to blow up:) expand (Chuang). Possibly this is etymologically the same word as last: to blow upon flames, to heat.
- 31 a. *dwia / źwię / c h 'u e i (even tone) T hang down (Shī); fall (Tso); loan for b. below (Kuots'ê). The graph, as seen in c. below, consists of 'flower' (cf. group 44 below) and 'earth'.
- **b.—c.** *dwia | źwię | c h ' u e i T border, frontier (Tso). c. is Chou IV (inscr. 283).
- d. *dwia / źwię / s h u e i (oblique tone) T sleep (Kuots'ê).
- *dwia | źwig | s h u e i L, K a kind of shrub (Chouli).
- *d'wia / d'wig / c h ' u e i (even tone) T, and *d'wia / d'wig / c h u e i (oblique tone) T, L pot, jar (Lie).
- g. *d'wia | d'wig | ch'uei (even tone) T, L, and *d'wia | d'wig | c h u e i (oblique tone) T, L sledge-hammer (Chuang).
- h. *d'wia | d'wie | c h u e i T press down, crush (Lü).

- i. *twia / tświę / c h u e i T, L beat (Li).
- *twia / tświę / c h u e i T horse-whip (Kuoyü).
- k. *twia | twie | c h u e i T implicate (Lie, in a symbolic name).
- *twâ / tuâ / t o T droop (Sün).
- m. *t'wâ / t'uâ / t' o T, L spit (Tso).
 - Of the above, a. *dwia 'hang down' and l. *twa 'droop' are cognate words, and g. *d'wia 'sledge-hammer' and i. * \hat{t} wia 'beat' are cognate.
- **32 a—d.** *kå / ka / k i a T house (Shī), family (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 4,15), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 38,1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 69). The graph has 'roof' (house) and 'pig'.
- e. *kå / ka / k i a T to marry (said of woman) (Shi).
- f. *kå / ka / k i a T grain (Shī), to sow (Shī). All three words are cognate.
- 33 a—b. *kå / ka / k i a T Shuowen says: to borrow, thus taking it to be the primary form of next word; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 148, sense of d. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *kå / ka / k i a T false (Li); simulate (Meng); borrow (Tso); loan for id. great (Shī), good (Shī); go to (Shī); loan for d. below (Li) and j. below (Li).
- *kå / ka / k i a T, L great (Yili), felicity, blessing (Shī).
- e. *kå / ka / k i a T, L rush, sedge (Shī).

 f. *kå / ka / k i a T, L male pig, boar (Tso).
- g. $*q'a / \gamma a / h i a$ T leisure (Shī).
- h. *g'å / ya / h i a T, L flaw, blemish (Shī); loan for id. how, why (Li); loan for j. below (Shi, so Mao comm.).
- *g'å / ya / h i a T h i a m a frog (Mo ap. T'aï p'ing yū lan).
- j. *g'å/γa/hia T far, distant (Shī); loan for id. what, how (Shī).
- k. same as the preceding (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1. *g'å / ya / h i a T, L horse of mixed red and white colour (Shi).
- 34 a—b. *kå / ka / k i a T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 7: 10). The graph is a drawing.
- 35 a—c. *g'å / ya / h i a T down, below, descend (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 38.1). c. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph is a symbol.
- d. *g'å / ya / h i a T, L rush (Li); *g'o / yuo / h u T, L Rehmannia (Yili).
- 36 a—b. *q'å / ya / h i a T, L summer (Shī); great (Shī); variegated (Shu); name of place and dynasty (Shī); loan for 38 d. below (Li). b. is Chou III (inscr. 229). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c, d. * $g'a'/\gamma a/h$ i a T house, room (Ch'uts'ī).
- 37 a—b. *ngå / nga / y a T tooth (Shī). b. is Chou II/III (inser. 250). The original graph seems to have been a drawing.
- *ngå / nga / y a T, L covered galleries on both sides of yard, horse-shed (Chouli).
- d. *ngå / nga / y a T shoot, sprout (Li).
- e. *ngå / nga / y a T, L meet, receive (Yili); astonished (Lü).
- *ngå / nga / y a T, L meet, receive (Shu).
- g. *ngå / nga / y a T elegant, refined (Lunyü); a kind of musical instrument (Chouli).
- *'å / 'a / y a K raven, crow (Chuang).

- 38 a. *χά / χα / h i a K Shuowen says: cover; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this.
- b. *kå / ka / k i a L, K price (Lunyü); *ko / kuo / k u T merchant (Shī); buy (Tso).
- c. *kå / ka / k i a T price (Meng). S. w. a. last.
- **d.** *kå / ka / k i a T, L Catalpa (Tso).
- 39 a. *på / pa / pa T, L snake (only Han time text ex.); place name (Tso). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *på / pa / pa T, L grasp (Meng), a handful (Kuoyü).
- c. *på / pa / pa T a kind of fragrant herb (Ch'uts'i), flower (Ta Tai li).
- d. *på / på / pa T, L sow (Shī, so acc. to the Mao comm.; acc. to other early comm. and Shuo wen alt.: pig two or three years old).
- e. *b'a'/b'a/p'a (even tone) T, L, and *b'a'/b'a/pa (oblique tone) T a rake (Kuots'ê).
- **40 a—e.** *må / ma / m a T horse (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 19,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 47,5), d. is Yin (inscr. 26), e. is Chou I (inscr. 55). The graph is a drawing.
- 1-g. *må/ma/ma-T, L sacrifice in the open, in the camping place (Shī). g. is pre-Han (inscr. 459).
- h. *må / ma / m a T, L revile, curse (Tso).
- 41 a. *kwa / kwa / k u a T gourd, melon (Shī). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *kwo / kuo / ku T, L wail, cry (Shī).
- c. *kwo / kuo / k u T fatherless, orphan (Lunyü), alone (Lunyü).
- **d.** *kwo / kwo / k u T, L net (Shī).
- e. *kwo / kuo / ku T, L Hydropyrum latifolium (Li).
- 1. *kwo / kuo / k u T, L a trumpet-shaped ritual vessel (Lunyü); loan for c. above (Chuang).
- g. *kwo / kuo / k u L, K big bone, curved bone (Chuang).
- h. *g'wo / yuo / h u T, L bow (Yi); bend, curved (Chouli).
- i. *g'wo / γuo / h u T fox (Shī).
- **42 a—b.** *kwa / kwa / k u a T few, little (Yi); solitary, resourceless (Shī); unworthy (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'roof' and 'head'.

- 43 a. *k'wå / k'wa / k 'u a T L boast (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *k'wå / k'wa / k' u a T boast (Kuan).
- c. *k'wå / k'wa / k' u a T good, fine (Ch'uts'ï).
- d. *k'wa / k'wa / k' u a T, L to step over, pass over (Tso); *k'wo / k'uo / k' u K to squat over, have in one's power (Kuoyü); loan for b. above (Lie).
- e. k'wa/k'wa/k u a T, and $\chi iwo/\chi iu/h$ ü T, L flower (Chuang).
- f. *k'wo / k'uo / k ' u T cut open, cut to pieces (Yi).
- g. *k'wo / k'uo / k 'u L, K to insert the hand (and grasp) (Yili).
- **h.** *k'wo / k'uo / k ' u T, L trousers (Li).
- i. same as the preceding (Mo).
- j. *g'wo / γuo / ĥ u T, L bottle-gourd (Shī).
- k. *wo/wo/wu T, L stagnant water, pool (Meng); dirt (Tso); deep (Ch'uts'i).
- 1. $*g'wa / \gamma wa / h u a L big$ (Tso).
- m. variant of the preceding (Tso).
- 44 a—b. *g'wå / ywa / h u a T flower, blossom (Shī); loan for id. cleave (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c. $*g'wa' / \gamma wa / h u a T$, L a fine horse (Chuang).
- d. *χwå / χwa / h u a T, L shout (Shu).
- 45 a—c. * \hat{t} iå / \hat{t} sia / c h ê T auxiliary word (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 70, sense of p. below), c. is Chou II (inscr. 189). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** * $\hat{t}i\dot{a}$ / $t\dot{s}ia$ / $ch\hat{e}$ T, L red earth (Kuan); red pigment (Shī).
- e-f. *śia / śia / s h ê T extravagant (Lunyü). f. is Chou (inscr. 348, sense of name).
- g. *tio / tiwo / c h u T, L bag for clothes (Tso); store away (Tso); baldaquin over coffin (Li).
- **h.** *tio / tiwo / chu T, L pig (Tso); loan for k'. below (Shu).
- i. * $t^{2}io / \hat{t}^{2}iwo / ch^{2}u T$, and *to / tuo / tu T paper-mulberry tree (Hanfei).
- j. $*d^{2}io / d^{2}iwo / c h u T$, L chop-sticks (Li); loan for n'. below (Kuots'ê); loan for $\overset{\leftarrow}{T}$ (Kuoyü).
- k. *î jo / tśiwo / c h u T, L islet (Shī).
- 1—m. $\hat{t}_{io} / t \hat{s}_{iwo} / c h u$ T to boil, cook (Li).
- n. *fio / tsiwo / c h u T, L to boil, cook (Chouli).
- o. *tio / tsiwo / c h u T fly upwards, soar (Ch'uts'i).
- p. *tio / tsiwo / c h u T many, all (Shī); initial particle (Kungyang); final particle (Shī); preserves (Li); equal to 之 乎 (Lunyū); loan for a. above (Li).
- q. *tio / tsiwo / c h u T islet (Kuoyü), s. w. as k. above.
- r. *dio / źiwo / s h u T to place, position (Kuoyü).

- s. *dzio / ziwo / s ü T line of succession, inheritance (Shī), continue (Shī); the last, rest, remains (Chuang).
- t—v. *śio / śiwo / s h u T write (Yi), written document (Shī), script, graph (Chouli). u. is Chou I (inscr. 56), v. is Chou II (inscr. 164). The phonetic is contracted in the modern form.
- **sio / siwo / s h u T heat (Shī).
- y, z, a'. *to/tuo/tu T, L 50 cubits length of wall (Shī); loan for id. a row or set of bells or musical stones (Chouli). z. is Chou III (inser. 217, radical 167 instead of 32), a' is Chou III/IV (inser. 295, radical 郭 'wall' instead of 32).
- b'. *to / tuo / t u T banner (Sün).
- c'. *to / tuo / t u T, L see (Li).
- d'. variant of the preceding (Meng).
- e'—g'. *to / tuo / t u T capital city (Shī); loan for id. island in a marsh (Kuan); elegant (Shī); interjection of admiration (Shu). f'. is Chou II (inscr. 184), g'. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 301).
- h'. *to / tuo / t u T, L, and *diå / źia / s h ê T tower on top of wall (Shī).
- i'. *d'o / d'uo / t ' u T, L to butcher (Chouli).
- j'. *d'o / d'uo / t ' u T, L fatigue, suffering, disabled (Shī).
- k'. *tio / tiwo / c h u T stagnant water (Chouli).
- l'. *d'io / d'iwo / c h ' u T, L collect, store up (Kuoyü).
- m'. *dio / ziwo / s h u T sunrise (Kuan).
- n'. *tio / tiwo / c h u T, L place, order of place, position (Tso); loan for id. appear, visible, manifest (Yi); loan for 🕆 (Shu).
 - The same character applied to another word of similar meaning:
 - *tiak / tiak / c h o T, L to place, put, apply (Li); sacrificial vessel without feet (*applied*) to the earth) (Li).
 - These two different readings account for the two derivates:
- o'. *d'io / d'iwo / c h' u T, L c h' o u c h' u advance and draw back, hesitate (Chuang); *t'iak / t'iak / c h' o L jump over, pass over (Kungyang).
- \mathbf{p}' . *tiak / \hat{t} iak / \mathbf{c} h o K cut, hack (Mo).
 - Of the above, k. and q. *tio 'islet' and e'. *to 'island' are cognate words, and so are r. *dio 'to place' and n'. *tio 'place'.
- 46 a—g. *ts'iā / ts'ia / t s'ie T moreover, and (Shī), even (Meng); meanwhile (Shī); on the point of, will soon (Kuots'ê); this (Shī); *ts'io / ts'iwo / t s'ü L reverent (Shī), obstruct (Yi); *tsio / tsiwo / t sü T, L final particle (Shī); plenty, many (Shī); loan for i'. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 124: 3), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 10,2), d. is Yin (inser. 9), e. is Chou I (inser. 65), f. is Chou I (inser. 86), g. is Chou II (inser. 134). In all these cases, our graph stands for b'. below, 'grandfather, ancestor', and it is a drawing of the phallic-shaped ancestral tablet. All the meanings above are loan applications of the primary graph for b'.
- h. *tsiå / tsia / tsie T, L rabbit-net (Shi).
- i. *tså / tṣa / c h a L, K a kind of sour fruit (Crataegus?) (Li).
- j. * $ts\mathring{a}/ts\mathring{a}/c$ h a T, and * $dz\mathring{i}\mathring{a}/z\mathring{i}a/s$ i e T, and * $dz\mathring{i}\mathring{a}/dz\mathring{i}a/ts$ i e T pull out (of water) (Mo).
- k—l. *tsio / tsiwo / tsü T, L marshy ground (Shī); *dz'io / dz'iwo / tsü L to leak, ooze (Li); loan for id. to stop, prevent (Shī); vanquish (Kuoyü). l. is Yin bone (G 1: 14, sense of b').
- m. *tsio / tsiwo / tsü T, L tsi-tsü millipede (Chuang).
- n. *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts' ü T earth-clad mountain (Shi).

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- o. *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts' ü T, L monkey (Chuang).
- p. *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts' ü T, L (in Peking mostly irregularly read ts ü) ulcer (Chuang).
- q. *ts'jo / ts'jwo / ts' ü T, L rock covered with earth (Shī), s. w. as n. above.
- r. *ts'jo / ts'jwo / ts' ü T, L ts' ü kiu an aquatic bird (Shī).
- s. variant of the preceding (Tso).
- t. *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts'ü T, L hemp in fruit (Shī); *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts'ü T, and *tsio / tsiwo / tsü T straw as bottom in shoe (Ch'uts'ī); *tsio / tsiwo / tsü L bedding or packing of straw (for objects presented) (Li); *dz'å / dz'a / ch'a K, and *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts'ü L dried grass floating in water (Shī); *tså / tṣa / cha L dung-mixed straw (Chuang).
- **u.** $*dz'io / dz'iwo / ts \ddot{u}$ T chew (Kuan).
- v. *tṣio / tṣiwo / t s u T, L small sacrificial table (Shī).
- x. *tsio / tsiwo / tsu T, L imprecate (Shi).
- y. *tṣio / tṣiwo / t s u T, L precipitous (Shī), dangerous, difficult, full of obstacles (Shī), hinder, obstruction (Tso); loan for id. rely on (Meng).
- **z.** *dz'io / dz'iwo / c h u T aid (Shi).
- a'. *dz'io / dz'iwo / c h u K c h u y ü like irregular and uneven teeth, disparate, not fitting together (Ch'uts'ī).
- b'—c'. *tso / tsuo / tsu T. grandfather, ancestor (Shī); first (Shu); sacrifice at road-side on start of a journey (Tso). c'. is Chou IV (inscr. 292).
- d'. *tso / tsuo / t s u T collect, hoard (Shī); tax (Li).
- e'—g'. *tso / tsuo / tsu T, L silk-band, ribbon (Shī), cord (Tso). f'. is Chou II (inscr. 182), g'. is Chou II/III (inscr. 249, sense of name).
- h'. *ts'o / ts'uo / ts'u L, K, and dz'o / dz'uo / tsu T, L coarse (Li).
- i'. *dz'o / dz'uo / ts' u, ts u (even tone) T (Pek. ts u is irregular) advance, go to (Shī); pass away (Meng); henceforth (Shī).
- j'. *dz'o / dz'uo / t s ' u T, L pass away (sc. die) (Shu), etym. s. w. a. the preceding.
 k'—l'. dz'o / dz'uo / t s ' u T Shuowen says: fierce, treacherous; but there are no text examples of this. l'. is Chou I (inscr. 67, sense of particle).
- m'. *dz'o / dz'uo / t s u (oblique tone) K, and *tsâng / tsâng / t s a n g T powerful horse (only Han time text ex.); horse-dealer (Lü) (the reading t s a n g means that the character for t s u has been borrowed for a synonymous word t s a n g); loan for e'. (Chouli, so acc. to the early comm.; rather, I believe, for b').
- n'. *tṣio / tṣiwo / t s ü T, L (Mand. t s ü is irregular, we should expect a c h u) to pickle (Shī).

- o'. *dz'io / dz'iwo / c h u (oblique tone) T, L, and *dz'io /dz'iwo / c h ' u (even tone) T cooperate in cultivating the public field (Chouli), cf. z. above.
- \mathbf{p}' . * $d\mathbf{z}'\mathbf{i}o / d\mathbf{z}'\mathbf{i}wo / \mathbf{c} \mathbf{h}' \mathbf{u} \mathbf{T}$, L hoe (Ch'uts'i).
- q'. *tso / tsuo / tsu T, L, and *ts'io / ts'iwo / ts' ü T, and *tsio / tsiwo / tsü L bedding or packing of straw (for objects presented) (Chouli); cf. t. above.
- r'. *ts'io / ts'iwo / c h ' u T variegated and elegant (dress) (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- s'—t'. *tså / tṣa / c h a T a kind of tree (Crataegus?) (Chuang, one version), s. w. as i. above. t'. is Chou I/II (inscr. 212, sense of name).
- u'. vulgar form of the preceding (Li).
- v'—y'. *tså / tsa / c h a T Shuowen says: take; but there are no text ex. of this. x'. is Yin bone (A 5: 37,5, sense of name), y'. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of particle).
- 47 a. *ziā / ia / ye T place name (Meng); loan for id. interrogative particle (Yi); loan for *dziā / zia / s i e T awry, crooked (Sün), deflected, depraved (Shī); loan for 徐(Shī). The graph has 'tooth' and 'city': city of the tooth-shaped mountain (Lang-ye).

 b. vulgar form of the preceding (Tso).
- c. *dzį a / s i e T, L oblique, perverse (Chouli), s. w. as a. above; phonetic abbreviated.
- 48 a—b. *\$id | \$ia | s h ê T lodging-house (Li); to rest in, stop (Shī); loan for id. put away, set aside, leave (Shī); give, bestow (Tso); loan for \$\frac{1}{4}\$ (Chouli). b. is Chou I (inser. 148). The graph is a drawing of a house.
- c. *śiā / śia / s h ê T give up, let go (Kuoyü), cf. the preceding.
- 49 a—e. *ko / kuo / k u T ancient (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 7,7, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of i. below), e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 329, sense of i.). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- t. *ko / kuo / k u T fortified, secure (Li), securely, make sure (Shī); strong, firm (Tso); obstinate (Lunyü); mean (Lunyü), rude (Li); old-established (Meng); certainly (Lunyü).
- g—h. *ko / kuo / k u T father's sister (Shī); mother-in-law (Tso); loan for id. now, temporarily, for the present (Shī). h. is Chou I (inscr. 92).
- i—j. *ko / kuo / k u T fact, phenomenon, matter (Meng), cause, reason (Shī), because of (Shī); old intercourse (Shī), old (as opp. to new) (Yi). j. is Chou II/III (inser. 255).
- k—l. *ko / kuo / ku T, L name of a river (inser. 147); loan for id. to buy, sell (Lunyü); summarily, careless (Li). l. is Chou II (inser. 147).
- m-n. *ko / kuo / k u T, L net (Shī). n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- o. *ko / kuo / k u T, L cricket (Chuang).
- p. *ko / kuo / k u T guilt, crime (Shī).
- q. *ko / kuo / k u T, L salt (Chouli), salty marsh (Tso); loan for id. slack, remiss (Shī).
- r—s. *ko / kuo / ku K a kind of vessel (inscr. 165). s. is Chou II (inscr. 165, rad. 22 instead of 108 and 121; many scholars read this archaic char. as f u, which is not admissible because of the initial in the phonetic).
- **t.** *k'o / k'uo / k'u T withered, dried up (Li).
- *k'o / k'uo / k' u T Soncus, Lactuca (Shī); bitter (Shī); suffer (Shī); loan for *ko / kuo / k u L bad, of poor quality (Chouli).
- v. *g'o / γuo / h u T, L wooded hill (Shī).
- **x.** *g'o / yuo / h u T, L rely on, depend on (Shi).
- y-z. *g'o / yuo / h u T, L blessing (Shī). z. is Chou III (inser. 236).
- a'. *g'o / γuo / h u T dewlap (Shī); loan for id. how, why, what (Shī); long-during (Shī); part of a dagger-axe (Chouli); butterfly (Chuang); loan for i'. below (Tso).

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- b'. *g'o / yuo / h u T, L wine, a portion of wine (Shī, so the Mao comm. and Shuowen: Cheng Hüan reads *ko / kuo / ku — to buy or sell wine).
- c'—d'. *kio / kiwo / k ü T sit down (Lunyü); dwell, reside in, occupy (Shī); settlement, residence (Shī); repose (Shī), tranquil, satisfied (Shī); overbearing, unkindly (Shī); comfortable, easily (Shī); to hoard (Shu); loan for id. final particle (Shī); ? /kji/ki — L, K final particle (Li). d. is pre-Han (inscr. 417).
- *ko / kuo / k u T, L to stop, obstruct (Tso).
- $?/k\hat{a}/k$ o T piece, item (Sün). ť.
- *ko / kuo / k u T, L a kind of tree (Chouli).
- *g'o / γuo / h u T, L a kind of tree (Shī); loan for id. of bad quality (Sün) (cf. u. above).
- i'. *g'o / yuo / h u — T a kind of sacrificial vessel (Li).
- *g'o / yuo / h u T lake (Chouli).
- *g'o / yuo / h u T gourd (Kuots'ê).
- *g'o / yuo / h u T, L supply food to, feed (Tso).
- m'. *g'o / γuo / h u T pelican (Chuang).
- *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L bent in an angle (Li); arrogant (Li).
 *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L grasp (Shī). n'.
- o'.
- *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L gem worn at girdle-pendant (Shī). p'.
- *kjo / kjwo / k ü T wide, ample (Sün).
- *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L to squat (Tso).
- *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L a saw (Kuoyü).
- *k'jo / k'jwo / k' ü T, L, and *kjo / kjwo / k ü T, L a kind of tree (Shī).
- *g'io / g'iwo / k' ü T, L, and *kio / kiwo / k ü T dried meat of birds, esp. pheasants (Li).
- 50 a. *ko / kuo / k u T drum (Shī); measure of weight (Tso) or capacity (Li).
- b-f. *ko / kuo / ku T to drum (Shī). a. and b. are not distinguished in modern praxis. c. is Yin bone (A 5: 1,1), d. is Yin bone (E 38: 3), e. is Chou II (inser. 139), f. is Chou III (inser. 234). The graph shows a drum on its stand and a hand with a drum-stick.
- *ko / kuo / k u T, L eveless, blind (Shī).
- 51 a. *ko / kuo / k u T thigh (Shī). The graph consists of 'flesh' and 'to beat'. b. *ko / kuo / k u — T, L ram (Shi). a. is abbreviated phonetic.

- 52 a—b. *ko / kuo / k u T, L noxious vermin in the food, in the stomach (Chouli); noxious influences, seduction, madness (Tso); loan for id. business, affair (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 42,6). The graph has 'vessel' and 'insects'.
- 53 a—b. *g'o / γuo / h u T door (Shī), opening (Li), house, family (Tso); loan for id. to stop (Tso). b. is extracted from the arch. graph for \(\varphi\) (Chou I, inser. 58), cf. also f. below. The graph is a drawing of a door-leaf.
- c. *g'o / γuo / h u T, L name of an ancient city (Ch'unts'iu); loan for id. a bird resembling a quail (Shī); to stop, to check (Tso); wide, vast (Li); to tend (sc. horses) (Kungvang); be covered with, bear upon oneself (Ch'uts'ī).
- d, e, f. *g'o / γuo / h u T the first graph is Shuowen's form, the second Erya's for the bird written c. in the classics (a bird resembling a quail); from Han time loan for kuo / k u to hire (Han shu). f. is Yin bone (A 2: 4,8, sense of name).
- g. *ko / kuo / k u T turn the head and look (Shī), regard (Shī); loan for id. only, but (Li).
- 54 a. *g'o / γuo / h u T, L intertwining, crossing (Chouli), barrier (Chouli), a stand (of crossing sticks) (Chouli). The graph seems to have been a drawing.
- b. *g'o / yuo / h u T, L railings, fence (Chouli); etym. s. w. a. last.
- c. *g'o / yuo / h u T, L shut in, stop up (said of cold which freezes, shuts up everything) (Tso).
- 55 a—d. *g'o / γuo / h u T final particle of exclamation (Shī) and interrogation (Shī); in, at, on, at side of (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 48,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57, sense of h. below), d. is Chou II (inscr. 133). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e—g. variant of the preceding (Lunyü ap. Han shu). f. is Chou I (inser. 58), g. is Chou I (inser. 76).
- h. *\gamma o / \gamma uo / h u T call out, shout (Shī), oh! (Tso), call, summon (Li).
- i. * $\gamma o / \gamma uo / h u L$, K shout (Chouli).
- 56 a—d. *g'o / γuo / h u T flask, flask-shaped vase (Shī); bottlegourd (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 5,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 121), d. is Chou II (inscr. 150). The graph is a drawing.



- 57 a. *xo/xuo/hu T abbreviated form of next.
- b—e. *\chi_o / \chi_uo / h u T tiger (Shī). c. is Yin bone (A 4: 44,5), d. is Yin bone (B shang 6: 8), e. is Chou I (inser. 86). The graph is a drawing, the tail being distorted into two legs in the modern form.
- f. *xo / xuo / h u T, L tiger-shaped jade object (Tso).
- 58 a—d. *ngo / nguo / w u T five (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 247: 2), c. is Yin (inscr. 6), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *ngo / nguo / w u T group of five (Tso).
- f—i. *ngo / nguo / w u T I, we, my, our (Tso); part of name (Shī); *ngio / ngiwo / y ü L part of name (Tso). g. is Chou I (inscr. 58), h. is Chou II (inscr. 180), i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323). In h. and i. the phonetic is doubled, and in i. there are additional radicals.
- j. *ngo / nguo / w u T awake, realize (Shu).
- k. *ngo / nguo / w u T to turn against (Yili).
- 1. *ngo / nguo / w u T, L responsively, in response (Shī).
- m. *ngo / nguo / w u T, L Eloeococca (Shî).
- n. *ngo / nguo / w u T to wake, awake (Shī).
- o. *ngo / nguo / w u K go against (Lü), encounter (Ch'uts'i).
- p. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T, L prison (Li), imprison (Tso).
- q—r. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T, L a kind of musical instrument (Shu). r. is Chou II (inscr. 200, sense of name).
- s. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T to go (Ch'uts'ī); *ngā / nga / y a T, L P'eng-ya place name (Tso).
- t—u. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T speak (Shī). u. is Chou III (inscr. 225).
- v. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T chu y ü like irregular and uneven teeth, disparate, not fitting together (Ch'uts'ī); kun y ü red metal (Lie).
- 59 a—c. *ngo / nguo / w u T shout (Shī); name of a state (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 109, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 134, sense of name). The graph has 'a bending man' and 'mouth'.
- d. *ngo / nguo / w u T deceive (Kuots'ê), mistake (Shu).
- e. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- f. *ngiwo / ngiu / y ü T, L tall (Shī).
- g. *ngiwo / ngiu / y ü T rejoice (Shī).
- h—i. *ngiwo | ngiu | y ü T, L ts o u y ü a fabulous animal (Shī); loan for id. estimate, calculate (Shī); be preoccupied, anxious, foresee (Tso); to err (Shī, so the Maccomm.); pleasure, rejoice (Meng); a sacrifice on the day of burial (Tso). i. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- j. *ngiwo / ngiu / y ü T, L to be herding together (sc. animals) (Shī).
- k. *ngiwo / ngiu / y ü L in crowds, numerous (Shī), etym. s. w. a. last.
- 60 a—e. *ngo / nguo / w u T cyclical character (Shi); loan for id. resist (Li); crosswise (Li). b. is Yin bone (E 4: 1), c. is Yin bone (B shang 5: 9), d. is Chou I (inscr. 76), e. is Chou I (inscr. 79). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- f. *ngo / nguo / w u L, K equal (Chuang).
- g. *ngo / nguo / w u T, L oppose (Hanfei).
- h. *ngo / nguo / w u T go against (Lie).
- i—j. *χio / χiwo / h ü T approve, allow (Shu); promise (Lü); find likely, expect (Meng), admit, bring forward (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for id. a place (Tso); loan for *χo / χuo / h u noisily (Shī). j. is Chou II (inscr. 145).



- k. *χο / χυο / h u T, L river bank (Shī).
- 1—o. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T drive a chariot (Shī), charioteer (Shī); govern, direct (Li); manage, do service (Shu); office (Li), officer, attendant (Shī); set forth, present (Shī); loan for p. below (Shī); *ngā / nga / y a L meet (Shī). m. is Yin bone (A 1: 34,7), n. is Chou I (inser. 55), o. is Chou II (inser. 146).
- p—q. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T, L withstand (Shī), a match, opponent (Shī), hinder, prevent (Meng). q. is Yin (inscr. 12).
- 61 a—c. *'o / 'uo / w u T crow, raven (Shī); loan for id. oh! (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph is a drawing.
- **d.** *'o / 'uo / w u T alas (Tso).
- e—f. *o / uo / w u T, L oh! (Shī); loan for *io / iwo / y ü T, L to be in, in, at, on, with (Shī). f. is Chou III (inser. 225). The graph is really the same as in a—c. above, the drawing of a bird (crow, raven), loaned for the homophonous *o oh!, though here it has been modified in a different way in the modern form.
- g. *'io / 'iwo / y ü T, L tray (Li).
- h. *'iwo / iwo / y ü T blood congestion (Ch'uts'ī).
- i. *'io / iwo / yū T withered (Ch'uts'ī).
- 62 a—c. *t'o / t'uo / t'u T soil, earth, land (Shī); loan for id. measure (Chouli); loan for *d'o / d'uo / t u L roots of mulberry tree (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 10,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph is a drawing of the phallic-shaped sacred pole of the altar of the soil.
- d. *t'o / t'uo / t'u T, L eject from the mouth (Shī).
- e—f. *d'o / d'uo / t'u (even tone) T go on foot (Shī); foot soldier (Shī); follower, adherent (Shī); servant (Chouli); common people, multitude (Shu); loan for id. vainly (Lunyü), merely, only (Meng); bare, naked (Li). f. is Chou II (inscr. 162).
- g—i. *d'o / d'uo / t u (oblique tone) T Pyrus (Shī); to fill, block up (Shu). h. is Chou I (inscr. 97), i. is Chou II (inscr. 134, sense of name).
- j. *diå / zia / s h ê T spirit pole and altar to the spirit of the soil (Shī), sacrifice to that spirit (Shī).
 - Of the above, a. *t'o 'soil' and j. *did 'altar to spirit of the soil' are cognate words.
- 63 a—b. *t'o / t'uo / t'u T. hare (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- c. *t'o / t'uo / t'u T, L name of a plant (Tso, as part of place names); loan for a. (Ch'uts'ī).

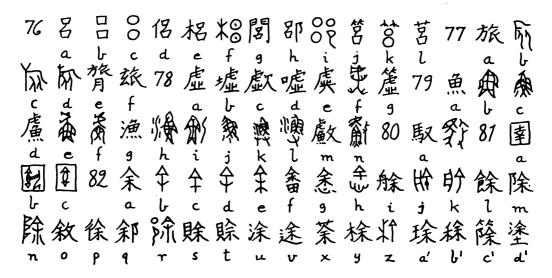
- 64 a—c. *d'o / d'uo / t' u T map, drawing, table (Chouli); plan, consult for (Shī), calculate, expect (Lunyü). b. is Chou II (inser. 147), c. is Chou II (inser. 179). The graph is a drawing.
- 65 a. *ts'o / ts'uo / ts' u L, K gross, coarse (Chouli). The graph has 'ox' and 'horn'.
- 66 a. *ts'o / ts'uo / ts' u T gross, coarse (Tso), big (Li). Etym. s. w. a. last and as 46 h'. above. The graph has 'deer' tripled.
- 67 a-b. *so / suo / su T Shuowen says: to gather into sheaves, but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 163, sense of name). The archaic graph has 'fish' and 'tree' — explanation uncertain.
- c-d. *so / suo / su T fu su a kind of tree (Shī); loan for id. revive (Yi); take (Ch'uts'ī); tremble, fear (Yi). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 296, sense of name).
- 68 a. *so / suo / s u T white silk (Shī), white (Shī), plain, unadorned (Li); in vain, for nothing (Shī); as usual, habitually (Tso); (familiar with:) premeditated (Kuoyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 69 a—c. *lo / luo / l u T Shuowen says: a kind of food vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inser. 136, sense of q. below), c. is Chou (inscr. 382, sense of name). The lower part of the graph is a drawing, the rôle of 'tiger' at the top is obscure.
- d. *lo / luo / lu T Shuowen says: food vessel; but there are no pre-Han text examples in support of this; loan for id. cottage, house (Tso); hound (Shī); lance shaft (Kuoyü); black (Shu).
- e. *lo / luo / lu T captive (Shī). Observe that in the modern graph the middle part is drawn somewhat differently from the rest of the series.
- f. *lio / liwo / l ü T think of, foresee (Shī), be anxious about (Lunyü).
- g-i. *pliwo / piu / f u T, L skin (Shi); loan for id. pork (Yili), cut meat (Li); great, admirable (Shī). h. is Chou III (inscr. 217, sense of y. below), i. is Chou (inscr. 389, sense of y.).
- *lo / luo / lu T, L black and hard soil (Shu).
- *lo / luo / lu T a kind of fruit tree (Lü).
- *lo / luo / lu T stove (Hanfei).
- m. *lo / luo / l u T, L stove (Tso); loan for v. (y.) below (Tso).
- *lo / luo / lu T lance shaft (Kuoyü ap. Shuowen).
- o. *lo / luo / l u T, L hempen threads (Meng).
- **p.** *lo / luo / lu T skull (Kuots'ê).
- *lio / liwo / l ü T, L hut (Shī), inn (Chouli); loan for n. above (Chouli).
- r—s. *lio / liwo / l ü T, L display, expose (Kuoyü). s. is Chou III (inser. 219, sense of d. above).
- t. *lio / liwo / l ü T passive (Sün).
 u. *lio / liwo / l ü T, L madder-plant (Shī).
- v. *lio / liwo / l \u00fc T inlay (sc. inlay work in bronze or iron) (only Han time text examples).
- **x.** * $t'lio / \hat{t}'iwo / ch' u T$ extend (Ch'uts'i).
- y-z. *lio / liwo / l ü (same as v. above, hence the reading) inlay (sc. inlay work in bronze or iron) (inscr. 218). z. is Chou III (inscr. 218).

- 70 a—d. *lo / luo / lu T dull, blunt, simple (Lunyü); place name (Shī). b is Yin bone (B shang 31:2, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense uncertain), d. is Chou I (inscr. 71, sense of name). The graph has 'fish' and 'mouth'.
- **e.** *lo / luo / l u T, L shield (Li).
- 71 a—b. *lo / luo / lu T salty (sc. land) (Tso); rustic, coarse (Chuang); loan for 70 e. above (Kuots'ê). b. is Chou I/II (inscr. 203). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 72 a. *p'o / p'uo / p' u T vast, everywhere (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 78 a—b. *b'o / b'uo / p u T walk (Shī), step (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,4). The graph shows two feet making a step. In the Yin bone inscriptions, the character is often enlarged by 行.
- 74 a—d. *kio / kiwo / k ü T, L, and $\hat{t}'i\dot{a}$ / tś' ia / c h' ê T carriage, chariot (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 6,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 59), d. is Chou I (inscr. 86). The graph is a drawing.
- e. *k'o / k'uo / k 'u T arsenal (Meng), magazine (Tso). Possibly a. and e. are cognate words.
- 75 a. *kio / kiwo / k ü T lift, raise (Shī), start (Shī); loan for id. all (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 76 a—c. *glio / liwo / l ü T spine (Chuang); pitch-pipe (Li). b. is Yin bone (H 1: 5,8, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 98, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.

 d. *glio / liwo / l ü T comrade (Kuots'ê).
- ** #glio / liwo / l u T beam supporting rafters of roof (only Han time text ex.).

 f. is Chou (inser. 333, sense of name).
- g. *glio / liwo / l ü T, L village gate, street gate (Tso); village (Chouli); loan for id. come together, accumulate (Chuang); a kind of battle array (Yi Chou shu).
- h—i. *glio / liwo / l ü K place name (inscr. 295). i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295).
- j—k. *klio / kiwo / k ü T, L round basket (Shī). k. is Chou (inscr. 374, sense of name).
- 1. *klio / kiwo / k ü T name of a plant (no pre-Han text ex.); loan for id. place name (Ch'unts'iu).

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- 77 a—d. *glio / liwo / l ü T. troop (Shī), multitude (Shī), younger men of the family (Shī); arrange in a series (Shī), one after the other (Li); loan for id. guest, stranger (Shī), traveller (Yi); to lodge (Tso); road (Li); sacrifice to mountain deities (Shu); pieces forming a buff-coat (Chouli); loan for e. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 31,7), c. is Yin (inscr. 36), d. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph has two (several) men marching under a banner.
- e. *glio / liwo / l ü T spine (Kuoyü), s. w. a. 76 a. above.
- f. *glo / luo / lu L, K black (Tso).
- 78 a. *k' io / k' iwo / k' ü L, K hill, mound (Tso); abandoned city, ruins, waste (Shī), site (Tso); loan for *χio / χiwo / h ü T, L empty (Li). The small seal character had Γ 'hill' below as radical and *χo 'tiger' above as phonetic. Western authors insist on reading the character h ü even in its sense of 'abandoned city, ruins', in the famous expression Y in k' ü 'the ruins of Yin' (= An-yang). But both Kuang yün and L are positive that in this sense it must be read *k' io / k' iwo / k' ü (being identical with b. below, the reading k' ü of which has never been questioned), and L (King tien shīwen, Li ki, section 19) especially adduces the expression Y in k' ü 'ruins of Yin' as an example of the reading k' ü.
- b. *k'io / k'iwo / k ' ü T, L ruins (Kuoyü, Li); gully, gulf (Ch'uts'i).
- c. *χio / χiwo / h ü T, L to sigh, sob (Ch'uts'i).
- d. *χio / χiwo / h ü T, L to blow, exhale (Chuang).
- e—f. g'io / g'iwo / k ü T, L upright posts of a drum or bell frame (Shī). f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295 this does not agree with the small seal form of a. above).
- g. variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- 79 a—c. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T fish (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 55,5), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph is a drawing.
- d—f. variant of the preceding, enlarged by *χο 'tiger', the rôle of which is uncertain.
 e. is Yin bone (A 6: 50,3), f. is Chou II (inscr. 189, sense of name).
- **g—l.** *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T to fish (Tso). h. is Yin bone (A 7: 9,1), i. is Yin bone (A 5: 45,3), j. is Chou I/II (inser. 210), k. is Chou II (inser. 190), l. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324).
- m—n. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T, L to fish (Chouli). n. is Chou III (inser. 224, sense of 吾).

- 80 a—b. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T drive a chariot (Chouli); to direct, govern (Chouli), s. w. a. 御 . The form b. is Chou I (inser. 65). The graph has 'horse' and a 'hand' wielding some object.
- 81 a—c. *ngio / ngiwo / y ü T, L prison, imprison (Chu Ch'u wen); restrain, embarras (Meng); (keep in enclosures:) keep horses (Tso), groom (Tso); (enclosures:) borders, frontiers (Shī); loan for 58 q. (Shī), for 60 p. (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 53,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 4,1). The graph shows an enclosure with a man with manacles; or, abbreviated, only the manacles.
- 82 a—e. *dio / iwo / y ü T I, we (Shī); loan for l. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou I (inscr. 105), e. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of s. below). The graph may have been the primary graph for f. below, being a drawing of a plough-share, applied to our meaning here by loan.
- 1. *dio / iwo / y ü T, L field in the 3rd (2nd?) year of cultivation (Shī).
- g—h. *dio / iwo / y ü T pleased (Shu ap. Shuowen). h. is pre-Han (inscr. 427, sense of name).
- i—k. *dio / iwo / y ü T a proper name (inser. 138). j. is Yin (inser. 22), k. is Chou II (inser. 138).
- 1. *dio / iwo / y ü T remains (Shī), surplus (Lunyü).
- m—n. *d'io / d'iwo / c h ' u (even tone) T eliminate, remove (Shī), to clear out (Tso); *d'io / d'iwo / c h u (oblique tone) L, K pass away (Shī). n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- o. *dzįo / zįwo / s ü T arrange in order, order (Shu), class, rank (Chouli).
- p. *dzio / ziwo / s ü T walk slowly (Meng); gently (Meng), quiet (Chuang); loan for q. below (Tso).
- q—r. dzio / ziwo / s ü T place name (inscr. 223). r. is Chou III (inscr. 223).
- s. *śiå / śia / s h ê T, L trade on credit (Chouli).
- t. vulgar variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- u. *d'o / d'uo / t' u T, L path on bank of a canal (Chouli); paved path (Chouli).
- \mathbf{v} . *d'o / d'uo / t ' u T road (Lie).
- **L** *d'o / d'uo / t'u T, L and *d'â / d'a / c h'a T, L some kind of Sonchus or Lactuca (Shī), bitter (Shu); a kind of rush or reed (Shī); weeds (Shī); loan for *\$io / \$iwo / s h u L slowly (Chouli); a kind of jade tablet (Li).
- y—z. *t'o / t'uo / t'u T a kind of tree (T, no early text ex.). z. is Yin bone (O 1017, sense of name).
- a'. t'o / t'uo / t ' u T a kind of precious stone (T.).
- b'. *t'o / t'uo / t ' u T, L glutinous rice (Shī).
- c. *d'io / d'iwo / c h ' u T, L coarse mat (Shī, here metaphor for an ugly-looking thing).
- d'. *d'o / d'uo / t ' u T mire (Shī); to plaster (Tso); stop up (Tso); to soil (Chuang); road (Lunyü), cf. v. above.
 - Of the above, p. *dzio 'slowly' and x. *\$io 'slowly' are cognate words.
- 83 a—b. *dio / iwo / y ü T give (Shī); loan for id. I, we (Shī), cf. 82 a. above; b. is Yin bone (H 2, 7: 9). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c—d. The reading of this is unknown; it seems to mean 'to run' (inscr. 329). It is adduced here in order to show the late Chou form of a. above; d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 329).
- e. *dio / iwo / y ü T Shuowen says: elephant; but there are no text examples of this; (elephant-like:) slow and deliberate (Lao); think beforehand, take precautions (Li), antecipate (Tso); loan for id. at ease (Shī), amusement, recreation (Meng).



- f. *d'io / d'iwo / c h u T, L shuttle (Shī); (shuttle-shaped:) tapering (Chouli); *d'io / dz'iwo / s h u T, L oak (Chuang).
- g. *d'io / dz'iwo / shu L, K remove (Tso).
- h. *dzio / ziwo / s ü T walls running north and south at sides of the hall (of a palace), space or galleries close to such walls (Shu); school (Meng); loan for id. order (Shī), degrees (Tso), arrange in order (Shī), succession (Shī), cf. 82 o. above.
- i. *dzio / ziwo / s ü L a kind of chestnut (Chuang).
- j. *śio / śiwo / s h u T, L, and d'io / dź'iwo / s h u T to be remiss (Shī), relax, alleviate (Tso).
- k. *\$\fip / \figsign i wo / s h u T extend (Shu); unfold (Shi); relax, slowly, leisurely (Shi).
- 1. *diā / ia / y e T, L open country, outside cities (Shī), rustic (Lunyü); dio / ziwo / s h u T field hut (Kuots'ê).
- m. variant of the preceding (open country) (Ch'uts'ī).
- n-3. variant of the preceding (with the phonetic left out) (Lü). o. is Chou II (inser. 139).
 - Of the above, e. *dio 'at ease, recreation' and j, k. *śio 'relax' are cognate words.
- 84 a—b. *d'io / d'iwo / c h u (oblique tone) T, L, and *d'io / d'iwo / c h ' u (even tone) T, L space between gate and gate-screen (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 33,6, sense here uncertain). The graph is a drawing.
- **c.** *d'io / d'iwo / chu T, L to stand in attendance (Shī).
- **d.** $*d'\hat{i}o'/d'\hat{i}wo'/chu$ L, K to stand (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. $*d'\hat{i}o / d'\hat{i}wo / chu$ T, L a kind of hemp (Shī).
- **f.** *d'io / d'iwo / chu T, L lamb (Shī).
- **g—k.** *tio / tiwo / c h u T to store, to heap (Kuliang). h. is Yin bone (A 4: 2,3), i. is Yin bone (B hia 18:8), j. is Chou I (inscr. 58), k. is Chou I (inscr. 97).
- 85 a—b. *î'io / tś'iwo / c h ' u T dwell, stay (Shī), keep still (Shī); to place (Li); place (Lü). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph has a man and a stool below, the rôle of the h u 'tiger' above is uncertain.
- 86 a. *Î'jo / ts'jwo / c h ' u T pestle (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 87 a—d. *tṣ'ṣo / tṣ'ṣwo / c h ' u T begin, beginning (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 39,8, not very clearly drawn), c. is Yin (inscr. 25), d. is Chou I (inscr. 55). The graph has 'garment' and 'knife'.

- 88 a-c. *ts'io / ts'iwo / c h ' u T thorny tree, thorns (Shī); bushy, luxuriant (Shī); fine, elegant (Shī); arrange in order (Shī); ferule (Li). b. is Yin bone (O 1547, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 69, sense of name). The graph shows two trees, possibly 90 a. below is phonetic.
- 89 a. *zio / iwo / y ü T lift (only Han time text ex.). The archaic graph (as shown by c. and d. below) had four hands.
- b-d. *zio / iwo / y ü T give (Shī), to, for (Shī); associate with (Shī), together with (Shī); hold with, approve of (Shī); wait for (Lunyü); participate in, be present at (Tso); loan for id. final interrogative particle (Lunyü); fine, abundant (sc. grain) (Shī); dignified (Lunyü). c. is Yin (inscr. 12), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 301). The meaning of the element in the middle is uncertain; d. is enlarged by 'mouth'.
- e. *zio / iwo / y ü T final interrogative particle (Lü), cf. the preceding.
 f. *zio / iwo / y ü T, L name of a gem (Tso).
- g—h. *zio / iwo / y ü (Tsi yün; K has, curiously, the reading 'di) fat (no early text ex.). h. is Chou (inscr. 336, sense of name).
- i. *zio / iwo / y ü T praise (Shī); joy (Tso).
- j. *zio / iwo / y ü T bottom of a carriage (Shī), vehicle, carriage (Tso); carrier, carry on the shoulders (Tso); underlings, the crowd, many (Tso).
- k. *zio / jwo / y ü T, L name of a bird (raven? crow?) (Shī).
- l-m. *zio / jwo / y ü T, L a kind of flag (Shī); bending upwards (hair curling) (Shī). m. is pre-Han (inscr. 443, sense of name).
- *dzio / ziwo / z ü T, L, and *zio / iwo / y ü T, L fine, good-tasting (sc. wine) (Shī).
- o-p. *dzio / ziwo / s ü T, L name of a fish (Shī). p. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- 90 a. *sio / siwo / s h u T foot (Ti tsī chī ap. Shuowen). The archaic graph was probably a drawing.
- b-c. *sio / siwo / s h u T wide apart (Tso), distant (Tso); loose (not dense, sc. a stuff) (Li); take away, eliminate (Kuoyü); (not fine:) coarse (Shī); to separate (Meng); perforate (Li), penetrate, perspicacious (Li); engrave (Li); loan for d. below (Chouli). d. *sio / siwo / s h u — T vegetable, grain (Li).
- e. *sio / siwo / s ü T, L aid (Kuan); together, mutually (Shī); all (Shī); loan for id. examine (Shī); functionary (Chouli); butterfly (Chuang); distant (Shī).
- L *sio / siwo / s ti T, L to strain (spirits) (Shī); abundantly dripping (sc. dew) (Shī); abundant, flourishing (Shī).
- g. *sio / siwo / s ü T, L grain ripe so as to drop its kernels (Li).
- h. *sio / siwo / s ü T and sio / siwo / s h u T sacrificial grain (Ch'uts'i).
- i. *sio / siei / s ü T, L son-in-law (Tso). The Anc. Chin. reading siei is very enigmatic. The modern reading su agrees with that of the phonetic a. above, which rimes as *sio in the Shī, so our word here must reasonably have been *sio as well.
- **91 a—c.** *sio/siwo/so T (the Pek. reading so is irregular; we should expect a s h u) place (Shī); where, the place where (Shī); quem, quam, quod (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328), c. is Chou (inscr. 370). The graph has 'door' and 'axe'.
- 92 a. *śjo / śjwo / s h u T rat (Shī); loan for b. below (Shī). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- b. *\$io / \$iwo / s h u T, L hidden suffering (Shī).



- 93 a—d. *\$\frac{1}{2}\io | \frac{1}{2}\iwo | \s h u T millet (Shī); loan for id. wine vessel (Lü). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 29,7), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 40,2) d. is Chou (inscr. 391). The graph is a drawing.
- 94 a—e. *nio / niwo / n ü T woman, lady, girl (Shī); loan for j. below 'you' (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 41,1 mostly used in the sense of \$\frac{\mathbb{H}}{2}\$), c. is Yin (inscr. 1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of j. below 'you'), e. is Chou I (inscr. 70, sense of j. below 'you'). The graph is a drawing.
- f. *nio / niwo / n ü T cakes (dumplings or threads) made of rice-flour and honey (Ch'uts'ī).
- g—i. *ńio / ńżiwo / j u T resemble, like, as if (Shī); if (Lunyü); as to (Lunyü); loan for id. go to (Tso); or (Lunyü). h. is Yin bone (E 72: 4), i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 326).
- j—k. *nio / niwo / j u T name of a river (Shī); loan for id. you (Shu). k. is Yin bone (G 9: 2).
- l—n. *no / nuo / n u T slave (Lunyü). m. is Yin bone (A 5: 33,2), n. is pre-Han (inscr. 375).
- o. *nio / niwo / j u T, L wrapping silk band (Chouli). The Mand. reading ju is irregular, we should expect a n ü).
- p. *nio / ńiwo / n ü T, L rags (Yi).
- q. *njo / nźiwo / j u T, L marsh (Shī).
- r. *nio / niiwo / j u T, L interlaced roots (sc. of a plant) (Yi); madder plant (Shī); loan for id. to swallow, eat (Shī); putrid, rotten (Lü); to deliberate, examine (Shī); soft (Ch'uts'ī).
- s. *njo / nźiwo / j u T, L quail (Li).
- t. *śńżo / śżwo / s h u T generous, indulgent (Lunyü).
- u. *snio / siwo / s ü T coarse raw silk, silk floss (only Han time text ex.); loan for *t'nio / t'iwo / c h ' u T, L to season, to flavour (sc. the soup) (Li).
- v—x. *no / nuo / n u T wife and children (Shu). x. is Chou I (inscr. 100, graph slightly abbreviated).
- y. *no | nuo | n u T, L store, treasury (only Han time text ex.); loan for v. above (Tso).

- **z.** *no / nuo / n u T crossbow (Chouli).
- a'. *no / nuo / n u T anger, angry (Shī), violent, vigorous (Chuang).
- **b', c'.** *nå / ńa / n a T to handle (Ch'uts'i), take (Chuang).
- d'. *no / nuo / n u T, L a kind of stone used for arrow-heads (Shu).
- e'. *no | nuo | n u T, and *nå | ńa | n a T cage (Ch'uts'i).
- f'. *no / nuo / n u T, L bad horse (Li).
- 95 a-b. *kiwo / kiu / k ü (same as c. below, hence the reading) carpenter's square (Kuan); loan for *g'io / g'iwo / k ü — T great (Meng). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 308, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c-d. *kiwo / kiu / k ü T carpenter's square (Meng); rule, law (Lunyü); to mark, set a mark on (sc. a tree to be felled) (Chouli). d. is Chou (inscr. 347, sense of name).
- e. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- **f.** *kio / kiwo / k ü T gutter (Chouli).
- g. *g'io / g'iwo / k ' ü (even tone) T, L canal (Li); loan for id. vast, spacious (Shī); tire of wheel (Chouli); shield (Kuoyü).
- **h.** *g'io / g'iwo / k' ü L millipede (Chuang).
- i. *g'iwo / g'iu / k ü (oblique tone) T, L oppose, ward off (Lunyü); *kiwo / kiu / k ü — L troops drawn up in squares (Tso).
- j. *g'io / g'iwo / k ü T, L black millet (Shī).
- k-m. same as the preceding (inscr. 86). l. is Chou I (inscr. 86), m. is Chou II (inscr. 155).
- n. *g'io/g'iwo/k ü T cakes (dumplings or threads) made of rice-flour and honey (Ch'uts'i).
- *g'io / g'iwo / k ü T plough (Kuan).
 *g'io / g'iwo / k ü T, L y u n g k ü how, num (Chuang).
- **q.** *g'io / g'iwo / k ü T, L spur (Tso); loan for id. to oppose, resist (Shī); come to, reach (Shu); leap (Tso).
- *g'io / g'iwo / k ü T, L hard iron (Sün); loan for a. above 'great' (Li), for p. above (Kuots'ê).
- 96 a—b. *kiwo / kiu / k ü T Shuowen says: look to right and left, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is pre-Han (inscr. 442, sense of name).
- c. *kiwo / kiu / k ü T, L frightened glance (Li), anxious, careful (Shī); loan for *g'iwo / g'iu / k' ü — (even tone) L a kind of lance (Shu).
- **d.** * $g'iwo / g'iu / k' \ddot{u}$ T, L street (Tso).
- e-1. *g'iwo / g'iu / k' " T go (Ch'uts'ī). f. is Chou II (inser. 180, sense of i. below; rad. 156 instead of 157).
- g. *g'iwo / g'iu / k' ü T, L k' ü y ü name of a bird (Tso).
- **h.** *g'iwo/g'iu/k' \(\vec{u}\) (even tone) \(\vec{T}\), and *g'iwo/g'iu/k \(\vec{u}\) (oblique tone) \(\vec{T}\) lean, emaciated (Kuots'ê).
- * $g'iwo / g'iu / k \ddot{u}$ T to fear (Shi).
 - Of the above, c. *kiwo 'frightened glance, anxious' and i. *g'iwo 'to fear' are cognate words.
- **97 a—g.** * $q_i wo / j_i u / y \ddot{u}$ T go to (Shī); to, in, at, on (Shī); loan for id. great (Li); lips of a bell (Chouli); chant (Chouli); tranquil (Chouli); loan for t. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 53,2), c. is Yin bone (B hia 43: 1), d. is Yin (inser. 6), e. is Yin (inser. 27), f. is Chou I (inser. 56), g. is Chou I (inser. 57). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *giwo / jiu / y ü T eaves, sides of house under eaves (Shī); territory (Shī), boundary (Tso); the world (Shī-tsī).



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- *giwo / jiu / y ü T, L bath tub (Li); big cup (Sün); loan for id. complacent, selfsatisfied (Sün).
- j. *giwo / jiu / y ü T a kind of precious stone (Lie).
- k-m. *giwo / jiu / y ü T, L bowl (Hanfei). l. is Yin bone (A 1: 41,7, sense of name), m. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of name).
- *giwo / jiu / y ü T reed organ (Li).
- *qiwo / jiu / y ü T Colocasia (Yili); loan for *xiwo / xiu / h ü L great, make great (Shi).
- *giwo / jiu / y ü T, L, and * iwo / iu / y ü T bend, deflect (Shu); astray, far away from (Lunyü).
- q—s. *giwo / jiu / y ü T, L sacrifice with prayer for rain (Lunyü). r. is Yin bone (A 5: 39,6), s. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of a. above).
- * $\chi iwo / \chi iu / h \ddot{u}$ T, L oh, alas, to sigh (Shī).
- u. *χίνο / χίν / h ü T, L lift the eyes and regard (Yi), stare (Sün); be anxious about (Shī, so acc. to Erya and Cheng Hüan).
- $\nabla \mathbf{x}$. * $\chi_i wo / \chi_i u / h \ddot{u} \mathbf{T}$, L great (Shī). x. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 311).
- y. *'iwo / 'iu / y ü T, L bent, crooked (Chouli).
- *'wo / 'uo/ w u L, K plaster (Tso).
- a'. *'wo / 'wo / w u T, L to plaster (Lunyü), s. w. a. last.
- b'—c'. *wo | wu T, L impure (Tso), to wash away dirt (Shī); stagnant water (Shī); low, mean (Tso); laborious service (Tso); debase, reduce, diminish (Li); *'ua' / 'wa / wa — T, L impure, vile, mean (Meng); dig a hole in the ground (Li); loan for y. above (Tso).
- d'. *χiwo / χiu / h ü T, L ceremonial cap (Shī).
- 98 a—b. *giwo / jįu / y ü T feather, wing (Shī). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 翟 (inscr. 439). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *χiwo / χiu / h ü T, L oak (Shī); loan for id. glad (Chuang).
 d. *χiwo / χiu / h ü T, L self-asserting, energetic (Li); far-reaching (Li).
- 99 a—c. *giwo / jiu / y ü T Shuowen says: ch'ung (insect or reptile), but there are no text examples in support of this; N. pr. (Shī); loan for 95 c. above (Chouli). b. is Chou II (inscr. 174, sense of name), c. is Chou III (inscr. 229, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *giwo / jiu / y ü L (after Sü Miao) circumspect (Lie).

- e. *kiwo / kiu / k ü L a clan name (Shī).
- 1. *kiwo / kiu / k ii L, K carpenter's square (Chouli), s. w. a. 95 a. and c. above.
- g. *kiwo / kiu / k ü T, L solitary (Shī).
- 100 a—e. *giwo / jiu / y ü T rain (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 25,3), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 35,3), d. is pre-Han (inscr. 444, sense of name), e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327). The graph is a drawing.
- 101 a—d. *piwo / piu / f u T man (Shī); loan for *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T this, that (Shī), the one in question (Lunyü), as to (Tso); final particle (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 32,1), c. is Yin (inscr. 17), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph shows a man with a horizontal stroke (hair-pin?) on the head.
- e. *piwo / piu / fu T, L axe (Li).
- 1. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T to support, assist (Lunyü); loan for id. (L) to crawl (Li, then also read *p'wo / p'uo / p' u L); first syllable in various names of plants etc. (Shī etc.).
- g. b'iwo/b'iu/fu T a kind of tree (Kuan).
- **h.** b'iwo / b'iu / fu T fu jung lotus (Ch'uts'ī).
- 102 a—e. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T, L father (Shī), old man (Tso); *piwo / piu / f u L, K honorific second part of personal name e. g. K i a f u (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 24,5), c. is Yin (inser. 2), d. is Chou I (inser. 54), e. is Chou II (inser. 139). The traditional explanation of the graph is: a hand holding a stick.
- f.—g. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T, L cooking-pot (Shī); a measure (Lunyū). g. is Chou IV (inscr. 290, rad. 121 instead of rad. 167).
- h—i. *piwo / piu / f u T axe (Shī). S. w. a. 101 e. above; i. is pre-Han (inscr. 417).
 j—l. *pwo / puo / p u T cloth (Shī); currency (money) (Chouli); loan for id. spread out (a mat) (Li), display (Tso), announce (Tso); disperse (Tso). k. is Chou I (inscr. 91), l. is Chou I (inscr. 131 a). The modern graph is distorted so as to obscure the fact that a. above is phonetic.
- m. *p'wo / p'wo / p ' u T, L fear (Chuang).
- n—q. *piwo / piu / f u T honorific second part of personal name, e. g. K i f u (Shī), name (Li) (this is s. w. a. 102 a. above in its 2nd reading); great (Shī), numerous (Shī acc. to Erya—Mao takes it to mean 'great' also here); to begin (Chouli). o. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,4; possibly sense of z. below), p. is pre-Han (inser. 440, sense of name), q. is



- Chou III/IV (inser. 303, sense of name). The explanation of this graph is very obscure. Some archaic forms, e. g. x. m'. below, clearly have \mathcal{H} as radical and a above as phonetic. But other forms, e. g. o., p., a'., b'., r'., seem rather to be a drawing of a plant growing from a field (the primary form of z. below?). Something between these two extremes are forms like q., s'. and z'.
- r. *piwo / piu / f u T, L dried meat (Shī).
- s. *piwo / piu / f u T an auspicious plant (Shuowen, no early text ex.); loan for n'. below (Ch'uts'i).
- t. *piwo / piu / f u T, L embroidered axe on lower robe (Shi).
- u. *pįwo / pįu / f u T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Yili).
- v—x. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T protecting boards on sides of carriage (Shī); protect, help (Shī); bones of upper jaw (Yi). x. is Chou II (inscr. 156, sense of name).
- y. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T, L a measure (Chouli), cf. f. above.
- z—b'. *pwo | puo | pu T, L vegetable garden (Shī), gardener (Lunyü). a'. is Yin (inser. 21), b'. is Chou I/II (inser. 211).
- c'. *pwo | puo | p u T to supplement (Shī); mend, repair (Meng); assist (Chouli).
- d'. *pwo / puo / p u T, L escape (Shu).
- e'. *pwo / puo / p u T, L eat (Meng), meal in the afternoon (Lü).
- f'. *p'wo/p'uo/p'u T, L river bank (Shī).
- g'. *p'wo / p'uo / p ' u T, L, and *p'iwo / p'iu / f u T, L suffering, exhausted, disabled (Shī).
- h'. *p'wo / p'uo / p' u T, L, and *p' įwo / p' įu / f u T, L spread out (Shī); loan for g'. (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- i'. *b'wo / b'uo / p u (oblique tone) T, L have food in the mouth (Chuang).
- j'. *b'wo / b'uo / pu T, L seize (Tso).
- k'. *b'wo | b'uo | p' u (even tone) T, L a big drinking-bout (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. a malevolent and noxious deity (Chouli).
- l'—m'. b'wo / b'uo / p' u T, L, and *b'iwo / b'iu / f u L crawl (Shī). m. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of t'. below).
- n'. *b'wo / b'uo / p'u T rush, reed (Shī); willow (Shī); loan for l'. above (Tso).
- o'. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- p'—s'. *p'iwo / p'iu / f u L, K diffuse, extend, spread out (Yi). r'. is Chou II (inscr. 148), s'. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- t'. *p'iwo | p'iu | f u T, L spread out (Shī), arrange (Shī), set forth, publish (Shu).
- u'. *piwo / piu / f u T, L assist; teacher, instruct (Tso); *b'iwo / b'iu / f u L attach, apply (Tso); reach to, come to (Shī).
- \mathbf{v}' . *b'ivo / b'iu / f u T a kind of tree (Lü).
- x'. *b'iwo / b'iu / f u T, L money contribution to cost of burying (Tso).
- y'—z'. *p'wo / p'uo / p ' u T name of a fish (inser. 324). z'. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324).
 - Of the above, j. *pwo 'spread out', h'. *p'wo 'spread out' and p'., t'. *p'iwo 'spread out' are cognate words, and so are e'. *pwo 'eat' and i'. *b'wo 'have food in mouth'.
- 103 a—f. *miwo / miu / w u T not have (Shī), not, no (Shī), don't (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 21,1), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 20,4), d. is Yin (inscr. 49), e. is Chou I (inscr. 63), f. is Chou II (inscr. 140). The graph is the primary form of g. below, 'to dance', being a drawing of a man with dancing plumes in the hands.
- g. *miwo | miu | w u T make postures to music, dance (Shī); loan for id. upper surface of a bell (Chouli).
- h. variant of the preceding (Chuang).

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- i. *miwo / miu / w u T, L big house (Kuan); loan for id. luxuriant (Shu).
- j. *miwo / miu / w u T, L taken aback, stupefied (Lunyü); *χmwo / χuo / h u L great (Shī).
- **k.** *miwo / miu / w u T, L jar (Li).
- 1. *miwo / miu / w u T, L overgrown with weeds (Meng).
- m. *miwo / miu / w u K induce, advise (Kuan).
- n. *\chimum / \chimum / \chimum / h u T, L cover (Li); loan for id. great (Shī ap. L); arrogant (Li).
- *χmwo / χuo / h u T, L, and *miwo / miu / w u T, L big slice of dried meat (Chouli); loan for *miwo / miu / w u T, L big, important (Shī); rich, beautiful (Shī); law (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan), cf. i. above.
- p. *p'iwo / p'iu / f u T lay the hand on (Li), pacify (Tso); accommodate oneself to (Shu); hold (Li).
- q—r. *χmio/χiwo/h ü K place name (inscr. 294), a state in the classics called # *χio/χiwo/h ü. The alternative graphs evidently indicate alternative readings. r. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 294).
- 104 a—e. *miwo / miu / w u T martial, military (Shī); loan for id. foot-print (Shī); a rolled-up cap (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 20,7), c. is Yin (inser. 32), d. is Chou I (inser. 75), e. is Chou I (inser. 65). The graph has 'foot' and 'dagger-axe.'
- t. *miwo / miu / w u T, L parrot (Li).
- g—h. *piwo / piu / f u T tax, to tax (Shu); contribution (Tso); give, distribute (Shī); loan for id. ballad, to chant (Tso). h. is Chou II (inser. 180).
- 105 a. *miwo / miu / w u T magician (Lunyü). The graph consists of k u n g 'work' and 'man' doubled.
- b. *miwo / miu / w u T deceive (Lunyü), slander, accuse falsely (Tso); to err (Li).
- 106 a. *miwo / miu / w u K not have, not (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 107 a. *miwo / miu / w u T do not (Shī), not (Tso); ? /mizu / m o u L m o u t u e i name of a kind of ritual cap (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 108 a—b. *ku / kau / k o u T, L hook, hooked (Li); bow bent to the full (Shī); *kiu / kiu / k ü T a phrase (only Han time text examples); *g'iu / g'iu / k ü L part of place name (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of name). The graph has 'mouth' and two hooks gripping each other.

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c. *ku / kau / k o u — T, L hook (Shī), s. w. a. the preceding.
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- **d.** *ku / k u / k ou T dog (Tso).
- e. *ku / kau / k o u T, L trap or basket for catching fish (Shī).
- 1-g. *ku / kou T, L wizened face of old age, old (Shī). g. is Chou II (inscr. 133).
- h. *ku / kou T Shuowen says: a herb, but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. carelessly, lightly (Shī); really (Li), if really, if only (Shī).
- i. ku / ku / kou T, L the crowing of the pheasant (Shī).
- j. $*k'u/\hat{k}' \neq u/k$ o u T stupid (Ch'uts'ī).
- **k**. $*k'u / k'\hat{\partial}u / k'$ o u L beat (Chouli).
- 1. *k'u / k'gu / k' ou T slit, indentation in garment (Yili).
- m. $*g'u/\gamma 2u/h$ o u T, and $*\chi u/\chi 2u/h$ o u T, L insult, disgrace (Tso).
- n. $*\chi u / \chi \chi u / h o u T$ ant (Lü).
- *kiu / kiu / k ü T, L a kind of tree (Legge etc. say: Hovenia dulcis) (Shī); *ku / k u / k o u K crooked wood (Sün).
- p. *kiu / kiu / k ü T, L grasp, seize (Shu); *ku / k o u L to cover (Li), receive (Li); loan for a. above (Sün).
- q. *kiu / kiu / k ü T, L (after Sü Miao) crooked spine (Chuang).
- r—s. *kiu / kiu / k ü T, L colt, young horse (Shī). s. is Chou II (inscr. 133, sense of name).
- t. *g'iu / g'iu / k ' \ddot{u} T, L toil (Shi).
- u. *g'iu/g'iu/k' ü L, K cord ornating nose of shoe (Li).
- v. *g'iu / g'iu / k' ü T, L bent part of a slice of dried meat (Li); loan for id. far (Kuan); loan for x. below (Tso).
- **x.** *g'iu / g'iu / k' ü L, K curved exterior part of a yoke, gripping over the neck of the horse (Tso).
- y. *g'iu / g'iu / k' ü T, L name of a bird (Tso, one version ap. L); k' ü t o name of an insect (Chuang; perhaps: *what the k' ü bird picks*).
- **z.** *k'iu / k'iu / k' ü K dexterous, skilful, fabricate (Yi Chou shu).
- a'. *\(\gamma'\)iu / \(\gamma\)iu / \(\hat{u}\) T, L exhale, breathe on (Lao), cry out (Kuots'\(\hat{e}\)), spit out (Chuang).
- **b'.** $*\chi iu / \chi iu / h \ddot{u}$ T merry (L\u00fc).
- c'. * $\chi iu / \chi iu / h \ddot{u}$ T, L warm, heat (Li).
 - Of the above, a. and c. *ku 'hook', o. *ku 'crooked wood', q. *kiu 'crooked spine', v. *g'iu 'bent part of slice' and x. *g'iu 'curved part of yoke' are cognate words.
- 109 a—d. *ku / kau / kau / kau T chung-kou inner chamber (Shī; sense: trelliswork?). b. is Yin bone (E 77: 1, sense of l. below), c. is Chou (inser. 383, sense of e. below), d. is pre-Han (inser. 413, sense of name). The fundamental sense of this word stem *ku here seems to be 'intertwine, interlacery, trellis-work, connect, cross', and all the words a, e, f, g, h, i. are of the same stem. Etymologically the same word is 行 of last group: 'basket for catching fish', being made of interlaced bamboo strips, the word meaning really 'interlacery'. Our graph here shows such an 'interlacery' basket for catching fish, of the type called Reuse in German).
- e. *ku / kau / k o u T, L second marriage (Yi); favour (Shī).
- f. *ku / kau / k o u T to cross, join (as weapons in fighting) (Meng).
- g. *ku / kau / ko u fabricate, build (Shu); unite (Yi); come in contact with (Shī), come in conflict with (Shī).
- h. *ku / kau / kou T drain, irrigation canal (Chouli), moat (Li).
- i. *ku / kau / k o u T bamboo cage (Ch'uts'i).
- j. *ku / kau / k o u T, L happen to see, come across, meet with (Shī).

- **k.** * $ku / k \neq u / k$ o u T to present, give (Kuots'ê).
- 1—0. *ku / kou / k o u T, L meet with (cf. j. above) (Shu). m. is Yin bone (A 1: 2,6), n. is Yin (inser. 32), o. is Chou I (inser. 77).
- 110 a—c. *k'u / k' au / k' ou T mouth (Shī). b. is Yin bone (O 220, sense of name?) c. is extracted from the Archaic graph for 唯 (inser. 54, Chou I). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *k'u / k'zu / k' o u T, L strike (Lunyü); examine, inquire (Lunyü).
- **e.** *k'u/k'2u/k ou T, L strike (Meng); lay hold of (Tso).
- f. *k'u / k'qu / k' o u T beat on some metal object, make a noise (Kuoyü).
- 111 a—b. *k'u / k'qu / k' o u T to rob (Shu), robber (Shī), invader (Tso), bandit (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph has 'roof' and 'beat' and a third element of uncertain meaning.
- 112 a—b. *g'u / you / h o u T sovereign, lord (Shī); queen (Tso); loan for 後 (Li). b. is Yin bone (M 351). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *g'u / γρu / h o u T, L come across, meet accidentally (Shī).
- **d.** * $ku / k\hat{q}u / k \circ u T$, L filth (Shi).
- e. * $ku / k\hat{g}u / kou T$, L to meet (Yi); good (Kuan).
- g. *\(\chi u \) / \(\chi u \) T disgrace, insult (Ta Tai li).
 Of the above, c. *\(\gamma' u\) 'come across' and e. *\(ku\) 'meet' are cognate words.
- 113 a—d. *g'u / yqu / h o u T target (Shī); (skilled archer, chief:) feudatory prince (Shī); loan for id. a particle (Shī); beautiful (Shī); implore (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 28,2) c. is Yin (inscr. 9), d. is Chou I (inscr. 60). The graph has 'arrow' and an element of uncertain meaning.
- e. *g'u / yau / h o u T be on the look-out for, watch (Tso); receive, escort, attend, wait upon (Shī).
- **f.** $*g'u / \gamma \not \approx u / h o u T$, L throat (Shi).
- g. $*g'u / \gamma \geq u / h$ o u T, L monkey (Chuang).
- h. *g'u / yau / h o u L, K Shuowen says: root of a feather; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for i. below (Yili).
- i. *g'u / γχu / h o u T, L arrow with metal point (Shī).
- j. *g'u / yzu / h o u T, L dried food, provisions (Shi).



- 114 a—d. *g'u / ygu / h o u T thick (Shī), ample (Lao), generous (Li). b. is Yin bone (P 211), c. is Chou I (inscr. 93), d. is Chou II (inscr. 152). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 115 a—c. *g'u / \gamma_2u / h o u T behind, after (Shī); follow (Tso); to place after (Lunyü); descendants (Shī), successor (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 69), c. is Chou I (inscr. 94). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 116 a. *tu / tou T bushel, a measure (Shī); ladle (Shī); name of a constellation (Shī); *t̄iu / tsiu / c h u L ladle (Chouli). *tu and t̄iu are cognate words.

 b. *t̄iu / tsiu / c h u T, L ladle (Chouli), s. w. a. the preceding.
- 117 a. *tu / tou T helmet, head-covering (Hiaoking); (put a hood over the head:) deceive (Kuoyü). The original graph must have bean a drawing.
- 118 a—c. *d'u / d'au / t o u (oblique tone) T a ritual vessel (Shī); loan for id. bean (Li); loan for 116 a. above (Chouli). b. is Chou II (inscr. 138, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- **d.** $*d'u / d' \not \not u / t \circ u \longrightarrow T$, L neck (Tso).
- e. $*d'u/d'\hat{q}u/t$ o u (even tone) T head (Tso).
- **f.** *diu / siu / shu T robe made of poor cloth (Lie).
- g. *diu / ziu / shu T, L attendant, young man (Tso).
- 119 a—c. *tsu / tsou T run, hurry (Shī), go (Yili). b. is Chou I (inser. 63), c. is Chou I (inser. 65). The graph has 'man' and 'walk', or 'man' and 'foot'.
- 120 a. *lu/l2u/l o u T to leak (Tso); skylight (Shī). Shuowen has a *primary * form without 'water' at the left, but there are no text examples of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 121 a—c. *g'iu / g'iu / k ü T provide, arrange (Tso); implement (Tso); complete (Shi); loan for d. below (Shi). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132), c. is Chou II (inscr. 145). The graph has 'two hands' ant 'cowry'.
- **d.** $*kiu / kiu / k \ddot{u}$ T both, all, together (Tso).
- e. *kiu / kiu / k ü T, L Hovenia dulcis (Li); a kind of tray or stand for dishes (Li).
- 122 a—b. *k'iu / k'iu / k' ü T, L conceal (Sün); loan for id. class, classify (Lunyü); area (Huainan); small (Tso); content, happy (Tso); *'u / 'zu / o u L, K conceal (Tso); loan for id. a measure (Tso); loan for *ku / kzu / k o u L crooked (Li). b. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph shows objects stored in a receptacle.
- c. *k'iu / k'iu / k' ü T drive (horses) forward (Shī), gallop, hasten (Tso); drive out, expel (Tso).
- **d**—f. variant of the preceding (Chouli). e. is Chou II (inser. 182), f. is Chou III/IV (inser. 323).
- **g.** k'iu/k'iu/k ' u T body, person (Meng).
- **h.** *k'u/k'2u/k' ou T, L, and *k'iu/k'iu/k' ii T pull up (as a dress) (Li).
- i. *'u / 'au / o u L, K vomit (Tso); babble (as a child) (Sün).
- j. *u / 2u / ou T beat (Lü).
- k. *u/ 2u/ou T, L to steep, soak (Shi); loan for id. sea-gull (Lie).
- 1. *'u / 2u / ou T bowl (Sün).

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m. *'u / 2u / ou — T, L sing (Meng).
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- e. *gliu / liu / lü T, L, and *glu / lou T, L a kind of Artemisia (Shī).
- L. *gliu / liu / l ü T frequently, constantly (Shī).
- g. *gliu / liu / lü K kü-lü hunchbacked (Lie), s. w. as b. above.
- h. $*gliu / liu / l \ddot{u}$ T, L thread (Meng).
- i. *glu / lou T, and *gliu / liu L, and *kliu / kiu / k ü L a kind of shoe (Chouli).
- j. *glu / lgu / lou T mound (cf. a. above) (Mo).
- k. *glu / lou T, several-storeyed building (Meng).
- 1. *glu | l2u | lou T, L mole-cricket (Chuang); foul-smelling (Chouli).
- m. *glu / lou T, L carve, engrave (Shī); (carving metal:) hard metal (Shu).
- n. *glu / lou T, L skull (Chuang).
- o. *g'liu / g'iu / k ü T, L straitened, in want (Shī).
- p. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- q. *kliu / kiu / k ü T, L sandal, shoe (Shī), cf. i. above.
- 7. *sliu/siu/shu T, L number (Yi), degree (Li); rule, norm (Meng); some, several (Lunyü); to count, calculate (Shi); (tell the faults of:) reprimand (Tso). The same character is applied, because of sense affinity, to another word *suk/sak/shu o T, L a number of times, frequently, see the -uk class below.

n. $\dot{i}u / \dot{i}u / y \ddot{u}$ — T, L bend the body (Tso).

^{0. *} iu / iu / y ü — T, L to warm with the body (as a mother a child) (Li).

p. *iu/iu/yü — L (after Sü Miao), K, and *k'iu/k'iu/k ü — T satiated (Shī).

q. *î'iu / tŝ'iu / c h'u — T, L pivot (Yi), 'u / 2u / ou — T, L a kind of thorny elm (the dictionaries all read c h'u in this sense as well, but both T and L read ou).

7. *t'iu / î'iu / c h'u — T wild cat (Lie).

¹²³ a. *gliu / liu / lü — T, L drag, trail (Shī); bind (Tso), connect (Chuang); loan for f. below (Shī); *glu / lou — T, L name of a constellation (Li), mound, hillock (Tso); in heat (sc. swine) (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.

b. *gliu / liu / lü — T, L, and *glu / lou — T, L bend (Sün), bend the body, hunchbacked (Tso).

c. *gliu / liu / lü — T, and *glu / lou — T a sacrifice in the 2nd or 8th month (Hanfei).

d. *gliu / liu / lü — T, and *glu / lou — T embrace and take away, drag away (Meng).

- 124 a—b. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T monkey (Li, as part of a N. Pr.); loan for id. a kind of fish (Yi Chou shu); loan for i. below (Kuan), for o. below (Kuan). b. is Chou III (inser. 237, probably sense of g. below). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- c—e. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T lodge (Meng), give a place in (Tso); entrust to (Tso). d. is Chou I/II (inscr. 206, sense of name), e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 332).
- f. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T, L corner or bend of a hill (Meng).
- g. *ngịu / ngịu / y ü T ignorant, stupid (Lunyü).
- h. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T meet with (Shī).
- i. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T angle, corner (Shī), same word as f. above.
- j, k. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T, L, and *ngu / ngau / o u T, L clavicle (Yili).
- 1. *ngiu/ngiu/y ü T, L, and *ngu/ngau/o u T, L (uneven teeth:) uneven, irregular (sc. spokes in wheel) (Chouli).
- m. *ngiu / ngiu / y ü T, L, and *ngiung / ngiwong / y u n g T, L respond in singing (Chuang).
- n. *ngu / nggu / o u T pair, double (Li); match, vis-à-vis (Tso); (the double of a person:) statue (Huainan); loan for id. luck, unexpected (Lie).
- o. *ngu | ngqu | o u T, L two ploughers working together (Shī), a pair (Tso).
- p. *ngiung | ngiwong | y u n g T, L big (Shī); dignified (Shī).
- 125 a—b. *diu | iu | y ü T, L Shuowen says: to hollow out a tree stem and make a boat; but there are no text examples in support of this. Loan for id. yes, agree (Shu); satisfied, at ease (Chuang); loan for f. below (Lü), for o. below (Sün) b. is Chou II (inscr. 172, sense of name). The graph shows 'boat' and another element (a scooping instrument?).
- c. $*d_{i}u / iu / y \ddot{u}$ T, L understand (Luny \ddot{u}); instruct, enlighten (Luny \ddot{u}), metaphor, instructive example (Meng).
- **d—e.** *diu | iu | y ü T increase, proceed (Shī), surpass (Lunyü); loan for f. below (Sün), for j. below (Meng). e. is Chou II/III (inscr. 251, sense of name).
- f. *diu / iu / y ü T, L pleasant, enjoy (Shī); loan for u. below (Chouli).
- g. $*diu / iu / y \ddot{u}$ T elm (Shī).
- h. *diu / iu / y ü T, L disturb (Shī), change (Shī).
- i. *diu / iu / y ü T, L a kind of precious stone (Li).
- j. *dįu / įu / y ü T, L sickness, suffering (Shī).
- **k.** $*diu / iu / y \ddot{u}$ T, L sheep (Lie); goodness (Tso).
- 1. $*diu / iu / y \ddot{u}$ T, L look for, desire (Tso).

- m. *diu / iu / y ü T instruct, proclaim (Li); understand (Kuots'ê); cf. c. above.
- n. *diu / iu / y ü T, L leap or pass over (Shi), transgress (Lunyü).
- **o.** $*d\hat{i}u/\hat{i}u/\hat{y}\ddot{u}$ T transgress (Shu).
- p. *diu/iu/y ü T, L, and *d'u/d'gu/t o u and ?/igu/y u L, K pull towards oneself, scoop out (as a mortar) (Shī). Loan for 鹞 (Li), for 臾 (Chuang).
- **q.** $*diu/iu/y\ddot{u}$ T, L, and *d'u/d'2u/t'u T bore a hole (Lunyü); opening, small gate (Li).
- **r.** $*diu/iu/y\ddot{u}$ T, L, and *d'iu/dz'iu/ch'u T snail (Yili).
- s. *\$\siu | \siu | s h u T to transport, convey, contribute (Tso); tilt, overturn (Shī, so acc. to Cheng H\u00fcan); (transport away:) squander, exhaust (Tso); to ruin (Ch'unts'iu).
- **t.** *d'u / d'u / t' o u T a kind of song (Ch'uts'i).
- u. *t'u / t' o u T, L steal (Kuan); reckless, careless (Li); mean (Lunyü).
- v. *t'u/t'ou/t'ou T, L to slight, despise (Tso); shrewd (Tso); loan for f. above (Lü).
- **126 a.** $*d_iu/i_u/y$ ü T, L pull, drag (Chouli); s ü y ü a short while (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diu / iu / y ü T, L stacks in the field (Shī); a measure of capacity (Lunyü).
- c. *diu / iu / y ü T, L a measure (Chouli), s. w. a. the preceding.
- d. *dįu / įu / y ü T, L a kind of Catalpa tree (Shī).
- e. *diu / iu / y ü T, L fat on belly (Li); intestines (Li).
- f. *diu / iu / y ü T, L flatter (Meng).
- g. *diu | iu | y ü L a measure (Chuang), see b. and c. above.
- 127 a—d. *tiu / tiu / c h u T post or stand on which to suspend musical instrument (inscr. 293). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 2,7), c. is Yin bone (I 25: 12), d. is Chou IV (inscr. 293). The graph is a drawing.
- e—g. *diu / ziu / s h u T to stand, be in attendance (inscr. E 172: 4). f. is Yin bone (E 172: 4), g. is Yin bone (A 7: 5,1). In the Yin bone inscriptions, this is the regular graph corresponding to the later 2 'attendant'. Sometimes, as in inscr. A 7: 5,1, instead of the standing man there is a kneeling woman: servant girl.
- **h.**-i. $*d_{\dot{l}}u / \dot{\epsilon}_{\dot{l}}u / s$ h u T raise, put up so as to stand (only Han time text examples). i. is Chou (inscr. 385, sense of name).
- j—l. *diu / žiu / s h u T, L tree (Tso), to plant (Shī); establish (Tso). k. is Yin bone (A 2: 7,6), l. is Chou III/IV (inser. 328).
- **m.** d'iu/d'iu/ch'u T, L kitchen (Meng).
- n. *d'îu / d'îu / c h 'u T, L c h ī c h 'u walk hesitatingly (Shī).

 Of the above, a. *tiu 'a stand' and e, h, j. *diu 'to stand, to raise' etc. are cognate words.
- 128 a—c. *fiu/tsiu/chu T red (Shī); loan for id. chu-ju dwarf (Tso). b. is Yin bone (B shang 12: 8, sense of name?), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86). The graph shows a 'tree' with the stem marked by a stroke or a dot: a tree from the stem of which is drawn some red pigment.
- **d.** $*\hat{t}iu / t siu / c h u T dwarf (Li).$
- e. $\hat{tiu} / t siu / chu$ T pearl (Shu).
- 1. *tiu / tiu / c h u T tree root (Yi), tree stem (Hanfei).
- **g.** $*tiu / \hat{t}iu / chu K$ spider (Kuanyin).
- h—j. variant of the preceding (Shuowen). i. is Chou III (inser. 217, sense of m. below),
 j. is Chou III (inser. 218, sense of m. below).

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- **k.** *tiu / tiu / chu T reprove (Lunyü); punish (Tso), kill (Tso).
- 1. * $t\hat{i}u$ / $t\hat{i}u$ / c h u T, L jump forwards (Tso).
- m—o. *tiu / tiu / c h u T place name (Tso). n. is Chou IV (inser. 282), o. is Chou II/III (inser. 248, rad. 79 instead of 163).
- p—q. *î'iu / tś'iu / c h ' u T, L beautiful, fine (Shī); soft, mild (Chuang). q. is Chou II/III (inscr. 248, sense of name).
- r. same as a. above (Sün), same as p. above (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- s. *diu / iu / s h u T to die, kill (Chuang); cut off (Tso); loan for id. different (Yi); strongly, very (Shi).
- t. *diu / ziu / shu T, L 24th part of an ounce liang (Li).
- u. $t\hat{u}/t\hat{u}/t$ ou L, and $\hat{z}/t\hat{u}/t$ ou T, L beak (Shī).
- 129 a. $*\hat{t}iu / tsiu / c$ h u T master, lord, host (Shī); princess (Kuoyü); ancestral tablet (Chouli); govern (Li); principal, count as principal (Lunyü). Shuowen says: the wick of a lamp; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** $*\hat{t}iu / t siu / c h u T net (Kuoyü).$
- c. $*\hat{t}_{i}u / t\hat{s}_{i}u / c h u$ T, L and $*t_{i}u / \hat{t}_{i}u / c h u$ T, L to conduct water, to direct it to (a certain place) (Shī), be led to, flow to (Shī); to apply (Tso), be touched by (Chuang); bring together (Chouh); loan for 128 u. above (Chouli).
- **d.** $\hat{t}_{iu} / t \hat{s}_{iu} / c h u T$, and $\hat{t}_{iu} / \hat{t}_{iu} / c h u T$ to record (Kuliang).
- e. $t\hat{i}u/\hat{t}\hat{i}u/chu$ T to prop up, to support (Kuots'ê).
- **f.** tiu / tiu / chu T mineral (Kuan).
- g. *d'iu/d'iu/chu T to stop (Lie).
- **h.** *d'iu / d'iu / c h u T pillar (Yili), a stay (Li).
- i. t'u/t'qu/t' ou T, L yellow (Kuliang).
- 130 a—b. *dįu / żiu / s h u T, L baton (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 136). The graph shows a hand holding a baton.
- c. *d'u / d'2u / t' o u T, L to throw to, to present (Shī); to reject, relegate (Li); (to throw oneself:) to take refuge (Shī). a. *diu 'baton' and c. *d'u 'throw' are cognate words.
- 131 a—d. *ts'iu / ts'iu / ts' ü T take (Shī), take wife (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1::9,7), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 26,1), d. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'hand' and 'ear'.

- e—f. *ts'iu / ts'iu / ts' ü T take wife (Meng). f. is Yin bone (D 7).
- g—h. *ts'iu / ts'iu / ts'ü T, L hasten to (Shī); *ts'u / ts'qu / ts'ou L, K (cause to run:) ts'ou m a manager of horses (Shī). Because of this sense 'urge on to run' it is also loan for (E (Li). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 308, sense of a. above).
- i. *tsiu / tsiu / ts ü T, L part of name of a constellation (Tso).
- j. *tsiu / tsiu / ts ü T, L enquire, consult (Shï).
- **k.** *dz'iu / dz'iu / t s ü T, L collect, bring together (Yi), store (Tso).
- 1. *tsu / tsou / tsou L, K, and *tsiu / tsiu / tsü L, K angle, corner (Kuots'ê); loan for id. pei-tsou uneasy (Chuang).
- m. *tsu / tsou L, K, and *tsiu / tsiu / tsiu T, L, and ? / tsiou / tsou T, L beat night watches (Tso).
- n. *tsu / tsou L, K, and ? / tsigu / tsou T, L dark-brown (Lunyü).
- o. *su/saû/sou L tufty grass (Li).
- p. ? / tṣiṇu / t s o u T, L hemp stalk (Yili); good arrow (Tso). The same graph also serves as composite ideogram ('take' and 'grass') in: *dz'wân / dz'uân / t s 'u a n T, L gather wood (Li).
- q. ? / dz'iżu / t s o u T, L fast-running (sc. horse) (Shī); quickly, suddenly (Tso); loan for ? / t̂iżu / c h o u L repeatedly (Tso).

The Anc. Chin. final -i2u regularly goes back to Arch. $-i\hat{o}g$, and I cannot explain these hie sheng words (m, n, p, q) where $*iu:*i\hat{o}g$ alternate in this series, as also in the next.

- 132 a—b. *tṣ'ṣ'u / tṣ'ṣ'u / c h ' u T, L grass for fuel or forage (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 32,4). The Yin time graph has 'hand' and 'grass'.
- c. *ts'iu / ts'iu / ts'ü T hasten, run to (Shī); strive for, aim (Meng); loan for 促 (Li). Cf. 131 g. above.
- d. *dz'iu / dz'iu / c h ' u T, L chicken, young bird (Li), young of animals generally (Li).
- **e.** *dz'iu/dz'iu/ch'u T, L y ü a n ch'u name of a bird resembling a pheasant (Chuang).
- 1. ? / tṣiṣu / t s o u T, L fine-textured cloth (Shī).
- g. ?/tsizu/tsou T, L groom (Tso); tsou-yü a fabulous animal (Shī); ?/dz'izu/tsou L to run (Li).
- h. ? / tṣigu / t s o u T teeth shutting against each other (Sün).
 For the words with Anc. Chin. iəu see what was said under group 131.
- 133 a—c. *siu / siu / s ü T beard (Yi); loan for id. wait (Shī); what is needed, necessary (Shu); supply, aid (Li). b. is Chou (inscr. 350, sense of f. below), c. is Chou (inscr. 352, sense of f.). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *siu / siu / s ü T beard (Tso); enlarged form of last.
- e. *siu / siu / s ü T elder sister (Ch'uts'i).
- **f...h.** *siu / siu / s ü (T and K have a reading siwo, but T as quoted in the Sung ed. of the Shuowen has siu; this is obviously the correct reading) a kind of ritual vessel (inser. 142). g. is Chou II (inser. 142), h. is Chou II (inser. 178).
- 134 a. *sniu / siu / sü T, L tarry (Tso), wait (Chuang). By confusion of this char. and the somewhat similar , loan for *niwan / niiwan / j u a n L supple (Chouli), *nwân / nuân / n u a n L weak (Chouli; alternat. read *siu / siu / sü L); cf. e. below. Explanation of the graph uncertain.
- b. *snįu / siu / s ü T, L, and *nįu / nźiu / j u L, K frayed silk (Yi).

- c. *ńįu / ńżįu / j u T scholar, litteratus (Li); dwarf (Li); loan for e. below (Sün).
- d. *n̂ju / n̂ẑju / j u T, L child (Shu), childlike, happy (Shī).
- e. *n̂iu | n̂ziu | ju T weak, timid (Sün). By the same confusion with a sim'lar phonetic (see a. above) loan for *n̂iwan | n̂ziwan | ju a n T, L, and *nwân | nuân | n u a n T, L, and *nwâr | nuâ | n o L weak, timid (Tso).
- 1. *niu / niu / j u T, L moisten (Shī), soak (Tso), wet, glossy (Shī); loan for id. to tarry (Meng); loan for 238 h. below (Li), for the 4th word in group m below (Li) because of form similarity of the phonetics.
- g. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- h. *n̄u / n̄z̄u / j u K pliant, soft (Sün); ? / nau / n a o L shoulder, upper part of front leg (of animal) (Yili); loan for the 4th word in group m below because of form similarity of the phonetics (Ch'uts'ī).
- i. *nįu / nžiu / j u T, L jacket (Tso); loan for b. above (Chouli).
- *nįu / nžįu / j u T, L strong (sc. spirits) (Shī).
 Compare this group with group 238 below.
- 135 a. *ńįu / ńźįu / j u T, L nipple (Chouli), milk, suckle (Tso), hatch (Li), rear, breed (Lü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 136 a—b. *piu / piu / f u T give (Shu, kinwen version); loan for j. below (Chouli). b. is Chou II (inser. 132). The graph has 'man' and 'hand'.
- c. *piu / piu / f u T repository (Chouli), treasury (Lunyü), magazine, arsenal (Tso); accumulate (Shu).
- d. *piu / piu / f u T, L a raft, a float (Kuan); *b'iu / b'iu / f u L a board on which body lies in coffin (Tso); to lean on (Kuan); loan for f. below (Chouli), for k. below (Yili).
- **e.** *piu / piu / f u T, L upper side of the foot (Yili).
- 1. p'iu/p'iu/fu T, L the part of a bow where it is grasped (Li).
- g. *p'iu / p'iu / f u T, L lay the hand on, pat, comfort (Shī); strike lightly (Shu); a kind of drum (Li); handle (Li).
- h. *p'įu / p'įu / f u L, K raft, float (Kuoyü), cf. d. above.
- i. b'iu/b'iu/fu T add to, increase (Lü).
- j. *b'iu / b'iu / f u T, L adjoin a recently dead person in the sacrifices to an earlier generation (Li); adjoin a dead person in the same grave as another, bury two together (Li). Etym. s. w. a. next.
- k. *b'iu / b'iu / f u T to lean on (Yi); adhere to, be added to, adjoin (Shī); loan for j. above (Li).
- 1. b'iu/b'iu/fu T additional horse (Hanfei).

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丫奸奸忏旰奸奸秆斧肝飦刊
          f
      d e
    c
              h
                    k
                開
     汗虷
          邗
      t
        u
              y
                z
          南
     140 倝
                蘇翰縣
                  f
            c
              d
        a
                e
擀M侃性背
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*b'iu / b'iu / fu — T a tally (Chouli).
m.
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137 a. *b'iu / b'iu / f u — T, L wild duck (Shī). The graph has 'bird' and two legs.

138 a—b. *mįu / mįu / w u — T despise, insult (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 139 a—b. *kân / kân / k a n T shield (Shī); knock against, violate (Tso); seek, obtain (Shī); loan for id. pole (Shī); river bank (Shī); piece, item (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kân / kân / k a n, k i e n T, L treacherous (Tso); disobey (Tso), violate (Tso). Mand. k i e n is irregular; Anc. kân should always give k a n.
- d. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- e. *kân / kân / k a n — T incur, draw upon oneself (sc. enmity) (Kuoyü).
- *kân / kân / k a n T, L sunset, dusk, evening (Tso).
- *kân / kân / k a n T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu). g.
- h. *kân / kân / k a n T black in the face (Lie).
- i. *kân / kân / kan K vermilion (Sün).
- j. *kân / kân / k a n T, L straw of grain (Tso).
 k. *kân / kân / k a n T, L bamboo pole, rod (Shī), slip of bamboo (for writing) (Chuang).
- 1. * $k\hat{a}n / k\hat{a}n / k$ a n T, L liver (Li).
- m. *kân / kân / ka n L, and *kiăn / kivn / k i e n L thick gruel of rice (Chuang); character also used for the synonymous em (Meng).
- **n.** $k'\hat{a}n / k'\hat{a}n / k$ an T, L cut (Shu).
- o. variant of the preceding (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- **D.** * $k'\hat{a}n / k'\hat{a}n / k$ an T, L rejoice (Shi).
- **q**—r. * $g'an/\gamma an/h$ an T, L to ward off (Li), protect, guard (Shu). r. is Chou II (inser. 176).
- * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma\hat{a}n / h a n T$ drought, dry (Shī).
- **t.** * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h a n$ T sweat (Yi).

b'iu/b'iu/fu — T, L rotten, putrid (Li).

^{*}b'iu / b'iu / f u - K foot (Kuots'ê).0.

^{*} $b'\hat{i}u/b'\hat{i}u/f$ u — T, L scales under belly of serpent (Chuang). * $b'\hat{i}u/b'\hat{i}u/f$ u — T, L perch (Yili). p.

q.

^{*}piu / piu / f u — T bend the head, bend down (Tso).

- **u.** * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h$ a n L, K earth-worm (Chuang).
- **v—x.** $g'dn / \gamma dn / h$ a n L, K place name (Tso). x. is Chou III (inser. 237, probably sense of q. above).
- y. * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h$ a n T, L archer's arm-cover, cuff (Kuan); loan for id. brisk, quick (Chuang).
- **z**—a'. * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h$ a n T, L gate (Tso). a'. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- b'. $*g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h a n$ T to bolt (as a horse) (Hanfei).
- c'. *ngân / ngân / a n T, L prison (Sün).
- d'. *ngân | ngân | a n T, L wild dog (Li); loan for c'. above (Sün).
- e'. *ngân | ngân | a n T bank of a river (Shī); highest point (of a road) (Shī); loan for c'. above (Shī).
- f'. * $\chi dn / \chi dn / h$ a n T, L net (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. rare (Shī).
- g'. *χiặn / χiνη / h i e n T, L carriage with an upwards-curved pole (Tso); carriage high in front (Shī); loan for id. thin slice of meat (Li).
- h'. * $g'an / \gamma an / h$ a n T violent (Sün).
- i'. *g'ân / γân / h a n T, L ward off (Li); arm protection (Li) (s. w. as q. above); loan for id. quick, agile (Chuang, cf. y. above).
- j. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n L, K protruding eyes (Tso).
- 140 a—b. *kân / kân / k a n T Shuowen says: sunrise; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou III (inscr. 220, sense of h. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. * $k\hat{a}n/k\hat{a}n/k$ an T dry (Shī); *g'ian/g'ian/k'i e n T heaven, heavenly (Yi).
- d. *kân / kân / k a n T, L stem (Tso), framework, skeleton (Tso), body, substance (Yi); loan for id. occupations, duties (Shu), carry out, perform (Yi); well-curb (Chuang).
- e. *kân / kân / k a n T posts in framework used in rearing earth walls (Shu); (to support:) to correct (Shī); a kind of tree (Shu). Etym. s. w. as the preceding, and the two are often interchanged.
- f-g. *g'ân / γân / h a n T, L pheasant feather (Yi Chou shu ap. Shuowen); wing, to fly (Shī); loan for id. high (Yi); drawn-out (sound) (Li); white (Yi). g. is Chou III/IV (inser. 331).
- **h**—i. * $g'\hat{a}n/\gamma\hat{a}n/h$ an T place name (Shī).
- j. *g'ân / yân / h a n K a bird with variegated feathers (Yi Chou shu, cf. f. above).
- k. *kân / kân / k a n K slender bamboo (Lie).
- *kwân / kwân / k u a n (s. w. a. 157 j. below, hence the reading) wheel-axle cap (Ch'uts'ī); later applied to a word 'uât / w o — T 'turn round' (only Han time text ex.).
- m. $*g'wan / \gamma uan / h u a n T$, L wash (Shi).
- 141 a—c. *k'ân / k'ân / k' a n T, L straight-forward (Lunyü). b. is Chou II (inscr. 197), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 316). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** *k'ian / k'ian / k'ien L, K fault (Li).
- **142 a.** $*k'\hat{a}n / k'\hat{a}n / k$ an T to see (Hanfei). The graph has 'eye' and 'hand'.
- 143 a—c. *g'ân / γân / h a n T cold (Shī); b. is Chou II (inser. 139, sense of name), c. is Chou II/III (inser. 245, sense of name). The graph shows a 'roof', a 'man' and 'herbs' doubled (fuel? padding for the walls?); in the first form also two strokes marking the floor (mats?).

- d. *kian / kiän / k'ien T take, pluck (Ch'uts'ī). The Pek. k'ien is irregular, we should expect a kien.
- e. *kian / kiān / k i e n T speak frankly, loyally (Ch'uts'ī); speak with difficulty (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1. *kian / kiän / kien T, L, and *kiǎn / kivn / kien L, K lame (Chuang); loan for id. difficulty (Yi); high (Ch'uts'ī); arrogant (Tso); pull up (Kuan); a particle (Ch'uts'ī); loan for g. below ('tuck up') (Chuang).
- g. *k'ian / k'ian / k'ien T, L trousers (Tso); tuck up the skirts (Shī).
- h. *k'ian / k'ian / k' i e n T, L defective, fault (Shī).
- i. *kian / kiän / kien L lift (Chuang).
- 144 a. * $\chi \hat{a}n / \chi \hat{a}n / h$ a n T, L scorch (Shī). The graph has 'sun' and 'distress'.
- b. *χân / χân / h a n T, L, and *ńian / ńżiān / j a n L, K dry (Yi), burn (Kuan), dried up, exhausted (Shī). The second reading means that the character for *χân has been loaned for a synonymous word, s. a. ※.
- c. *χân / χân / h a n T name of a river (Shī); phonetic here contracted.
- 145 a-b. $*\chi dn / \chi dn / h$ an K cliff (inser. 147). b. is Chou II (inser. 147). The graph is a drawing.
- 146 a—c. *-ân / ân / a n T peace, peaceful, tranquil (Shī); loan for id. how (Shī), where, what (Tso). b. is Yin bone (G 10: 17), c. is Chou I (inscr. 91). The graph has 'roof' and 'woman'.
- **d.** *'ân / 'ân / a n T repress (Shī); arrange (Ch'uts'ī); examine (Li); loan for id. thereupon (Sün).
- •e. **\dn / \dn / a n T stool (Chouli); tray (Chouli); loan for id. lay hand on, seize (S\u00fcn); limit, frontier (Kuoy\u00fc); initial particle (S\u00fcn).
- 1. *an / an / y e n T, L, and *ân / ân / a n T late (Lunyü); loan for id. fine-looking, splendid (Shī); peace, rest (Li), peaceful, mild (Shī).
- g. *an /an / yen T, L name of a bird (Lii).
- **h.** *' $\hat{a}t$ / ' $\hat{a}t$ / o T, L root of the nose (Meng).
- *an / an / y e n T, L name of a bird (Li, see g. above).

 Of the above, a. *ân 'peace' and f. *an 'peace' are cognate words.



- 147 a—d. *tân / tân / tan T great, greatly (Shu); entirely (Shī), to the utmost (Shī); exhaust (Li); single, simple (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 26,4, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (D 5, sense here uncertain), d. is Chou II (inscr. 162, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *tân / tân / t a n L serious, sincere (Shī); loan for n. below (Chouli).
- f. *tân / tân / tan T, L box containing ancestral tablets (Chouli).
- g. *tân / tân / tan T, L exhaust (Chuang).
- h. *tân / tân / tan T, L basket (Lunyü).
- i. *tân / tân / tan T, L, unlined garment (cf. a. 'simple, single' above) (Li).
- j-k. *tân / tân / tan T place name (Tso). k. is Chou (inscr. 373).
- 1. *tân / tân / tan T, L and *târ / tâ / to T, L disease, suffering, distress (Shī).
- m. *t'ân / t'ân / t 'a n T to pant (Shī); joyous (Shī); loan for id. numerous (Shī); *t'ian / ts'iän / c h 'a n T, L slow, drawn-out, easy-going (Li).
- n. $d'\hat{a}n / d'\hat{a}n / t$ an (even tone) T shoot pellets at (Tso); beat (Ch'uts'i), play on stringed instrument) (Li); shake (Chouli); $*d'\hat{a}n / d'\hat{a}n / t$ an (oblique tone) T pellet (Kuots'ê).
- o. *d'ân / d'ân / t a n T, L to fear, dislike (Shī); *târ / tâ / t o L toiled, exhausted Shī).
- **p—q.** * $t'\check{a}n/t'\check{a}n/c$ h' a n K bite (no early text example). q. is pre-Han (inscr. 416, sense of name).
- r. *tian / tsiän / c h a n T battle, to fight (Lunyü); to fear (Shī).
- s. * \hat{t} ian / tsiän / c h a n T, L a kind of tree (Li); * \hat{d} ian / \hat{z} iän / s h a n L coffin (Chuang).
- t. * \hat{t} ian / tsiān / c h a n L, K, and \hat{t} 'ian / ts''ian / c h ' a n K to heat (Tso), to flame (Kuoyü).
- u. *t'ian / tś'ian / ch' an T, L worn out (sc. carriage) (Shī).
- v. *î'ian / tś'iän / c h ' a n T, L (slack:) indulgent, generous (Lao).
- **x.** $\hat{t}'ian / ts'ian / ch' an$ T, L to open up, make clear, explain (Yi).
- y. *dian / £iän / c h ' a n (even tone) T captivating (Ch'uts'ī); attached (Ch'uts'ī); affinited, relatives (Ch'uts'ī).
- z. *dian / źiän / c h ' a n T cicada (Li).
- a'. *dian / ziān / s h a n (oblique tone) T, L levelled area (Shī).
- b'. *dian / ziän / s h a n T, L relinquish, cede, hand over to another (Meng).
- c'. *tiar / tsie / c h i T, L a kind of ritual vessel, cup (Li).
- d'. *d'âr / d'â / t' o T, L, and *d'ân / d'ân / t' a n T, and *tian / tien / tien T bluish-black horse with white spots (Shī).
- e'—g'. *d'âr / d'â t' o T, L, and *d'ân / d'ân / t' a n T, L alligator (Shī). f. is Yin bone (B hia 33: 11), g. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295).
- h'. variant of the preceding (Lü).
- 148 a. *tân / tân / t a n T, L sincere (Shī), truly (Shī); loan for g. below (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *tân / tân / t a n T, L suffering, distress (Li).
- c. *t'ân / t'ân / t 'a n L easy-going (Chuang); *dian / ziän / c h 'a n, s h a n T irresolute (Ch'ut'sï).
- d. $*d'\hat{a}n / d'\hat{a}n / t'$ a n (even tone) T, L altar (Shu); loan for 147 a'. above (Li).
- e. $*d'\hat{a}n / d'\hat{a}n / t'$ an T, L a kind of tree (Shī).
- f. *d'ân / d'ân / t a n (oblique tone) L, K let loose, free of care (Chuang).
- g. *d'ân | d'ân | t a n T, L to bare (the body, esp. arms and breast) (Shī); *tian | tiän | c h a n L, K single, simple (Li); to bare, leave open (Li); bare, undecorated (robe) (Li).

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- **h.** * t_i an / t_i än / c h a n T, and t_i an / t_i än / c h a n L, K pellicle (Li).
- i. *tian / tian / chan T, L move with difficulty (Yi); *d'ian / d'ian / chan T turn round (Ch'uts'ī).
- * t_i an / t_i an / chan T, L name of a fish (Shī).
- *tian / tŝiän / c h a n T, L a kind of flag, banner (Chouli).

 *tian / tŝiän / c h a n T, L felt (Chouli).
- m. *tian / tsian / c h a n T, L gruel, thick congee (Tso).
- n. *tian / tsian / c h a n T, L a kind of hawk or falcon (Tso).
- 0. *dian / źiän / s h a n T act on one's own authority, autocratic, high-handedly, presume (Tso).
- *dian / źiän / s h a n T earth-worm (Sün).
- *sian / siän / s h a n T, L smell of sheep, rancid (Li).
- variant of the preceding (Lie).
- *śian / śiän / s h a n L fetid (Chuang).
- 149 a—b. *tân / tân / tan T dawn, morning (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 135). The graph is said to depict the sun rising.
- c. *tân / tân / tan T name of a bird (Lü).
- **d.** t'an/t'an/t' an level (Yi); at ease (Lunyü).
- **e.** $*d'\hat{a}n / d'\hat{a}n / t$ a n (oblique tone) T only (Ch'uts'i).
- L *d'ân / d'ân / t' a n T, L to bare (the body, esp. arms and breast) (Tso), s. w. a. 148 g. above. Pek. t'an here is irregular, we should expect a tan.
- *tât / tât / ta T, L grieved (Shï).
- 150 a—b. *tân / tân / t a n T vermilion, red (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 92). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *tian / tsiän / c h a n T a kind of flag (Shī); loan for id. him, her, it (Shī); final particle (Shī).
- 151 a. *t'ân / t'ân / t 'a n T coal, charcoal (Li); lime (Tso). The graph has 'mountain', 'cliff' and 'fire'.
- 152 a-b. *t'nân / t'ân / t'an T to sigh (Shī). b. is Chou (inser. 377, sense of name). The graph has 'mouth' and 'distress'.
- c. variant of the preceding (Shī); rad. 76 instead of 30.

- d-f. *nân / nân / n a n T difficulty, calamity (Shī), difficult (Shī); expel (Shu); *nâr | nâ | n o — T, L expel bad influences (Li); loan for id. ample (Shī). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 300), f. is Chou (inscr. 366). The radical X of c. above has left place for 'bird', the rôle of which is obscure. *t'nan 'to sigh' and *nan 'difficulty, calamity' are cognate words, cf. 麗 *t'nək: 居 *ńiək. Our n a n here is again phonetic in a t'an $(*t'n\hat{a}n)$, m. below.
- g. variant of the preceding (Shuowen).
- h. *nan / nan / nan T, L, and *nian / nziän / j an T to fear (Shī).
- i—j. *ńian / ńźiän / j a n — K burn (variant of 然). j. is Chou III (inscr. 230, sense of name).
- *nâr | nâ | n o T, L expel demons and noxious influences (Lunyü) (same as d. above); walk with measured steps (Shi); soft, delicate (Shi).
- *niər / niei / n i T, L, and *nâr / nâ / n o T pickled meat with bones in it
- m. *t'nân / t'ân / t 'an K to dry up (as a river) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- 153 a—b. *tsân / tsân / ts an T assist (Li); bring forward (Shu); to manifest (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *tsân / tsân / t s a n T praise, approve of (Lie).
- d-e. *dz'ân / dz'ân / t s a n T, L jade of inferior quality, in part looking like stone (Chouli); jade libation ladle (Shī).
- f. *tswân / tsuân / t s u a n T, L continue (Shī).
 g. *tswân / tsuân / t s u a n T, L group of 100 families (Chouli).
- h—i. *tswân / tsuân / t s u a n T, L to bore, perforate (Chuang), penetrate (Lunyü).
- \mathbf{j} — \mathbf{k} . * $dz'w\hat{a}n / dz'u\hat{a}n / \mathbf{t}$ s' u a n (even tone) T bundles of rods (Li).
- 1. *dz'wân / dz'wân / t s u a n (oblique tone) T collect (only Han time text examples); loan for h. above (Li).
- 154 a. *dz'ân / dz'ân / t s 'a n Shuowen says: bore through; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *ts'an / ts'an / ts'an T, L fine grain, food (Shī); bright, splendid (Shī); (showing white teeth): laugh (Kuliang).
- *ts'ân / ts'ân / ts' a n T, L eat (Shī), food (Kuots'ê), meal (Chuang).
- 155 a-b. *dz'ân / dz'ân / t s' a n T, L small and thin (Yi); nocuous (Shu, lost chapter ap. Shuowen). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 38,4, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'dagger-axe' doubled; is it the primary graph of c. below?
- c. *dz'ân / dz'ân / t s ' a n kill (Chouli); cruel (Shī); damage, hurt (Kuots'ê), oppress (Meng); fragment, remainder (Lü).
- *dz'an / dz'an / ch an T, L shed made of intertwined branches; (Chuang); carriage box made of bamboo or wood (Shī); hearse (Yili).
- e. *tsăn / tṣăn / c h a n T, L jade cup (Li).
- f-g. *tsăn / tsăn / c h a n K cup (inscr. 231), s. w. as the preceding. g. is Chou III (inser. 231).
- *tsăn / tsăn / c h a n T, L, and tsian / tsiän / c h a n T cup (Li); half-clarified spirits (Li).
- * $ts'\check{a}n / ts'\check{a}n / ch' an$ T, L to plane (Kuots'ê).
- *tsian / tsian / tsian L, K hoe, weeder (Shī); *dz'ian / dz'ian / ts'ien — (even tone) T coin, money (Kuoyü).
- k. *ts'ian / ts'ian / ts'ien T shallow (Shī); tsian / tsien / tsien K to flow rapidly (Ch'uts'i).

- 1. *dz'ian / dz'ian / t s i e n (oblique tone) L, K thin, shallow (Shī).
- m. *dz'ian / dz'iän / t s i e n T, L artful talk (Kuoyü).
- n. *dz'ian / dz'ian / tsien T cheap (Tso), low, mean (Lunyü).
- o. *dz'ian / dz'ian / t s i e n T, L tread, trample (Shī); to walk along, follow (Li); loan for id. arranged in a row (Shī).
- p. *dz'ian / dz'ian / t s i e n T, L give a farewell feast (Shī), say goodbye to (Shu).
- q. *dz'jan / dz'jan / tsien L, and *tsjan / tsien K narrow (Chouli).
- r. *sian / siän / sien T, L thread (Kungyang).
- s. *tsian / tsiän / tsien T, and *tsian / tsien / tsien T gush forth (Kuots'ê).

 Of the above, k. *ts'ian 'shallow' and l. *dz'ian 'thin, shallow' are cognate words.
- 156 a—b. *sân / sân / sa n T disperse (Shī); useless (Chuang); loan for id. a kind of ritual vessel (Yili). b. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *san / san / s h a n T, L, and *săn / săn / s h a n T tears flowing (Shī).
- d. *sian / sien / sien T, L sleet (Shī).
- 157 a—d. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T official's residence, office (Li); office, public charge (Tso); official, officer (Lunyü); function, to function (Li). b. is Yin bone (B hia 4: 6), c. is Chou I (inser. 78), d. is Chou I (inser. 99). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T inner coffin (Tso).
- 1. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T to bubble (Sün).
- g. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L fatigue, exhausted (Shī).
- h. *kwān / kuān / k u a n T tube (Shī); flute (Shī); key (Li); take care of, manage (Li); connect, comprise (Li); loan for id. helpless, without anything to rely on (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- i. variant of the preceding (Ta Tai li).
- j. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L wheel-axle cap (Yili).
- k. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L lodging-house, hostelry (Shī), to lodge (Tso).
- 1. *kwûn / kuân / kuan L, K, and *kwan / kwan / kuan T, L servant, groom (Shī).
- m. *g'wân / yuân / h u a n T, L escape, avoid (Li).
- n. *kan / kan / k i e n T, L a kind of white-flowered rush (used for ropes etc.) (Shī); pale (Kuan).

- 158 a-d. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L heron (Shī ap. Shuowen). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 14,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 43,4, sense of i. below), d. is Chou I (inscr. 76, sense of i. or j. below?). The graph is a drawing.
- e. variant of the preceding (Shī).
- f. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L to pour out (Lunyü); to drip, fall in drops (Chuang); loan for id. dense, crowded (Shi), sincere (Shi).
- *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L to draw fire, make fire (Chouli).
- h. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T, L a kind of jade (Tso).
- *kwân / kuân / k u a n T see, look, regard (Shī), cause to see, show (Chouli), lookout tower (Tso).
- * $\chi w \hat{a} n / \chi u \hat{a} n / h u a n$ T rejoice (Tso).
- k. variant of the preceding (Hiaoking).
- variant of the preceding (Meng).
- m. *χwân / χuân / h u a n K cry out (Sün).
 n. *χwân / χuân / h u a n L, K, and *χiwăn / χiwon / h ü a n L, K shout (Li); joyous (Li).
- *g'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü a n T weight of a steelyard, to weigh (Lunyü); the balance of circumstances, exigencies of time (Lunyü); power (Kuots'ê).
- p. *g'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü a n T, L an insect which eats the leaves of melon plants (Chuang).
- **q**—r. *g'iwan / g'iwän / k' ü a n T Shuowen says: walk with bent body; but there are no text examples of this; r. is Chou II/III (inscr. 271, sense of name).
- s. *k'iwăn / k'iwon / k' ü a n T exhort (Shu), encourage (Lunyü).
- 159 a—b. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T perforate (Tso), go through the centre of (Shī), pass a string through, to string (Li); tightly bound together with, intimate with (Shī); *kwan / kwan / k u a n — L be familiar with, practise, used to (Meng). b. is Chou I (inscr. 57). The graph shows a string passed through cowries.
- c. *kwan / kwan / k u a n K familiar with, used to (s. as the preceding in its second reading) (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- d. vulgar form of the preceding.
- e. *kwan / kwan / k u a n L, K familiar with, used to (Shi), usage (Sün). This is really a corrupted form of a. above (cowries strung together), and the word is etymologically identical with a. in its second reading.
- f. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T calamity (Shī), distress (Tso), grief, anxious (Lunyü).
- 160 a. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T cap (Shī). The graph has' covering', 'head' and 'hand'.
- 161 a—c. *kwân / kuân / k u a n T wash the hands (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 42,1), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 299). The graph has 'vessel', 'water' and 'hand' (b.) or 'hands' (c.).
- 162 a. *k'wân / k'uan / k' uan T sincere, staunch (Ch'uts'ī); empty (Chuang); to knock, rap (Lü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** $*k'w\hat{a}n / k'u\hat{a}n / k'$ u a n T, L hole, opening (Chuang).
- 163 a. *g'wân / yuân / wan T ball (Chuang); loan for 桓 (Shī). The Mand. wan is irregular, we should expect a h u a n. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *g'wân / yuân / h u a n T, L ulcer (Chuang).
- * $g'w\hat{a}n / \gamma u\hat{a}n / h$ u a n T thin white silk stuff (Kuots'ê).
- d. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T, L Metaplexis (Shï).
- * iwar / jwig / wei T bent (Lie).

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- 164 a—e. The sense of this element is not known through any text examples. Its reading is not recorded in T or K. Tsi yün and the Sung editors of the Shuowen read it siwän, thus taking it to be the primary form of 宣. But more probable seems to me that it was the primary form of 桓 *g'wān in its sense of 'to turn round'. b. is Yin bone (A 1: 53,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 30,4), d. is Yin bone (A 7: 12,1), e. is Yin bone (A 7: 13,1) all in the sense of name.
- *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T pillar (Li); martial-looking (Shī); loan for id. turn round, turn back, hesitate (Yi).
- g—i. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T, L name of a river (Tso); big flow of water (Shī, Han version). h. is. Yin bone (B hia 3: 11, sense here uncertain), i. is Chou III (inser. 234, sense of name).
- j. *g'wân / yuân / h u a n K martial (Shu ap. Shuowen, cf. f. above).
- k. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T, L a kind of violet (Li).
- *χwân / χuân / h u a n T, L, and *g'wân / γuân / h u a n L, K, and *χiwăn / χiwm / h ü a n L, K badger (Shī).
- m. *giwan / jiwon / y ü a n T wall (Shi).
- n-p. *giwān / jiwnn / y ü a n K Shuowen says: to change fields; but there are no text examples in support of this. o. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,4, sense of name, rad. 77 inst. of 156), p. is Chou II (inscr. 157, sense of f. above as name).
- q. *χįwān / χįwon / h ü a n T, L brilliant, glorious (Shī).
- r. *χίwān / χίwon / h ü a n L to dry in the sun (Yi ap. Shuowen).
- *χiwăn / χiwɒn / h ü a n T to sun, to dry in the sun (Yi); *χiwăr / χiwie / h u e i L, K sunlight (Chouli).
- t—v. *siwan | siwän | s ü a n T spread, diffuse (Shī), dissipate (Tso), proclaim; display (Shī); comprehensive understanding (Shī); loan for id. a measure (Chouli); whitening hair (Yi ap. L). The initial s- is phonetically very enigmatic, all the more since the derivates again have guttural: χ -. u. is Yin bone (B shang 24: 7), v. is Chou II (inser. 157).
- *\(\chi\)iwan / \(\chi\)iwon / h \(\mathre{u}\) a n T, L distinguished, fine (Li).
- y. *xiwăn / xiwon / h ü a n T elated, proud (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- 2. *xiwăn / xiwon / h ü a n K clamour (Lü).
- 165 a. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n K Shuowen says: mountain sheep; but there are no text examples in support of this. The original graph was probably a drawing.



- b. *k'wân / k'uân / k ' u a n T vast, wide (Yi); magnanimous (Shī), to pardon (Ch'uts'ī); relieve (Tso); enjoy ease (Tso).
- 166 a. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T, L a kind of sedge (Shī). The graph has 'herb, grass' and 'bird'.
- 167 a. *χwân / χuân / h u a n T, L splendid (Shī, so acc. to some early comm.). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *χwân / χuân / h u a n T, L disperse (Shī), spread out (Shī).
- c. *χwân / χuân / h u a n T, L brilliant (Lunyü).
- d-e. *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T Shuowen says: encircling wall; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Chou II/III (inscr. 267, sense of name).
- f. *g'wân / yuân / h u a n T change (Lie).
- g. *\(\chi\)iuan / \(\chi\)iuan T and *\(\chi\)iwang / \(\chi\)iwang / h i u n g T, L distant (Kuliang). The first is the proper reading of the character, with a as phonetic; the second is another word applied to the same character, because it was a synonym which moreover has a certain phonetic resemblance. These two different readings explain the following derivates.
- h. *xiwan / xiwen / h ü a n T, and *kiwan / kiwen / k ü a n T insist, eager (Kuan).
- i. *g'iweng | g'iwang | k' i u n g T, L precious stone, precious (Shī).
- 168 a—c. *twân / tuân / t u a n T, L tip, end, point (Chouli). b. is Chou III (inscr. 227) and c. is Chou II/III (inscr. 264, sense of g. below). The graph possibly is a drawing of a sprouting plant, cf. next word.
- d. *twân / tuân / t u a n T tip, end, point, extremity (Li); (first appearing point, sprout:) beginning, first symptom (Meng); take initiative (Kuots'ê); upright, straight (Li), correct (Tso); piece, item (Li); a kind of robe (Tso).
- e. $tw\hat{a}n / tu\hat{a}n / tu$ an T cut (Kuots'ê).
- f. *twân | tuân | t u a n T black straight robe (cf. d. above) (Mo).
- g—h. *twîn / tuân / t u a n T a kind of vessel (inscr. 226). h. is Chou III (inscr. 226).
- i. *t'wân / t'uân / t 'uan T, L rushing water (Meng).
- j. \hat{t} 'iwan / ts'iwan / c h ' u a n T, L to pant (Chuang).
- k. * $d_i wan / z_i w \ddot{a} n / c$ h'uan T, and $\hat{t}' i w a n / t s' i w \ddot{a} n / c$ h'uan K to blame (Lü).
- 1. *diwan / ziwän / c h ' u a n T, L funeral car with solid wheels (no spokes) (Li).
- m—n. *diwan / ziwän / c h 'u a n T, L hasten, quickly (Shī). n. is Chou I/II (inser. 215).
- o. **îiwar | tświg |* c h u e i T, L anxious (Shī); loan for **î'iwan | tś'iwan | ts'iwan | c* h ' u a n L wriggle (as a worm) (Chuang).
- p. *diwar / źwię / j u e i T, L jade tablet as insignium (Shu). The Pek. reading is irregular; we should expect a s h u e i, which is indeed the form of many other Mand. dialects.
- q. *ts'iwar / ts'wig / c h' u e i T, L, and *twar / tua / t o T, L, and t'iwan / ts'iwan / c h' u a n T to measure (Meng); (1st and 2nd reading:) to shake, move (Yi, in the King Fang version); to beat (Lao).
- 169 a. *twân / tuân / t u a n T short (Lunyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 170 a. *twân / tuân / t u a n T, and *d'wân / d'uân / t u a n T cut off (Shī); decide (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 171 a. *t'wân | t'uân | t'uan T, L Shuowen says: running pig; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this; *definitions* of the hexagrams in the Yi king (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *t'wân / t'uân / t' u a n T, L black robe (Yili).
- c. *diwan / iwan / y u a n T, L young locusts (Ch'unts'iu).
- d. *dîwan / îwän / y ü an T hem or border of a garment (Li); go along, follow (Chuang); loan for b. above (Chouli).
- e. *d'iwan / d'iwan / ch' u an (even tone) T, L beam, rafter (Tso).
- 1. *d'îwan | d'îwän | c h u a n (oblique tone) T, L carved design on jade insignium (Chouli).
- g. *d'iwan / d'iwan / c h u a n T ornated band on bell or on axle-cap of wheel (Chouli): inscribe, inscription (Lü).
- h. *d'iwan / d'iwan / c h u a n L, and *t'iwan / î'iwan / c h ' u a n L carved, decorated (Chuang).
- i. * \hat{t} 'iwad / tś'iwāi / c h' u e i T, L, and ? / χ iwvi / h u e i T, L snout (Tso); to pant (Shī).
- 172 a—b. *d'wân / d'uân / t u a n T, L to hammer, forge (Chouli); a piece, slice (Li); torn to pieces (Kuan). b. is Chou I/II (inscr. 207, sense of name). The graph has to the right a 'baton', for the rest explanation uncertain.
- c. *twdn / tudn / tuan T, L to hammer, forge (Shu); strike (Chuang); (to beat in water:) wash (Yili); grindstone, whetstone (Shī); loan for d. below (Kuliang).
- d. *twân / tuân / t u a n T, L slice of dried spiced meat (Tso).
- 173 a—b. *swân / suân / s u a n T counting tally (inser. 205). b. is Chou I/II (inser. 205). The graph has 'bamboo', 'two hands' and a drawing of some object, probably some kind of tally. This word is not identical with the next, though they are cognate; this has falling tone, that has rising tone.
- 174 a. *swân / suân / s u a n T, L to count (Yili), counting tally (Yili), reckon, take into account (Lunyü). In the graph, the central element may be a drawing of an abacus.
- b. *swân / suân / s u a n T, L basket (Yili).
- c. *swân / suân / s u a n T, L bamboo vessel (Li).
- d. *tswân / tsuân / tsuan T, L plaited or woven silk band (Kuoyü); continue (Tso).
- e. *ts'wan / ts'wan / ts' u a n T, L take by force, usurp (Meng).

- 175 a. *swân / suân / s u a n K calculate (Yi Chou shu ap. Shuowen). cf. 173 a. and 174 a. above. The graph may be a drawing of counting tallies (divination stalks?).
 b. *swân / suân / s u a n T garlic (Ta Tai li).
- 176 a. *ts'wân / ts'uân / ts' uan T, L hide (Tso), flee, skulk off (Tso); (cause to skulk off:) to banish (Shu). The graph has 'hole' and 'rat'.
- 177 a. *ts'wân / ts'uân / ts' u a n T furnace (Shī); to heat, cook (Tso). The graph has 'fire' below, for the rest explanation uncertain.
- 178 a—b. *blwân | luân | l u a n T, and *bliwan | liwân | l ü a n T Shuowen says: disorder, bring into order (cf. 180 below); but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. b. is Chou II (inser. 135, sense of f. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *blwân / luân / l u a n T small peak (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. *blwân / luân / l u a n T, L, the corners of the rim of an oval bell (Chouli); loan for id. emaciated (Shī).
- e. *blwân / luân / l u a n T to drip (Kuots'ê).
- f-g. *bluan / luan / luan T bells on horse's trapping (inser. 326). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 326).
- h. *blwân / luân / l u a n T, L phoenix (Ch'uts'i); loan for f. above (Shi).
- i—j. *bliwan / liwän / l ü a n T, L, and *blwân / luân / l u a n K worn, emaciated (cf. d. above) (Shī ap. Shuowen); cut meat (Lü). j. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- k—l. *blįwan / lįwän / l ü a n T, L beautiful (Shī). l. is Chou II/III (inscr. 268, sense of name).
- m. *bliwan / liwän / l ü a n T to long for (Lie).
- n. *bliwan / liwan / l ü a n T, L connect, continue (Yi).
- o. *plian / pian / pien T change (Lunyü).
- p. *mlwan / mwan / m a n T, L Southern barbarian (Shī); loan for id. m i e n m a n small-looking, pretty little (Shī).
- q. *slwan / şwan / s h u a n T, and *slįwan / şįwän / s h u a n T twins (Lü).
- 179 a. *lwân / luân / l u a n T egg (Tso). The original graph was probably a drawing of two ovaries.
- 180 a—b. *lwân / luân / l u a n K Shuowen says: bring into order, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 194, sense here uncertain). If Shuowen's definition is right, the graph may show silk thread on a stand and two hands working on it.
- c. *lwân | luân | l u a n T bring into order (Shu); disorder, confusion, rebellion Shī); loan for id. ferry (Shī); end of a piece of music (Lunyü).
- 181 a. *pwûn / puûn / p a n T a half, half (Yi). The small seal had 'ox' below and two vertical strokes above, said to mean 'cleave, divide'.
- b. *pwân / puân / p a n L, K strap forming part of horse's trapping (Tso).
- c. *p'wân / p'uân / p ' a n L, K great (Shī, so the Mao comm.); b'wân / b'uân / p a n T comrade (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. *p'wân / p'uân / p ' a n T, L cleave (Chouli), divide (Tso), separate, diverge (Shī).
- e. p'wan/p'uan/p' an T throw away (only Han time text ex.); loan for d. above (Lü).

- L *p'wân / p'uân / p ' a n T, L semi-circular pool (Shī); dissolve (Shī); loan for k. below (Shī).
- g. *p'wân / p'uân / p ' a n T, L a half (Yili).
- h. *p'wân / p'uân / p ' a n T, L meat on the side of an animal (Li); ample, corpulent (Li).
- i. *p'wîn / p'uîn / p' a n T, L semi-circular pool (Li), see f. above.
- j. \dot{b} 'wân / \dot{b} 'uân / \dot{p} ' a n (even tone) K tray (Mo).
- k. *b'wan / b'uan / p a n (oblique tone) T bank between fields (Tso); to separate from (Lunyü); to rebel (Lunyü).
- *b'wân / b'wân / p'an T to desert, revolt (Tso), s. w. a. last in its second sense;
 Pek. p'an is irregular.
- m. *b'iwān | b'iwon | f a n L, K uncoloured garment (Shī, so acc. to Shuowen). Of the above, a. *pwân 'half', d. *p'wân 'cleave', g. *p'wân 'half', k. *b'wân 'separating bank, separate' are cognate words.
- 182 a—c. *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n T, L turn round (Li); loan for id. joy (Shī); *pwân / puân / p a n L squat (Chuang); loan for i. below (Kuliang), for 斑 (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 48,4), c. is Chou II (inser. 135). The graph has 'boat' and 'baton' (punt?).
- d. *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n T, L basin (Li); loan for id. joy (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- 1. *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n T tray, dish (Tso), basin (Li); loan for id. turn round (cf. a. above) (Yi), amuse oneself (Shu); loan for g. below (Sün). f. is Chou II (inscr. 157).
- g. *b'wân / b'uân / p ' a n T, L big stone, rock (Yi).
- h. *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n L girdle-satchel (Li).
- i. *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n T, L big belt (Yi); belt with pocket or pouch (Li, cf. h.).
- 183 a—b. *mwûn / muûn / m a n T even (only Han time text examples). b. is Chou II (inscr. 195, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *mwân / muân / m a n T full (Tso).
- d. *mwîn / muîn / m a n T, L shut the eyes, be deluded (Sün); ashamed (Chuang, so acc. to certain comm.).
- e. *mwin / muin / m e n T, L, and *miwin / miwin / w a n L, K a kind of elm (Tso); resin, gum (Chuang).
- 1. *mwən / muən / m e n T, L red gem (Shī).
- 8. *mwan | muan | m an T, L, and *mwən | muən | m en T, L grieved (Li).

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- 184 a. *kan / kan / k i e n T villainous, traitor (Shu), adultery (Tso). The graph has 'three women'.
- 185 a. *klan / kan / k i e n T select, distinguish (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b-d. *klan / kan / k i e n T remonstrate, admonish (Shī). c. is Chou II (inscr. 154), d. is Chou II (inser. 160).
- e. *klăn / kăn / kien T select (Yi Chou shu). Ηg. *glân / lân / lan T barrier, be a barrier to, protect (Kuots'ê). g. is Chou II (inser. 173, sense of name).
- h. *glian / lien / lien L, K boil silk (Chouli).
- i. *glian / lien / lien T boil silk (Chouli), white silk (Tso); purify, exquisite (Lü); to train (Li).
- *glian / lien / lien T refine (metal) (Kuots'ê).
- k. *glân / lân / lan T big wave (Meng).
- 1-m. *glån / lån / l a n T brilliant (Shī); cooked into shreds (Lü); rotten, dissolved (Kungyang); burn, consumed by fire (Tso).
- n. *glân / lân / lan T orchid (Tso); huan lan Metaplexis (Shī).
- o-p. *glan / lan / lan T to fib, cheat (only Han time text ex.). p. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of b. above).
- *glian / lien / lien La kind of tree (Chouli); *glân / lân / lan Trailing, pen (only Han time text ex.).
- 186 a. *ngan / ngan / yen T wild-goose (Shī). The graph has 'bird', for the rest explanation uncertain.
- b. variant of the preceding (Tso).
- 187 a. *kwan / kwan / kuan T, L two tufts of hair on child's head (Shī). original graph must have been a drawing.
- b-c. *kwan / kwan / k u a n T bar (Lao); barrier, frontier gate (Shī); loan for id. bird's cry (Shi); loan for *wan / wan / wan — L to bend (sc. the bow) (Tso); loan for 貫 (Li). c. is Chou IV (inser. 290).
- 188 a—b. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L servant (Kuoyü), officer, official (Tso), learn for office (Tso). b. is Chou II/III (inser. 274, sense of name). The graph has 'roof' and 'slave, servant'.

- 189 a -b. *nwan / nwan / n u a n T Shuowen says: to quarrel; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is pre-Han (inscr. 431, sense of name). The graph has 'two women'.
- 190 c—b. *pwan / pwan / p a n T divide, distribute (Shu), spread out (Tso), scatter (Tso), pull in different directions (sc. horses) (Yi); classify, arrange (Meng); rank (Tso); variegated (Li). b. is Chou (inscr. 352). The graph has 'knife' and 'jade', doubled.
- c. *pwan / pwan / p a n T variegated (Li).
- 191 a—c. * $k\check{\alpha}n/k\check{\alpha}n/k$ i e n T crevice, interstice (Chuang); find a crevice in, find fault with (Lunyü); to separate, alienate, differences (Tso); interval, space between (Li); middle, in, among (Shī); interval in time, favourable moment, occasion (Meng); intermeddle (Tso); (with intervals:) alternate (Shu); (look in a crevice:) to spy on (Tso); loan for id. noise of iron (sc. when fixing linch-pins) (Shī); * $g'\check{\alpha}n/\gamma\check{\alpha}n/h$ i e n L (interstice in time:) leisure (Li), peace (Tso). c. is Chou II (inscr. 184). The graph has 'door' and 'moon'. b. is a later vulgar form. In modern praxis the word is written b. with 'sun' instead of 'moon' in its reading k i e n, whereas the original form is maintained for the reading h i e n. But in classical texts it should always be written a.
- d—e. *kǎn / kǎn / k i e n T slip or tablet of bamboo, for writing (Shī); loan for id. select, abridge, summary (Yi); moderate (Li); treat summarily, neglect (Lunyü), to slight (Meng); hasty (Lunyü); great (Shī); real, effective (Li); sound of the drum (Shī); loan for 諫 (Tso). e. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325).
- f. *kān / kān / kien T, L a fragrant plant (Orchis?) (Shī).
- g. *g'ăn / yăn / h i e n L martial, grand, majestic (Shī) (the fundamental sense is a matter of controversy among the early commentators: irate, violent, great, beautiful etc.).
- **h.** $*g'\check{a}n / \gamma\check{a}n / h$ i e n T, L to spy on, watch (Meng).
- i. *kan / kan / k i e n T, L stream in a ravine (Shī).
- j. *g'an / yan / h i e n L forceful, energetic (Tso).
- 192 a—b. *g'ăn / γăn / h i e n T bar, barrier (Yi); enclosure (Chouli); obstruct, guard against (Tso); loan for id. to train, well-trained (Shī); great (Shī); saunter about in full freedom (Shī); to move (as engines) (Shī, so the Mao comm.). b. is Chou II (inscr. 169, sense of 191 a. above). The graph has 'door' and 'wood'.
- 193 a—c. *săn / ṣān / s h a n T mountain, hill (Shī). b. is Yin bone (O 72), c. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *san / san / s h a n T, L, and *săn / săn / s h a n T fishes swimming into a wicker trap (Shī).
- e. *san / san / s h a n T, L vilify, slander (Lunyü).
- **f.** *sian / siän / sien T an immortal (Lie).
- 194 a. *săn / ṣān / c h 'a n T (Pek. c h 'a n is irregular, we should expect a s h a n) breed, bear (Tso), produce (Li), product (Meng); livelyhood (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 195 a. *b'ăn / b'ăn / pan T to separate (this was probably the original character in Shu, Yao tien: pan chang po sing, later erroneously interpreted as p'ing chang po sing). Explanation of graph uncertain.



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- b-c. *p'iwăn / p'iwpn / fan T, L a turn, a time (Lie); *pwâr / puâ / p o T, L martial (Shī); loan for m. below (Sün). c. is Chou II (inscr. 194, sense of name).
- *p'iwăn | p'iwvn | f a n L, K turn, change (Meng); to wave (as leaves) (Shī); changeable, frivolous (Shī).
- e—f. *p'iwān / p'iwon / fan T banner (inscr. 325). f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 325).
- *piwăn / piwon / f a n T cover (Lü).
- *b'iwan | b'iwnn | f a n T, L, and *p'iwan | p'iwnn | f a n L, K confuse, disorderly (Chuang).
- *b'iwăn / b'iwon / f a n T, L burn, roast (Shī); loan for k. (Meng).
- *b'iwan / b'iwnn / fan T, L name of a gem (Tso).
- k. *b'įwān / b'įwm / f a n T, L cooked sacrificial meat (Kuliang).

 1. *b'įwān / b'įwm / f a n T, L paw (Tso).
- m. *b'îwăn / b'îwon / f a n L, K luxuriant (growth) (Shī), to be numerous, prosper (Tso); *piwăn / piwnn / f a n — T, L hedge, screen (Shī); (screening:) outer regions of the empire (Chouli).
- *p'wan / p'uan / p' an T, L rice water (Li).
- *b'wân / b'uân / \hat{p} ' an T, L to curl (Li).
- *pwâr / puâ / p o T, L spread out, to sow (Shī), distribute (Shu), publish (Tso); banish (Shu); winnow (Chuang); shake (Lunyü).
- *pwar / pua / p o K promulgate (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- *b'wâr / b'uâ / p'o T, L, and *pwâr / puâ / po T white (Yi); loan for *b'wâr / b'uâ / p ' o — L big, bulging (Tso).
- *pįwăn / pįwnn / f a n T, L hedge, fence (cf. m. above) (Shī); frontier (Chuang); covered carriage (Tso).
- 196 a. *k'ian / k'iän / k'i en T Shuowen says: a small clod of earth; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b—d. *k'ian / k'iän / k' i e n T send (Shī), send off, let go (Tso). c. is Yin (inser. 12), d. is Chou II (inscr. 184).
- *k'ian / k'ian / k'ien T, L turn round, revolt (Shī, so the Mao comm.; acc. to Tu Yü it would mean 'closely attached').
- fi. *k'ian / k'iän / k'ien T, L reprove, reprimand (Shī). g. is Yin bone (B hia 3: 10, sense here uncertain) h. is Chou I (inscr. 71, sense of b. above), i. is Chou I (inscr. 72, sense of b.); in all these archaic forms rad. 30 instead of 149.

- 197 a. *qian / iän / y e n T, L¹) flow over, flow out (Yi); (periodically inundated:) lowland (Tso); go to excess (Shī), abundant (Shī); loan for id. basket (Tso). The graph has 'water' and 'go'.
- b. *k'ian / k'ian / k' i e n T exceed (Shī), to err, error (Shī); to lose (Tso); evil maladv (Tso).
- c. variant of ff (Sün).
 - Of the above, a. *gian 'flow out, go to excess' and b. *k'ian 'exceed, err' are cognate words.
- 198 a—b. *g'¡an / g'¡än / k' i e n T, L kill (Tso); firm, reliable (Shī, so acc. to Erya and the Mao comm.); reverential (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'tiger' and 'strokes, lines'.
- 199 a. *ngian / ngiān / y e n T accomplished, talented (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *ngjan / ngjän / y e n T, L proverb, saying, vulgar talk (Tso).
- c. *ngan / ngan / y e n T face, countenance (Shī), temples (Shī).
- d. *ngân / ngân / a n L, K coarse, rude (Lunyü).
- 200 a. * ian / ian / y e n T Shuo wen says: a kind of bird; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this; loan for id. how (Shī); *gian / jiän / y e n — T suffix forming adverbs (Chuang); final particle (Shī). The original graph was probably a drawing of a bird.
- b. *χian / χiän / h i e n T joy, laugh (Ch'uts'i).
- 201 a. tian / tian / c h a n T, L roll over (Shī, certain versions); unfold, open (Yili), develop, set forth, explain (Tso); examine (Li); loan for id. truly (Shī); loan for 148, g. above (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- tian | tian | chan T, L roll over (Shī).
 tnian | niān | ni en L trample (Chuang).
- **202 a.** * $t'ian / \hat{t}'ian / ch'$ an T, L to complete, accomplish (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 203 a. *dian / iän / y e n T extend, continue (Tso); delay (Tso); stretch (sc. the neck) (Lunyü); to conduct, invite (Li); (*extension*:) square crown on top of ceremonial cap (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *dian / ian / y e n T, L bamboo mat (Shī).
 c. *dian / ian / y e n T, L square crown on top of ceremonial cap (Tso), see a. above.
- **d.** * $t'ian / \hat{t}'i\ddot{a}n / ch' an T, L long (sc. beams) (Shī).$
- e. *śian / śiän / s h a n T make bricks (Kuan).
- L *sian / siän / s h a n T, L supple (Lao).



 $^{^{1}}$) Whereas Archaic d- when dropping before \dot{i} in Ancient Chinese always disappears without trace (e. g. $\hat{\mathbf{m}} * diu \rangle iu$), an Arch. g- as a rule gives a yod (e. g. $\mathbf{f} giwo \rangle jiu$). But there are a number of cases in which the disappearing g-leaves no such trace in the shape of a yod, and here we have such an example: 197 a. *gian (phonetic in b. *k'ian, which proves the Arch. guttural) should regularly give Anc. $i\ddot{a}n$, but has given Anc. $i\ddot{a}n$. In other words, Arch. *qi- gives sometimes ji-, sometimes i- in Anc. Chinese. The reason for this is a complicated story, which we cannot enter upon here.

- g. *d'ân / d'ân / t a n T great words (Shu), boast (Kuoyü); cheat (Lie); disorderly (Tso); wide, far apart (Shī); loan for id. a particle (Shī).
 - Of the above, a. *dian 'extend, stretch', d. *t'ian 'long' and g. *d'an 'wide' are cognate words.
- 204 a. *d'ian / d'ian / c h' a n T, L soil belonging to one peasant family, a farm (Shī); shop (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *d'ian / d'iän / c h' a n T orbit of a celestial body, go its orbit (Lü).
- c. *d'ian / d'ian / ch' an T bind, wind (Lie).
- 205 a—c. *dian / źiān / s h a n T good (Shī), approve (Meng), make good (Lunyū), treat well (Tso). b. is Yin (inscr. 28), c. is Chou II (inscr. 160). The graph has 'sheep' and 'flute' doubled (mutton i. e. food and music?).
- d—e. *dian / źiän / s h a n T cooked food (Shī), eat (Li). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 298).
- f. djan / źiän / s h a n T, L (make good:) repair, put in order (Tso).
- 206 a. *ts'ian / ts'ian / ts' i e n K Shuowen says: to rise high; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain; abbreviated in the derivates:
- b. *sian / siän / si en L, K caper about, dance (Shī); loan for 193 f. above (Lie).
- c. *ts'ian / ts'ian / ts' i e n T remove, be removed (Shī); alter (Tso).
- 207 a. *dzian / ziän / sien T, and *dz'ian / dz'iän / tsien T, L covet, desire (Shī); surplus (Shī); oblong (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 208 a. *dz'ian / dz'iän / c h 'a n T respectful (Ta Tai li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *dz'ian / dz'ian / ch' an T to flow (Ch'uts'i).
- c, d. $*dz'\check{a}n / dz'\check{a}n / c h a n$ T, L exhibit (Shu).
- e. *dz'ān / dz'ān / c h a n T, L, and dz'an / dz'an / c h a n T sleeping-carriage (Tso).
- 209 a—c. *sian / siān / s i e n T, L fresh fish (Li), fresh meat (Shu); loan for id. rare, few (Shī); good (Shī), beautiful, fine (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 125, sense of name), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324). The graph has 'fish' and 'sheep' (mutton).
- d. *sian / siän / sien T scab (Kuoyü).
- e. *sian / sien / sien L p'ien-sien walk with difficulty (Chuang).
- 210 a. *sian / siän / si e n T, L rare, few (Yi, Cheng Hüan's version). The graph has 'that, this' and 'few'. Cf. 209 a.
- 211 a. *sian / siän / sien L, K fresh food (Chouli). The graph has 'fish' tripled. Cf. 209 a.
- 212 a. *śian / śiän / s h a n T wicker door, leaf of door (Li), screen (Lü); loan for c. below (Shī, Lu version). The graph has 'door' and 'wing'.
- b. *\$ian | \$i\dan | s h a n T blaze (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- c. *sjan / sjän / s h a n T, L blaze (Shī).

- 213 a. *lian / lian / li e n T a kind of carriage (Chouli); loan for id. connect (Li), unite (Meng), in a row, consecutively (Shī); to wash (Li); toilsome, difficult, slow (Yi). The graph has 'carriage' and 'go'.
- b. *lian / lian / lien T, L ripple (Shī); to drip (as tears) (Shī).
- c. *lian / lian / lien T, L a kind of sacrificial vessel (Li).
- 214 a. *lian / lian / lien T, L join, bring together (Chouli). The small seal form of Shuowen has *to the right; thus the graph had 'silk string' and 'ear'.
- 215 a. *lian / liän / nien T, L (Pek. nien is irregular, we should expect a lien) cart drawn by two men (Tso); to pull a cart (Shī). The graph has 'carriage' and 'man' doubled.
- 216 a. *nian / nian / nien T Shuowen says: to work leather so as to make it smooth and soft; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *nan / \hat{n} an / n a n T, L blush (Meng).
- 217 a. *ńian / ńźiän / j a n T burn (Meng); loan for id. so, thus (Shī); affirm, approve (Lunyü); adverb suffix (Shī). The graph has 'flesh', 'dog' and 'fire'.
 b. *ńian / ńźiän / j a n T burn (Mo).
- 218 a. *p'ian / p'ien / p'ien T splinter, half (Lunyü); *p'wân / p'wân / p' a n L one half, one of two parts (Chuang). Cognate to 219 b. (see next group). The small seal of Shuowen shows one half of the character for 'tree' (木).
- 219 a. *pian / piān / p i e n T Shuowen says: criminals accusing one another; but there are no text examples in support of this (yet cf. e. below: 'to dispute'). The graph has 'bitter, painful' doubled.
- **b**—**d.** *b'ian / b'iän / p i e n L, K divide (Chouli); distinguish, discriminate (Lunyü); distribute (Tso); loan for f. below (Chouli). d. is pre-Han (inscr. 405, sense of name).
- e. *b'ian / b'ian / p i e n T, L distinguish, discriminate (Yi); dispute (Meng); scrutinize, regulate (Shu); find fault with (Chouli); distribute, everywhere (Li).
- t. *b'ăn / b'ăn / p a n T, L manage, deal with (Tso).

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- 220 a. *b'ian / b'ian / pien T, L cap (Shī); loan for id. hurriedly (Li); *b'wân / b'uan / p'an — L joyous (Shī, so the Mao comm.). The small seal of Shuowen shows 'two hands' and a drawing of a cap.
- *b'ian / b'ian / p i e n T, L. This is but a corrupted modern form of the preceding graph; loan for id. law (Shu); quick, hurriedly (Tso, cf. a. above).
- c. *b'ian / b'iän / p i e n T to clap the hands (Ch'uts'ī).
 d. *b'ian / b'iän / p i e n T (same as the preceding; loan for:) *p'iwăn / p'iwn / fan — L to fly, voltigate (Shī); *piwən / piwən / fen — to dust (Li).
- *p'iwan / p'iwn / f a n L circuitous (Chuang).
- *b'įwān / b'įwon / fan L, K, and *b'įan / b'įān / pien L, K basket (Li).
- 221 a. *b'ian / b'iän / p i e n (oblique tone) L, K comfortable (Ch'uts'ï), convenient, useful (Li); prompt (Sün); thereupon, then (Chuang); *b'ian / b'iän / p'i e n — (even tone) T, L eloquent, specious (Lunyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *b'ian / b'ian / pien T, L a kind of tree (Mo).
- c. *pian / pian / pi e n T, L whip (Tso).
- *mian / mian / mien T escape, avoid (Tso); take off (Tso); cease (Lunyü); loan for *miwən / miwən / w e n — L mourner's hair-dress (Li); for id. new, fresh (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *mian / miän / mien T, L bend the head (Chouli); character sometimes loaned for the synonymous 僻; loan for c. below (Li).
- *mian / miän / m i e n T make an effort (Shi).
- *mian / mian / mien T, L ceremonial cap (Tso).
- *mwân / muân / m a n T confused, stupid (Chuang).
- *mwân / muân / m a n T, L shoe, sole (Lü); loan for j. below (Lü); for 激 (Lü). f.
- *miwan / miwon / w a n T, L, and *mian / mian / m i e n T complaisant, mild (Li).
- h. *miwan / miwon / w a n T late (Li).
- i. *miwăn / miwun / w a n T, L lustrous, rich (sc. colour) (Ch'uts'i).
- *miwăn / miwon / w a n T, L pull (sc. a cart) (Tso).
- k. *miwən / miuən / w e n T, L mourning clothes, mourning hair-dress (cf. a. above) (Tso); loan for d. above (Sün).
- 1. *mwər / muâi / m e i T, L smoothly flowing water (Shī, Mao version); to defile (Meng).

- *mian / miän / mien T face (Shī); face to face (Shī). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- *mian / miān / m i e n T to turn from, abandon (Ch'uts'ī).
 *mian / miān / m i e n T, L sink in (sc. wine) (Shī).
- d. *mian / mian / mien T, L thin, drawn-out (Kuoyu); loan for id. distant (Kuliang).
- 224 a. *mian / miän / m i e n K Shuowen says: hidden, not visible; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *mjan / miän / mien T lath supporting the eaves (Ch'uts'ī).
- c-e. *pian / piwen / pien T borders (Tso); side (Li). d. is Chou I (inscr. 65), e is Chou II (inscr. 147).
- f. *pian / piwen / pien T a kind of ritual vessel (Shī).
- 225 a-b. *mian / miän / m i e n T, L thin and long, drawn out (Shī); tiny (Shī). The graph has 'silk' and 'silk stuff'.
- 226 a. *kiwan / kiwan / k ü a n T, L to roll (Shī); *g'iwan / g'iwan / k ' ü a n L, K bend, curved (Shī); *k'iwan / k'iwan / k ' ü a n — L bent border (Li); loan for g. below (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b-c. *kiwan / kiwan / k ü a n T, L look on with affection (Shī).
- d. *k'iwan / k'iwan / k ' u a n T crooked wood (Kuots'è); bowl made out of curving wood (Meng); *kiwan / kiwan / k ü a n — T ring in nose of an ox (Lü).
- *q'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü an (even tone) T, L, and *k'iwan / k'iwan / k' ü an T chignon (Li); beautiful hair (Shī).

- t. *g'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü a n L, K force, forceful (Chuang).
 g. *g'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü a n T, L (rolled hand:) fist (Li); force, strength (Shī).
 h. *g'iwan / g'iwan / k' ü a n (even tone) T, wriggle, move as a snake (Ch'uts'ī).
- *g'iwan / g'iwan / k ü a n (oblique tone) T, L tired (Lunyü).
- variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- *g'iwan / g'iwan / k ü an T, and *g'iwan / g'iwon / k ü an T, L enclosure for pigs (Kuan); *kiwan / kiwon / k ü a n — L, and *k'iwan / k'iwon / k' ü a n — L turn round (on the foot) (Li); loan for d. above (Li).
- *k'iwăn / k'iwon / k' ü a n T bond, deed, consisting of two halves (wooden parts) (Kuan).
- *k'iwān | k'iwnn | k ' ü a n T, L (turn round:) revolt (Shī, so the Mao comm.; acc. to Tu Yü it would mean 'closely attached').
- *k'iwăn / k'iwon / k' ü a n T, and * iwăn / iwon / y ü a n T head covering (Hanfei); loan for 袞 (Sün).
- *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L feed animals with grain, rear (for slaughter) (Tso); grain-fed animal (Li).
- variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- Of the above, a. *kiwan 'to roll', d. *k'iwan 'curving wood', e. *g'iwan (rolled hair:) 'chignon', g. *q'iwan 'fist', k., m. *kiwăn, *k'iwăn 'turn round' are cognate words.
- 227 a—b. *giwan / jiwän / y ü a n T, L circumference (Shī), round (Meng); *giwən / jiuan / y ü n — T, L be of use to (Shī, so the Mao comm.); a particle (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 124, sense of name). The graph has a 'circle' and a 'cauldron': the round rim of a cauldron. In the modern graph the ting cauldron has been corrupted into pei cowry.



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- c. *giwan / jiwän / y ü a n T round (Hanfei); all round, universal (Yi).
- d. *xiwăn / xiwpn / h ü a n T, L ocarina (Chouli).
- e. *giwen / jiwen / y ü n T drop, lose (sc. life) (Kuoyü); destroy (Sün).
- 1. *giwen / jiwen / y ü n T, L loop through which a rope is passed (in fixing a target) (Chouli).
- g. *giwen / jiwen / y ü n fall down, throw down (Shī); loan for c. above (Shī).
- h. variant of the preceding (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- i. *giwen / jiwen / y ü n T, L to rain, fall down like rain (Kungyang).
- j—k. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n (variant of 460 c. below, Shuowen, hence the reading) clan name (inscr. 96). k. is Chou I/II (inscr. 212).
- 228 a. Both the sense and reading of this element are uncertain. Shuowen says: small worm; but there are no text examples in support of this; its reading is recorded neither in T nor K. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *'iwan / iwan / y ü a n T, L, and *'iwan / iwen / y ü a n T, L, and *g'iwan / *g'iwan / k ü a n T to crawl as a caterpillar (Shī); soft, bending (Chouli).
- c. *'iwan / iwan / y ü a n T dissatisfied, grieved (Shī).
- d. *iwan / iwen / y ü a n T fatigue, suffering (Lie).
- e. *kiwan / kiwän / k ü a n T, L pent up, reserved, cautious (Lunyü).
- 1. *kiwan / kiwan / k ü a n T a kind of silk stuff (Mo).
- g. *giwan / iwän / y ü a n T, L abandon (Kuots'ê), remove (Meng).
- h. *kiwan / kiwen / k ü a n T, L to cleanse (Kuoyü).
- i. *kiwan / kiwen / k ü a n T glance at, look askance (Meng).
- j. *g'iwan / yiwen / h ü a n T, L Shuowen says: strap for fixing a yoke; but there are no text examples of this; loan for id. the appearance of jade (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- k. *xiwan / xiwen / h ü a n T, L bluish-black horse (Shī).
- 229 a. *diwan / iwän / y ü a n K Shuowen says: marsh between mountains; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diwan / iwan / yen T, L (the Pek. reading yen is irregular, we should expect a y ü a n) go along (sc. a river) (Shu), follow, imitate (Li).
- c. *diwan / iwän / k' i e n T, L (the Pek. reading k' i e n is irregular, we should expect a y ü a n) lead (the metal) (Shu); loan for b. above (Sün).

- d. *diwan / iwän / y e n T, L (the Pek. y e n is irregular, we should expect a y ü a n) place name (Shu).
- *d'iwan | dź'iwan | c h ' u a n T boat (Mo). f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 315, sense here uncertain).
- 230 a. *diwan / iwan / y ü a n T, L hawk, kite (Shī). The graph has 'stringed arrow' and 'bird'.
- 231 a—b. *tiwan / tśiwän / c h u a n T alone (Lunyü); entirely, exclusively (Meng); make sole object, entirely bent on (Tso); monopolize, have sole power (Tso); loan for n. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 12,1, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tiwan / tsiwan / c h u a n T, L, and *d'wan / d'uan / t' u a n T to cut (Li).
- d. *tiwan / tśwan / chuan T to divine by aid of bamboo slips (Ch'uts'i).
- e. *tiwan / tiwän / chuan T turn round (Shī).
- f—i. *d'iwan / d'iwan / c h ' u a n (even tone) T transmit (Lunyü); *d'iwan / d'iwan / chuan — (oblique tone) T (what has been transmitted:) a record (Tso); *tiwan / tiwän / c h u a n — T (transmitting place:) relay (of post etc.) (Tso). g. is Yin bone (B hia 7: 13, sense here uncertain), h. is Chou II (inscr. 147), i. is pre-Han (inscr. 415, sense of name).
- *d'iwan / d'iwan / c h u a n L, K bundle (Chouli).
- k. *diwan / ziwan / ch' u a n (even tone) T, L Shuowen says: cut meat, but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. potter's turning mould (Chouli); loan for *diwən / ziuen / ch' un — L, and *tiwən / tsiuen / ch un — L femur (Yili).
- *diwan / źiwän / s h u a n (oblique tone) T, L name of a fish (Yili).
- m. *twân / tuân / t u a n T regulate (Kuoyü).
- n. *d'wân / d'uân / t' u a n T, L round, everywhere, plenty (Shī ap. L).

 o. *d'wân / d'uân / t' u a n T, L grieved (Shī).
- p. *d'wân / d'uân / t' u a n T, L round, make round (Li); collect (Kuan); *d'iwan / d'ivan / c h u a n — T, L bundle (Chouli); loan for a. above (Lü).
- *d'wan / d'uan / t'uan T, L rich dew (Shī).
 - Of the above, e. *tiwan 'turn round', f. *d'iwan (go round from one to another:) 'transmit', j. *d'iwan 'bundle', k. *diwan 'potter's turning mould' and n., p. *d'wan 'round' are cognate words.
- 232 a. *ti'iwan / tśiwan / ch' u an T bore through (Shī). The graph has 'tooth' and 'hole'.
- 283 a. * i'iwan / ts'iwan / c h ' u a n T, L oppose, contrary (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 234 a—b. *dz'iwan / dz'iwan / t s ' ü a n T complete (Meng); preserve (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *dz'įwan / dz'įwan / ts' ü a n T one-coloured sacrificial animal (Tso).
- d. *ts'įwan / ts'įwan / ts' üan T, L become cured (sc. illness) (Chuang).
- *ts'įwan / ts'įwan / ts' ü a n T, L bamboo trap to catch fish (Chuang).
- *ts'įwan / ts'įwan / ts' ü a n T, L a fragrant plant (Chuang).
- *ts'iwan / ts'iwan / ts' ü a n T to weigh, to measure (Kuoyü).
- h. *diwan / ziwan / c h ' u a n T car with solid wheels (without spokes) (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. or *ts'iwan / ts'iwan / ts' ü a n — L to measure (Chuang).



- 235 a. *dz'įwan / dz'įwan / t s ü a n T fat (meat) (only Han time text ex.); loan for *tsįwan / tsįuėn / t s ü n L remarkable, extraordinary (Tso). The graph has 'bird' and 🔁 'bow'.
- b. *tsiwan / tsiwan / tsü an T fat (Ch'uts'i); cognate to the preceding word.
- c. *tsiwan / tsiwan / tsien T (Pek. tsien is irregular, we should expect a tsüan) chisel, sharp point (Mo).
- d. *tsiwan / tsiwan / ts ü n L remarkable, extraordinary (Tso), see a. above.
- 236 a—b. *dziwan / ziwän / s ü a n T turn round, to wheel (Tso); return (Shī); all round (Meng); a ring (for suspending a bell) (Chouli); loan for id. to urinate (Tso). b. is Yin bone (B hia 35: 5). The graph has 'foot' and 'banner'.
- c. *dziwan / ziwän / s ü a n T beautiful (Shī, Han version ap. L).
- d. *dziwan / ziwän / s ü a n T a kind of precious stone (Sün).
- e. variant of the preceding, with phonetic abbreviated (Sün).
- 237 a—d. *dz'iwan / dz'iwan / ts' ü a n T spring, source (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 17,1), c. is Yin bone (B hia 3: 6), c. is Chou II (inser. 147). The graph shows a fountain with water flowing; the modern graph, by 'folk etymology', has modified this into 'white' and 'water'.
- e. *sian / siän / sien T, L thread (Chouli).
- 238 a. *ńiwan / ńżiwän / j u a n L, K soft, weak (Kuots'è). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *niwan / nziwän / j u a n T soft, weak (Kuots'ê).
- c. *ńiwan / ńżiwän / j u a n T, L wriggle, move slightly (Sün).
- d. variant of the preceding, through confusion of this phonetic with that of series 134 above.
- e. *ńiwan / ńżiwän / j u a n T, L a kind of precious stone (Li, Sü Miao's version ap. L).
- f. variant of the preceding (Li, current version), due to the same confusion of this phonetic with that of series 134.
- g. *nwân / nuân / n u a n T weak (Sün).
- h. *nwân / nuân / n u a n T, L hot water (Yili).
- i. *nwân / nuân / n u a n K warm (Kuoyü).
- j. *niwat / ńżiwät / j o T, L to dip, soak (Yili).

- k. variant of the preceding (Chouli), due to the same confusion of this phonetic with that of series 134.
 - Of the above, a., b. *niwan 'soft, weak' and g. *nwan 'weak' are cognate words.
- 239 a. *kian / kien / kien T Shuowen says: even, level; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph (cf. e. below) shows two objects of unknown meaning in a parallel position.
- b. *kian / kien / k i e n T, L pig or boar 3 years old (Shī).
 c. *kian / kien / k i e n L, K callus, corn (Chuang).
- d-e. *k'ian / k'ien / k' i e n T water from a river running out and forming a stagnant pool (Lie). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- **f.** *k'ian / k'ien / k'ien K glow-worm (Lü).
- g—h. *ngian | ngien | y e n T (grind:) thoroughly examine (Yi).
- i. *kiad / kiei / ki L, and *kian / kien / ki en L cross-piece of wood on top of pillar (Chuang).
- 240 a. *kian / kien / kien T shoulder (Shī); burden (Shī); loan for b. below (Shī); loan for *g'ian / yien / hien — L, and *g'on / yon / hen — L thin, emaciated (Chuang, so acc. to certain comm.).
 - The graph (cf. d. below) has 'flesh' and a drawing of a shoulder.
- **b—d.** *kian / kien / k i e n K pig or boar 3 years old (Lü). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323). Cf. 239 b. above.
- e. *k'ian / k'ien / k'ien L, and *k'an / k'an / k'ien L long-necked (Chouli).
- 241 a-d. *kian / kien / kien T to see (Shī); *g'ian / yien / hien T, L appear (Shī), conspicuous, manifest (Meng); cause to appear, introduce (Lunyü); loan for *kăn / kăn / k i e n — L covering of a coffin (Li); to mix (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 29,1), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 29,2), d. is Chou I (inser. 58). The graph shows a 'man' with a big 'eve'.
- e. is a later, vulgar form of a. in the reading hien.
- f. *k'ian / k'ien / k' i e n T, L, and *g'ian / yien / h i e n T, L compare, similar to (Shi).
- g. *g'ian / γien / h i e n L, K beautiful (Shī).
- **h.** * $g'\check{a}n/\gamma\check{a}n/h$ i e n T, L a plant with red stem (Kuan); loan for * $g'wan/\gamma wan/\gamma wa$ huan — T, L smile (Lunyü ap. L; — if this is not rather 165 a. above, wrongly abbreviated?).
- 242 a-b. *\chi i e n T display, manifest (Shī); illustrious (Shī); evident (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *\(\chi\) ien / hien T, L strap forming part of horse's trappings (Tso).
- 243 a—b. *ian / ien / y e n T the swallow (Shī); loan for id. to rest, at ease, soothe (Shī); feast (Shī); pleasant, genial (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 43,6). The graph is a
- c. *ian / ien / y e n T to swallow (Hanfei).
- *ian / ien / y e n T sun shining without clouds (Shī, Han version).
- e. *ian / ien / y e n T converse (Kuots'ê).
- 244 a. *t'ian / t'ien / t'ien T see face to face (Shī). The graph has 'to see' and 'face'.



- 245 a—d. *dz'ian / dz'ien / ts'ien T before (Shī); precede (Yili); advance (Li); former (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 40,2, here enlarged by rad. 144), c. is Chou II (inscr. 186), d. is Chou II (inscr. 196). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *tsjan / tsjän / tsien T, L cut off (Yili).
- 1. *tsian / tsian / tsien T throw water on, wash (Kuots'ê).
- g. *tsian / tsiän / tsien T, L fry, boil (Li); consume, diminish (Hanfei).
- h. *tsian / tsian / tsien T bamboo used for arrows, arrow (Li).
- i. *tsį̇̀an / tsį̇̀an / tsien T, L clip (Shī), cut, strip (Tso); s. w. as e. above.
- j. vulgar variant of the preceding.
- k. *tsian / tsian / tsien T, L hair-tufts at the temples (Ch'uts'i); cut the hair (Li).
- 246 a. *pian / pien / pien T, L a circumscription, a population district (Ho-kuantsī); loan for id. low, narrow (Shī, so acc. to most commentaries). The graph has 'door' (i. e. family) and 'writing tablets'.
- b. *pian / pien / pien T all round, universally (Shī).
- c. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- d. *b'ian / b'ien / p'ien T, L board under body in coffin (Tso).
- e. *pian / pien / pien T, L, and *pian / pien T, L plait, weave (Li); arrange in a series (Chouli).
- f. *pian / pian / pien L coleric (Chuang).
- g. *pian / pian / pien T, L narrow (Shī); cf. a. above.
- h. *p'ian | p'ian | p'ian | p'ian | T, L oblique, inclined to one side (Shu); lateral (Tso); subordinate (Tso).
- i. *p'ian / p'iän / p' i e n L animal of uncertain species (a kind of monkey?) (Chuang).
- j. *p'ian / p'ian / p' i e n T writing slip, section in writing (Kuots'ê).
- k. *p'ian / p'iān / p' i e n T, L fly about, fly to and fro (Shī); move about restlessly (Shī); flutter (as a flag) (Shī).
- 1. *p'ian / p'ian / p'ien T, L, and *pian / pien / pien T, L name of a plant (a kind of Polygonum?) (Ch'uts'i).
- m. *b'ian / b'ian / p'ien (even tone) T, and *b'ian / b'ian / pien (oblique tone) L, K insincere words (Shu).
- 247 a. *mian / mien / mien K Shuowen says: hidden; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *mian / mien / mien L, K to look askance (Chuang).

- c—d. *mian / miän / mien T, L richly flowing (stream) (Shī). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- 248 a. *g'iwan / yiwen / h ü a n T suspend (Shī); loan for *g'ian / yien / h i e n T district (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *g'iwan / yiwen / h ü a n T suspend, hang up (Meng).
- 249 a. *kiŭn / kivn / k i e n T set up, establish (Shī); loan for id. name of a constellation (Sagittarius) (Shī); loan for i. below (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kiān / kinn / k i e n T obstacle, obstruction (Chuang).
- c. *kišn / kipn / k i e n T, L bow and arrow case (Tso).
- d—e. *kiān / kivn / kien T, and *g'ian / g'ian / k'ien T red horse with yellow mane (inscr. 325). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 325).
- f. *kiān / kinn / kien T, L, and *g'iān / g'inn / kien L, K sinew (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. *g'ian / g'inn / kien T strong (Yi).
- h. *g'iăn / g'ivn / k i e n T door bar, bolt (Lao); loan for *kiăn / kivn / k i e n L (after Tu) weary (Chouli).
- i. *g'ian / g'iän / k i e n T, L bolt of a lock (cf. h. above) (Chouli); linch-pin (Shī-tsī).
- 250 a—b. *xiǎn / xivn / h i e n T, L law (Shu), model (Shī), rule (Chouli); loan for id. illustrious (Li), rejoice (Shī); loan for 軒 (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 152). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c—d. χiặn / χīnn / h i e n K name of a river (inser. 147). d. is Chou II (inser. 147).
- 251 a—d. *ngiǎn | ngiơn | y e n T big flute (Mo); loan for id. speak, speech, talk (Shī); I, we (Shī, so both Erya, Mao and Cheng Hüan; same sense also in Chuang); a particle (Shī); high and large (Shī); loan for *ngiōn | ngiōn | y i n L contented (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 20,3, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (B hia 10: 4, sense here uncertain), d. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a kind of a flute.
- e. *ngian / ngiän / y e n T, L condole (Shī).
- i. *ngien / ngien / y i n T, L remonstrate gently (Lunyü).
- g. *ngiən / ngiən / y i n K to quarrel (as dogs) Ch'uts'i).
- 252 a—c. *ngiān / ngivn / y e n T Shuowen says: a kind of boiler, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples of this. b. is Yin bone (B hia 8: 1, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67, sense of e. below). The y e n is a boiler shaped as a li in its lower part, and with an additional upper part. The archaic forms are drawings of this. The modern form, on top of the li, has substituted a 'tiger', the meaning of which is uncertain.
- d. $ng_i\ddot{a}n / ng_ivn / y e n$ T, L, and $*ng_i\ddot{a}n / ng_i\ddot{a}n / y e n$ T, L boiler (Tso).
- e—g. *\(\gamma\infty\)in / \(\hat{n}\)in / h i e n T to offer, present (Shī); exhibit, show (Shī); (conspicuous:) prominent, wise man (Lunyü). f. is Chou I (inser. 82, sense of d. above), g. is Chou I (inser. 102).
- h. *ngiǎn / ngivn / y e n T, L, and *ngian / ngiān / y e n T, L hill top (Shī).
- i. *ngiat / ngiät / y e T, L to decide judicially (Li).
- j. *ngât | ngât | o T stump of a tree, shoots from stump of a tree (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- 253 a. *'iăn? The sense and reading of this element is obscure. Shuowen says: peace, quiet; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Neither T nor K records the word, so its Anc. reading is uncertain. Since it interchanges with d. below in the derivates (see j. below) it may have been Arch. *iän. The graph has 'sun' and 'woman'.



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- **b—c.** *'ian / 'ien / y e n T to rest, repose (Yi), feast (Shī), have pleasure (Shī). c. is Chou III (inscr. 218).
- d-f. in / in / y e n T, L gutter, latrine drain (Chouli). e. is Chou I (inscr. 103, sense of name), f. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense of name).
- g. * iǎn / iǎn / y e n T, L bend down (Shu), lie down (Shī); loan for id. arrogant (Tso); mole (Chuang); for d. above (Chuang).
- h—i. *·iǎn / inn / y e n T place name (inscr. 293). i. is Chou IV (inscr. 293).
- j—k. * îăn / îvn / y e n T, L some kind of mud-fish (Shī). k. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324).
- 1. *ian / ien / y e n T lizard (Sün).
- m. *at / at / y = T pull up (Meng).
- 254 a—b. *'iǎn / 'inn / y e n T Shuowen says: a fluttering streamer; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 5: 5,7). The graph is a drawing.
- 255 a—c. *giwān / jiwon / y ü a n T, L dragging slowly (Shī); loan for id. then, thereupon (Shī); a particle (Shī); change, substitute (Tso, so acc. to Fu K'ien). b. is Yin bone (T'ien ye pao kao p. 147, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou II (inser. 157). The graph shows two hands grasping some object of uncertain analysis.
- d. *giwăn / jiwon / y ü a n T, L monkey (Chuang).
- e. *giwān / jiwon / y ü a n T, L, and *giwan / jiwān / y ü a n T, L pull (Meng), pull up, raise (Meng); lay hold of, cling to (Shī); succour (Kuoyü); loan for id. part of a k u o dagger-axe (Chouli).
- f. *giwān / jiwnn / y ü a n T, L, and *giwan / jiwān / y ü a n T, L ring-shaped jade insignium (Sün).
- g. *giwan / jiwan / y ü a n T, L a beauty (Shī); *giwan / jiwon / y ü a n K distracted, embarrassed (Ch'uts'ī).
- h. *giwan / jiwän / y ü a n T to flow (Ch'uts'ī).
- j. *χiwān / χiwon / h ü a n L soft, mild (Chuang); character also applied to *nuân / nuân / n u a n T warm (Ch'uts'ī). This is really a variant of the preceding.

- k. *xiwăn / xiwon / h ü a n T, L deceitful (Kungyang); forget (Shī).
- 1. *g'wân / yuân / h u a n T slack, indulgent (Tso); slow, delay (Meng); remiss, negligent (Yi).
- m. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L name of an ancient weight (Shu). Of the above, a. *giwan 'dragging slowly' and l. *g'wan 'slow' are cognate words.
- 256 a. *giwan / jiwnn / y ü a n T Shuo wen says: long robe; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. place name (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *giwăn / jiwon / y ü a n T garden (Shī). b.
- c. *giwăn / jiwpn / y ü a n K monkey (Kuots'ê).
- d. *giwăn / jiwm / y ü a n T stand for a bell or musical stone (Kuan).
- e. *giwăn / jiwon / y ü a n T, L carriage pole, thill (Tso).
- 1-g. *giwăn / jiwon / y ü a n T far, distant (Shī), keep far from, leave (Shī). g. is Chou II (inser. 139).
- h-j. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n (primary form of k. below, hence the reading) turn round (Mo). i. is Chou I (inser. 91, sense of name), j. is Chou II (inser. 154, sense of n. below). The graph has 'eye' as radical (roll the eyes, revolve) and a. slightly abbreviated as phonetic. The same character serves for yet another word *g'iwĕng, see the eng class below.
- k-m. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T turn round, return (Shī). Character often used for the synonym 旋 (Shī etc.). l. is Chou II (inscr. 147), m. is Chou II (inscr. 173).
- **n—p.** *g'wan / γwan / h u a n T ring (Shī); encircle (Meng). b. is Chou II (inser. 180), p. is Chou II (inscr. 193, a. above instead of h. as phonetic).
- **q.** *g'wan / γwan / h u a n T tie round, encircle (Kuoyü).
- r. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T metal ring (Kuots'ê).
- s—t. *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L royal domain proper (Kuliang). t. is Chou II (inscr. 181, a. instead of h. as phonetic, cf. p. above).
- **u.** *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L go into (sc. the buffcoat), to don (Tso).
- **v.** * $g'wan / \gamma wan / h u a n$ T, L to tear asunder between chariots (Tso).
- *g'wan / ywan / h u a n L, and *xiwan / xiwan / h ü a n L quick-minded, prompt (Chuang).
- *giwan / jiwan / y ü a n L, K round (Yi).
- z. *χiwan / χiwän / h ü a n T, L nimble, clever, artful (Shī), cf. x. above.
 a′. *χiwan / χiwän / h ü a n T to fly about (Ch'uts'ī).
- b'. *kiwan / kiwen / k ü a n K reserved, cautious (Meng).
- c'. *iwan / iwen / y ü a n K bad, spoiled (sc. food) (Lü).
 - Of the above, h—r. *g'wan 'ring, round', y. *giwan 'round' and possibly b. *giwan (enclosure:) 'garden' are cognate words.
- 257 a—c. *ngiwăn / ngiwon / y ü a n T head (Meng); principal, supreme (Yi); great (Shī); eldest (Shī); primary (Kungyang). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 22,5), c. is Chou II (inser. 132). The graph has 'man' with the head marked by two strokes, of uncertain interpretation.
- *ngiwăn / ngiwon / y ü a n T name of a poisonous plant (Mo).
- *ngiwăn | ngiwon | y ü a n T, L, and *ngwân | nguân | w a n T turtle (Tso).
- variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- *ngwăn / ngwăn / w a n T, L stupid (Shu); obstinate (Tso).
- *ngwân | nguân | w a n T cut so as to round off corners (Ch'uts'i).
- *ngwân / nguân / w a n L, K make round (Chuang).

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- *ngwan / nguan / w a n T avid (Kuoyü).
- k. *ngwân / nguân / w a n T plaything (Tso), to play with (Kuoyü); loan for l. below (Kuovü).
- 1. *ngwîn / ngwîn / w a n T, L used to, familiar with, despise (Tso); loan for j. above (Tso).
- m. *g'wân / yuân / w a n T, L to build ready, to complete (Shī), complete (Lunyū); solid (Chouli). The Mand, reading wan is irregular, we should expect a huan.
- *g'wân / γuân / h u a n T, L name of a weight (Chouli).
 *g'wân / γuân / h u a n L, K to wash clothes (Kungyang).
- *g'wân / yuân / h u a n L, and *ngwân / nguân / w a n L round (Chuang). (cf. h., i. above).
- **q.** *g'wan/yuan/h u a n T, L, and *kwan/kuan/k u a n T, L Juncus, Cyperus (Shī); loan for *g'wân / γuân / h u a n — T, L smile (Lunyü).
- r. *kwân / kuân / k u a n L, K (tube:) flute (Shī); key (Kuots'ê).
- *k'wân / k'uân / k ' u a n L, K small table (Li).
- *g'wan / ywan / h u a n T, L to stare (Chuang, so acc. to certain comm.; acc. to others 'shut the eyes'); loan for id. brilliant (sc. stars) (Shī); beautiful, rich (sc. fruits
- u. *giwan / jiwan / y ü a n T wall round a courtyard (Mo).
- 258 a—b. *nqiwan / nqiwnn / y ü a n T spring, source (Meng); origin (Yi); high plain (Shī); loan for id. repeat, again (Yi); loan for d. below (Lunyü). b. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph has 'cliff' and a drawing of a spring.
- *ngiwăn | ngiwon | y ü a n T spring, source (Li); loan for e. below (Meng).
- *ngiwan / ngiwon / y ü a n T, L sincere, attentive, careful (Shu). d.
- *ngiwan / ngiwon / y ü a n K quiet and friendly talk (Meng ap. Shuowen).
- *ngiwăn / ngiwnn / y ü a n T to wish (Shī); think of (Shī); (ad libitum:) even if, whenever (Shi, so the Mao comm.).
- *ngiwān / ngiwon / y ü a n T, L red horse with white belly (Shī).
- *g'wân / yuân / h u a n K a kind of pig (Yi Chou shu).
- 259 a—b. *ngįwan, ngįwon / y ü a n L, K a plain (Chouli), cf. 258 a. above. b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 263, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 260 a. *'iwān / iwon / y ü a n K Shuowen says: to turn over in bed; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.

- b. *'iwăn / 'iwm / y ü a n, w a n T, L supple, accommodating (Chuang), obliging, polite (Shī); passive (Shī); small (Shī). The Pek. reading wan is irregular.
- c. * iwan / iwon / y ü a n T, L resent, resentment (Shī).
 d. * iwan / iwon / y ü a n T, L trees with rich foliage, umbrageous (Kuoyü); loan for *giwən / jiuən / y ü n — L stop up, obstruct (Li); full of ornaments (sc. a shield) (Shī); for *'iwān / 'iwon / y ü a n — L, and *'iwət / 'iuət / y ü — L pent up (feelings), oppressed (Shī).
- e. *iwăn / iwon / y ü a n T, L mandarin duck (Shī).
- *'wân / 'uân / w a n T, L disused, dried-up (sc. a well) (Tso).
- * iwan / iwon / y u a n T, L beautiful (Shī), delicate, tender (Shī), gentle, docile (Tso), to soar (said of dragons) (Ch'uts'ī).
- h. *iwăn / iwon / y ü a n L, K small hole (Chouli).
- i. *'iwan / 'iwon / y ü a n K late (evening) (Ch'uts'i).
- j. * iwan / iwnn / y ü an T an area of a certain number of acres (30 acc. to Shuowen) (Ch'uts'i).
- k. *'iwan / 'iwon / y ü a n T, L y ü a n c h 'u name of a bird resembling a pheasant (Chuang).
- *'iwan / 'iwnn / y ü a n T, L, and 'wan / 'uan / w a n T curved jade tablet (Shu).
- m. *wân / wân / wan T, L wrist (Tso).
- n. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- *·wân / ·uân / wan T bowl (Kuan).
- p. *iwăn / iwnn / y ü a n K, and iwn / iwn / y ü n T a kind of war chariot
- *iwăn / iwon / y ü a n T, L, and *iwət, iuət / y ü L, K luxuriant (growth) (Shī); park, enclosure for animals (Kuan; in modern praxis d. above is used for this sense).
- r-s. *'iwāt / iwnt / y ü e K, and *'iwat / 'iuat / y ü K sweets (in inscr. 74 it seems to mean: to sacrifice sweets). s. is Chou I (inscr. 74).
- 261 a. *'iwăn / iwn / y ü a n T injustice, grievance (Ch'uts'ī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 262 a—d. *piwān / piwmn / f a n T turn (Shī), return (Shī); bring back (Tso); contrary, on the contrary (Shī); to rebel (Kuots'ê); loan for id. decorous, careful (Shī); loan for f. below (Sün). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 4,1, sense of name), c. is Yin (inscr. 27), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph shows a hand, bending, turning over something.
- e. *piwan / piwon / f a n T return (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- f. *piwan / piwon / f a n T, L to trade (Chouli).
- g-h. *piwān / piwnn / fan T, L, and *b'wan / b'wan / pan T, L slope, bank (Shī); loan for a. above (Sün). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- *b'iwăn / b'iwon / f a n T, L cooked rice or millet (Li); eat (Lunyü), meal (Lunyü); give to eat (Chuang).
- *pwan | pwan | pan T a plank (Shī); a hamper (Kuan); loan for id. turn aside (Shī).
- k. *pwan / pwan / p a n T, L board (Shī), tablet (Lunyü).
- *pwan / pwan / p a n T, L metal plate, plaque (Chouli).
- m. *p'wan | p'wan | p' an L, K, and *pwan | pwan | pan L, K pull forward (Kungyang).
- **n.** *b'wan / b'wan / p a n L (after Sü Miao), K great (Shī).

- 263 a. *b'iwăn / b'iwon / f a n K fence, hedge (Shī ap. Shuowen). The graph shows two trees connected.
- **b—c.** *b'iwăn / b'iwnn / f a n T, L fence, hedge (Shī); cage (Chuang); loan for id. mixed, topsy-turvy (Chuang); *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n L strap, belt (Chouli). c. is Chou II/III (inscr. 273, sense of name).
- d. *p'wan / p'wan / p ' a n T, L pull (Kuoyü); pull oneself up by grasping something above (Chuang).
- 264 a. *b'iwăn / b'iwon / f a n T trouble, molest, troublesome (Tso). The graph has 'fire, heat' and 'head'.
- **b.** *b'įwăn / b'įwon / f a n K paw (Lü).
- 265 a—c. *b'iwān / b'iwn / f a n K, and *b'wân / b'uân / p' a n L, K ornament on horse (Tso). a. is the form of Shuowen, b. is the current form. Loan for *b'iwān / b'iwn / f a n T, L abundant, numerous (Shī). c. is Chou II (inscr. 134). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *b'jwan / b'jwnn / fan T, L a kind of Artemisia (Shī).
- 266 a—c. *miwăn / miwvn / wan T, L extended, long (Shī); slender, delicate (Ch'uts'ī); *mwân / muân / man T, L (drawn-out:) distant, unlimited (Chuang); loan for 萬 dance (Sün). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 252, sense of name), c. is Chou IV (inscr. 285, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *miwan / miwon / w a n T, L creaping plants, creep, spread over (Shī).
- e—f. *man / man / man man T, L to slight, insolent (Tso). f. is Chou II/III (inscr. 256, sense of name).
- g. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- h. *man / man / man man T, L slow (Shī), negligent (Yi), to despise (Tso).
- i. *mwân / muân / m a n T ornaments on wall (Meng).
- j. *mwân / muân / m a n T curtain, tent (Kuoyü).
- k. *mwûn / muûn / m a n T, L plain silk (Kuan), plain, unadorned (Tso); loan for id. modulation (in music) (Chouli); terrified (Chuang); loan for h. above (Chuang).
- 1-m. *mwân / muân / m a n T, L place name (Tso). m. is Chou I (inscr. 114).
- n. *mwân / muân / m a n T, L, and *man / man / m a n T, L (flow out): all round, everywhere (Kungyang); free, careless (Chuang); loan for i. above (Chuang).
- o. *mwân / muân / m a n T, L, and *man / man / m a n T, L, and *mian / miän / m i e n T, L deceive, be false against (Sün); excessive, reckless (Chuang).

- 267 a—b. *miwān / miwon / wan T Shuowen says: an insect; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. ten thousand (Shī); ritual dance(Shī). b. is Chou I (inser. 59). The graph is a drawing of an insect (cf. 囊 scorpion).
- c. *mwad / mwai / m a i T, L exert one's strength (Shu).
- **d—f.** *mwad / mwai / m a i T proceed, go, march (Shī); vigorously (Tso); loan for id. displeased (Shī, so the Mao comm.). e. is Chou I (inscr. 86, sense of a. above, 'ten thousand'), f. is Chou I (inscr. 92, sense of a.).
- 268 a. *ngât | ngât | o T stump of a tree, shoots from stump of a tree (Shu, one version). The graph has 'tree' and a right part which must have been originally a drawing of shoots.
- 269 a—e. *ngât / ngât / o K Shuowen says: fragment of bone; but there are no text examples in support of this (in later times the character has been applied to a colloquial word tai 'bad'). d. is Yin bone (I 48: 3, sense here uncertain), e. is extracted from the archaic graph for K (Chou I, inser. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 270 a. *-ât / ât / o T, L obstruct, stop (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 271 a. *t'ât / t'ât / t a Shuowen says: lamb; there are no text examples of this, but if b. below in one ode of the Shī means 'lamb', as Cheng Hüan believes, then a. here may be the primary form of that word. If so, the right part of c. below may have been, originally, a drawing of a lamb.
- **b—c.** *d'ât / d'ât / t a T break through (as growing grain) (Shī), penetrate, come through (Shu), reach to (Lunyü), come forward, become prominent (Shī), make prominent, to manifest (Lunyü); penetrating, clever (Tso); reaching everywhere, universal (Lunyü); loan for id. side-building (Li); *t'ât / t'ât / t'a T, L go to and fro (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for id. lamb (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan; Mao reads *d'ât and explains 'to bear', i. e. 'break through'). c. is Chou II (inscr. 182, sense of name).
- d. *t'ât / t'ât / t'a T beat (Meng); rapid (Shī); middle part of a bow (Yili).
- e. *t'ât / t'ât / t' a T, L space between gate and screen (Shī).
- 272 a—d. *lát / lát / l a T wicked (Yi Chou shu). b. is Yin (inscr. 45, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 107, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 179, sense of 預). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *lâd / lâi / la i T to gain, get hold of (Kuoyü); lean on, depend on, rely on (Tso); gain, advantage (Kuoyü).
- f. *lâd / lâi / lai T shallow water flowing rapidly over sand (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. *lâd / lâi / l a i T, L tube (Chuang).
- h. *lâd | lâi | lai T, L, and *lât | lât | la T Artemisia (Erya, no text ex.); loan for *lâd | lâi | lai L shade (Chuang).
- i. $t' \cdot lat / t' \cdot at / t' \cdot a T$, L, and $t' \cdot lat / t' \cdot at / c \cdot h' \cdot a T$, L otter (Li).
- 273 a. *'wât / 'wât / wo K Shuowen says: pull out the eyes; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph has 'eye' and 'claw'.
- **b.** * wân / wân / wan L wrist (Yili).
- 274 a. *d'wât / d'uât / t o T rob, take away, snatch (Shī); *d'wâd / d'uâi / t u e i L narrow passage (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.

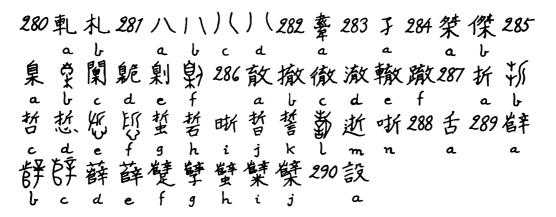


- 275 a. *pwât / pwât / po T Shuowen says: trampling feet (cf. next); but there are no text examples in support of this. The small seal graph of Shuowen shows two feet, placed in opposite directions.
- b. *b'wât / b'wât / p o T trample down and destroy (sc. grass) (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- c. *piwat / piwot / f a T throw out (an arrow), shoot (Shī), send forth, issue (Shī); to manifest (Shī); to start, go out (Shī); go away (Shī); loan for *pwât / puât / p o L numerous (Shī).
- d. *pwât / puât / p o T, L to rule (Shī); spread out (Li); bend (a bow) the opposite way (Kuots'ê); loan for id. ropes for pulling a coffin (Li); *b'wât / b'uât / p o L to uproot (Shī).
- e. *pwât / puât / p o K rain-coat of straw (Kuoyü).
- f. *piwād / piwni / f e i T cast aside (Tso), suppress (Li), remove (Shī); neglect (Shu); cease (Li); fall (Tso); fail (Shī); extravagant (Shī); destructive, exhausting (sc. sickness) (Li).

 Of the above, c. *piwāt 'throw out, send forth', d. *pwāt 'spread out' and f. *piwād 'cast aside' are cognate words.
- 276 a. *b'wât / b'wât / p o T, L expel (Chouli). The graph has 'dog' with a stroke on one leg.
- b. *b'wât / b'uât / p o T, L trample (Shī), trudge (Shī); foot, base (sc. of a torch) (Li).
- c. *b'wât / b'wât / p o T, L demon of drought (Shī).
- d. *b'wât | b'uât | p o T, and *b'iwat | b'iwvt | f a T to plow, furrow (Kuoyü).
- e. *b'wât / b'uât / p o T, L, and *b'wâd / b'uâi / p e i T sacrifice to the gods of the road (Shī).
- f. *pwât / puât / p o T, L small hairs on body (Chuang).
- g. *pwât / puât / p o T roots of grass (only Han time text ex.); *b'wât / b'wât / p o T, L to halt in the open, amid the grass (Shī).
- h. *b'wat | b'wat | p a T, L pull out (Yi); *b'wât | b'wât | p o T, L to rise above (Meng); loan for id. the end of an arrow (Shī); quickly (Li); *b'wâd | b'wâi | p e i L thinned out (as a forest, some trees having been pulled up) (Shī).
- i. *piwăt / piwot / f a T hair (Shī).
- j. *b'įwat / b'įwvt / f a T shield (Yi Chou shu).
- k. *piwət | piuət | f u T, L silk band in which the seal was tied to the waist (Yi).
- 1. *piwət / piuət / f u T, L knee-cover (Li).
- m. *piwət / piuət / f u T, L embroidered symbols on lower robe (Shī); loan for l. above (Tso).

- n. *p'iwst / p'iust / f u L wand with silk pennons carried in ritual dances (Chouli).
- o. *p'iwət / p'iuət / f u T, L, and *piwăd / piwni / f e i T, L expel noxious influences, purify (Tso) (cognate to a. above).
- 277 a. *mwât / muât / m o T end of a branch (Tso), the tip (Li); end, finish, result, the last (Li); small (Li), diminish (Tso); loan for id. not (Lunyü). The graph has 'tree' with the top marked by a stroke.
- b. *mwât / muât / m o T, L foam, froth (Chuang), spittle (Chuang); loan for *mwâd / muâi / m e i T to finish (Ch'uts'ī, often wrongly written 法).
- c. *mwât / muât / m o T, L to feed (horses) (Shī).
- 278 a. *kat / kat / k i e T, L peeled straw of grain, with the ear still on but emptied of grain (Li). The graph has 'skin' and 'grain'.
- 279 a. *k'at / k'at / k' i e T Shuowen says: skilful engraving; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph, however, very likely depicts a knife cutting notches, cf. next.
- b. *k'iad / k'iei / k'i T, L script notches (Yi), contract (Li); loan for id. sorrowful (Shī), afraid (Chouli); perforate the tortoise shell in divination (Shī); loan for *k'iat / k'iei / k'ie T, L separated (Shī); loan for f. below (Lü); loan for *siat / siüt / sie L a N. Pr. (Tso).
- c. *k'iat / k'iet / k' i e T, L to lift (Li); loan for b. above (contract) (Chuang).
- d. *kiat / kiet / k i e Τ, L, and *g'iat / γiet / h i e Τ, L bind (Chuang); to measure, to moderate (Li); loan for j. below (Shī).
- e. *ngiat / ngiet / n i e T gnaw, crunch in the teeth (Li).
- f. *k'iat / k'iet / k'ie T, L cut (Sün), cut through (Tso).
- g. *kiad / kiäi / k i L mad (sc. dog) (Tso).
- **h.** *k'ad / k'ai / k' i e L energetic (Chuang).
- i. *siat / siet / sie T, L wedge, piece of wood between the teeth of a corpse (Li).
- j. *kiat / kiet / k i e T pure, purify (Lunyü).
- k. *g'iat / γiet / h i e L, and *k'iat / k'iet / k' i e L girdle (Chuang).

 Of the above, b. *k'iad 'cut notches, perforate' and f. *k'iat 'cut, cut through' are cognate words.
- 280 a. *at/at/ya T, L crush under the wheels, crush, throw down (Chuang). The right hand element in the graph is not known through any text examples, nor is its reading recorded in T or K.
- b. *tsat / tṣat / c h a T, L a slip, a strip (Tso); loan for id. pestilence (Chouli), die prematurely (Tso).
- 281 a—d. *pwat / pwat / p a T eight (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 6,6), c. is Yin (inscr. 25), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 282 a. *g'āt / γāt / h i a L, K wheel-axle cap with linch-pin (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 283 a. *kiat / kiāt / k i e T, L a kind of lance (Tso); rising straight and slender, as a lance (Shī); single, alone (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 284 a. *g'iat / g'iāt / k i e T perch for fowls (Shī); loan for id. remarkable, surpassing, hero (Shī); lift, carry on the shoulders (Tso); loan for *kiat / kiāt / k i e L fine, luxuriant (Shī). The original graph may have ben a drawing of a perch.
- **b.** *g'iat / g'iät / k i e T, L of a surpassing quality (Shī), hero (Meng).



- 285 a—b. *ngiat / ngiāt / n i e T, L target (Chouli in Cheng Hüan's version); law (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 13,6, sense of name?). The graph is a drawing of a target on a 'tree'.
- c. *ngiat / ngiāt / n i e T, L, and *ngiat / ngiet / n i e T vertical post in middle of gate (Li).
- d. *ngiat | ngiet | n i e T, L unstable (Yi); the radical is wei 'danger'.
- e—f. *ngiad / ngiāi / y i T cut off the nose (Yi ap. Shuowen). f. is Chou (inscr. 379, sense here uncertain).
- 286 a. The sense and reading of this element is not known. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *d'iat | d'iat | c h 'ê T, L, and *t'iat | î'iat | c h 'ê T remove, take away (Lunyü). Pek. c h 'ê as correspondence to *d'iat | d'iat in this word and the following words is irregular, we should expect a c h ê.
- c. *d'iat / d'iat / c h 'ê T, L, and *t'iat / î'iat / c h 'ê T, L penetrate (Tso), communicate (Kuoyü); divide land acc. to a certain share system (Shī); remove (Shī), destroy (Shī).
- d. *d'iat / d'iät / c h ' ê T, L clear, limpid (Yi).
- e. *d'iat / d'iat / c h 'ê T, L wheel-track (Tso).
- f. variant of the preceding (Lie).
- 287 a—b. *Î iat / t\$iät / c h ê T, L to break (Shī); to bend (Li); destroy (Yi); decide (Lunyü); loan for id. a frame in the grave (Li); *d iat / s h ê T, L to bend (Li); loan for *d'iad / d'iei / t'i L, K slowly (Li). b. is Chou I (inser. 67). The graph has 'hand' ('hands') and 'axe'.
- **c.** * $t_i at / \hat{t}_i at / c h \hat{e}$ T perspicacious, wise (Shi).
- **d—f.** variant of the preceding (Shu, Wang Su's version). e. is Chou II (inscr. 139), f. is Chou II (inscr. 183).
- g. * $tiat / \hat{t}iat / chê$ T to sting (Lie).
- h. *t'iat / î'iat / c h 'ê T, L (after Shen), and ? / t'iek / t 'i T to knock down (Chouli).
- i—j. * \hat{t} iad / tśiäi / c h i T, L, and \hat{t} iat / tśiät / c h ê T, L bright (Shi).
- k—l. *diad / ziāi / s h ī T, L proclaim, swear (Shī); loan for id. respectful, attentive (Li). l. is Chou II (inscr. 145).
- m. *dįad / źįäi / s h ï T go to (Shī), go away (Shī).
- n. * $t\tilde{a}t / \tilde{t}\tilde{a}t / c h a$ T chirp (Ch'utsi).

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*d'iat / dz'iat / s h ê — T tongue (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain. 288 a.

- 289 a—c. *siat / siāt / siēe K to correct, control, govern (inscr. 180). b. is Chou II (inscr. 139), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-e. *siat / siat / si e T name of a plant (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. place name (Ch'unts'iu).

In the following derivates there are often vulgar variants with e. substituted to a.:

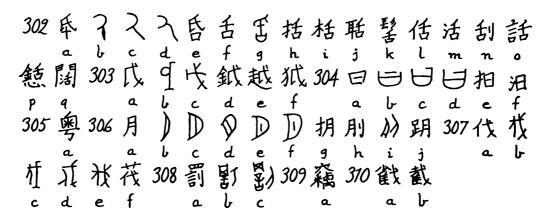
- *sât / sât / s a T, L, and *siat / siet / sie L to march about (be restlessly at work) (Chuang).
- *ngiat / ngiāt / n i e T, L concubine's son (Meng); loan for id. calamity (Shī); adorned (Shi).
- *ngiat / ngiät / n i e T inauspicious, unhappy (Ch'uts'i).
- *ngiat / ngiät / n i e T, L yeast (Li).
- *ngât / ngât / o L, K, and *ngiat / ngiặt / n i e T stumps of a tree, shoots from stump of a tree (Shī).

The alternation s- $\sim ng$ - in this series is very enigmatic. Is it a trace of some Archaic initial consonant combination?

- 290 a. *śiat / śiat / s h ê T establish, put up, to place (Shī); supposing (Kuots'ê); loan for id. great (Chouli). The graph has 'speak' and 'baton, beat'.
- 291 a. *liat / liët / lie T divide (Sün), distribute, arrange (Chouli); rank, order (Tso); loan for id. obstruct (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *liat / liat / lie T, L cold (Shī).
- *liat / liät / lie T, L limpid (Yi).
- d. *liat / liat / lie T burn (Meng), broil (Shī), blaze, blazing (Shī); fierce (Shu); brilliant, famous (Shī); merit, meritorious (Shī); loan for b. above (Shī) (possibly b. and d. here are etymologically the same word: sharp, piercing?).
- *liat / liat / lie T, L a kind of rush used for making brooms (Li).
- *liat / liat / li e T, L tear asunder, divide (Tso), cf. a. above. Ī.
- *liad / liäi / li T, L, and *liat / liët / lie L, K a kind of tree (Shī). *liad / liäi / li T usage, rule (Kungyang).
- *liad / liäi / li L, K epidemic (Kungyang).
- 292 a. *b'iat / b'iat / pie T, L, and piat / piat / pie L, K divide, separate (Chouli); distinguish (Lunyü); different (Li); leave (Ch'uts'i). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 293 a—b. *xiwat / xiwät / h ü e T Shuowen says: to wink at, give a signal with the eyes; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is pre-Han (inscr. 455, sense of name). The graph has 'eye' and '(baton:) beat'.
- 294 a. *χmiwat / χiwät / h ü e T, L extinguish, destroy (Shī). The graph has 'fire' and 民, the meaning of which here is uncertain.
- b. *miat / miat / mie T to drown (Yi); extinguish, destroy (Shī), cognate to the preceding.
- c. *miat / miät / mie L lay the hand on (Chuang).
- **295 a.** *tiwat / tiwat / c h o K Shuowen says: to connect, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. It occurs in Huainan in the sense of 'short'. The original graph possibly was a drawing of stitches in sewing.
- b. *tiwat / tiwat / c h o T, L, and *tiwad / tiwai / c h u e i T, L sew (Li), tie, connect (Shi), compose (Shu); loan for e. below (Li).
- c. *tiwat / tiwät / c h o L weep (Shī); *t'iwat / tś'iwät / c h ' o T, L, and *diwad / tiwäi / s h u e i T to taste, eat (Li).
- d. *tiwat / tiwat / c h o T, L grieved, sad (Shī).
- e. *tiwat / tiwat / c h o T, L stop, cease (Lunyü).
- f. *tiwat / $\hat{t}iw\ddot{a}t$ / c h o T, L, and *tiwad / $\hat{t}iw\ddot{a}i$ / c h u e i T, L path between fields (Li).
- g. *tiwat / tiwat / c h o T, and *twat / tuat / t o T to cut (Shangtsi).
- h. *twât / twât / t o T, L, and *tiwat / t iwät / c h o L, K pick, gather (Shī); loan for id. short (Chuang).
- i. *t'iwat / ts'iwat / c h' o T, L drink (Li), cf. c. above.
- j. * $tw\check{a}t/\hat{t}w\check{a}t/c$ h u a T sharp iron point at end of whip (Lie); * $tiwad/\hat{t}iw\ddot{a}i/c$ h u e i K needles used as tallies (Kuan).
- k. *tiad / tiei / ti T, L ti-tung rainbow (Shi).
- 296 a. *dz'įwat / dz'įwät / t s ü e T cut off, break off (Lunyü), extinguish (Shī); exceed, extremely (Shī). The right part of the graph was probably originally a drawing of some cutting instrument.
- b. *tsiwat / tsiwät / tsü e T, and *tsiwad / tsiwäi / tsu e i T bundle or sheaf of coarse grass (Kuoyü).
- c. *ts'iwad / ts'iwai / ts' u e i T, L brittle (Chouli); phonetic abbreviated.
- d. variant of the preceding (Lü), the phonetic corrupted.
- 297 a—b. *siwat / siwät / s ü e T snow (Shī); wash, bathe (Chuang), wash off (Kuots'ê). b. is Yin bone (B hia 1: 3). The graph has 'rain' and a drawing of snow flakes.
- 298 a. *siwat / siwät / ? T, L, and *swät / swät / s h u a K scrape clear, brush (Chouli). The *siwat / siwät should regularly give a Mand. s h u o. The current reading s h u a is based on the Kuang yün reading, known neither to T nor to L. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 299 a—b. The sense and reading of this element are obscure. Shuowen says: to pluck, and reads it liuët / lü (so also T). But there are no text examples whatever in support of this, and if Shuowen takes it to be the primary form of e. below, then the readings do not tally. In the inscription 56 (Chou I) it stands for c. below. The graph has two hands with a round object between (a weight?).

- *liwat / liwät / l ü e T, L name of an ancient weight (Chouli).
- *liwat / liwät / l ü e T channel, river-bed (Lie); dyke (Huainan); loan for id. equal (Kuoyü).
- e. *lwât / luât / lo T, L gather, pluck (Shī).
- **300 a.** *kiặt / kiọt / k i e T, L, and *kiạt / kiặt / k i e L, K, and *kiạt / kiặt / k i - T, L accuse, denounce (Lunyü). The graph has 'speak' and 'to knock against'.
- **301 a—b.** *kiwăt / kiwpt / k ü e T a kind of sickness (Lie). b. is Chou I (inscr. 88, possibly sense of 302 i. below, 'arrow'). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *kiwăt / kiwpt / k ü e T stone (? Sün, Ta lüe p'ien, so acc. to one comm.); loan for id. his, her, its, their (Shi); to butt (Meng).
- d. *kiwăt / kiwvt / k ü e T, L fern (Shī).
 e. *kiwăt / kiwvt / k ü e T, L jerboa (Lü).
- f-g. *kiwăt / kiwpt / k ü e T, L, and *g'iwăt / g'iwpt / k ü e T, L stumble, fall (Meng); trample (Lü); loan for id. pull out, tear up (Tso); *kiwad / kiwäi / k u e i — L, K move (Shī), move rapidly, agile (Shī).
- h. *k'iwāt / k'iwat / k' ü e T look-out tower over gate (Shī), gate (Li); opening, breach (Li); (crevice:) shortcoming, defect, defective (Shī); diminish (Li); omit (Tso); loan for *q'iwăt / q'iwpt / k ü e — L excavate (Tso).
- *g'iwāt / g'iwnt / k ü e T pull up, dig out (Yi Chou shu), cf. f. and h. above. *kiwad / kiwāi / k u e i L lift (the dress) (Li).
- i—k. *g'iwat / g'iwat / k ü e T, L pole, post (Lie); horse's bit (Chuang).
- *kiwad / kiwäi / k u e i L small sacrificial table (Li).
- 302 a-d. *kiwăt / kiwot / k ü e -- this is the usual Archaic graph in the inscriptions for 厥 (301 c. above) 'his, her, its, their', hence the reading. b. is Yin (inscr. 5), c. is Yin (inscr. 6), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e-g. *kwât / kuât / k u o (Sung editors of the Shuowen; not in T or K). Shuo wen says: to shut the mouth; but there are no text examples in support of this. g. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 305, sense of name). The upper part is a. above as phonetic, more or less contracted in the modern forms. The last one of these, f., has thus coincided with 舌 (288 a. above), with which it has really nothing to do, not even in o. below.
- *kwût / kuût / k u o T, L to tie, bind (Yi); loan for id. arrive (Shī); back end of an arrow (Shu); *g'wât / ywât / h u o — L to meet (Shī).
- *kwât / kuât / k u o L, K a kind of tree (cedar?) (Shu); carpenter's square (Sün); back end of an arrow (Chuang).
- *kwât / kuât / k u o T, L noisy talk (Shu).
- *kwât / kuât / k u o T, L bind up the hair in a knot (Yi); loan for id. warped, not straight (sc. vessel) (Chouli, so acc. to Cheng Hüan).
- *g'wât / yuât / h u o T, L, and *kwât / kuât / k u o T join, arrive (Shī).
- m. *g'wât / yuât / h u o T, L (moist:) living, alive, to live (Shī); loan for *kwât / kuât / kuo — T, L kuo-kuo to purl (as running water) (Shī).
- *kwat / kwat / k u a T, L scrape (Chouli).
- *g'wad / ywai / h u a T, L speak, word (Shī); good words (Tso). The right hand part in this character is not shê 'tongue' but e. above as phonetic.
- *kwât / kuât / k u o K pig-headed, stupid and self-willed (Shu ap. Shuowen; in other versions j. above and great divergence as to interpretation).
- *k'wât / k'uât / k' u o T, L distant, widely apart, separated (Shī); loan for id. suffering (Shī, so the Mao comm.).



- 303 a—c. *giwăt / jiwvt / y ü e L, K a kind of axe (Shu, one version ap. L). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 13,1), c. is Chou II (inser. 157). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *giwăt / jiwpt / y ü e T, L a kind of axe (Shī).
- e. *giwat / jiwnt / y ü e T transgress (Shī); extend (Kuoyü), augment (Shu); far away (Kuoyü); disperse (Tso), throw down (Shu); loan for id. a particle (Shī); opening, hole (in a lute) (Li); for *g'wât / γuât / h u o T, L to plait straw (into a mat) (Tso).
- f. *χiwāt / χiwvt / h ü e T, L to trot, run (Li).
- 304 a—a. *giwāt / jiwot / y ü e T say (Shī); a particle (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 17,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 10), d. is Chou I (inscr. 56). The graph shows a 'mouth', for the rest interpretation uncertain.
- e. *g'wət / yuət / h u T to dig up (a grave) (Sün).
- f. *kwət / kuət / ku T, L bring into disorder (Shu); to regulate, cause to communicate (sc. rivers) (Kuoyü); *g'wət / γuət / h u L bubble up (Chuang); *giwεt / jiuĕt / y ü T to flow (Ch'uts'ī). This character is often written as if the right part were Η, but this is a confusion with a river name *miek / miek / m i (Ch'uts'ī).
- **305 a.** *giwăt / jiwnt / y ü e T, L a particle (Shu ap. Shuowen); generous, favourable (Kuan). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 306 a—f. *ngiwāt | ngiwnt | y ü e T moon (Shī), month (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 36,6), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 4,1), d. is Yin bone (A 2: 22,6), e. is Yin (inser. 10), f. is Chou I (inser. 54). The graph is a drawing.
- g. *ngiwăt / ngiwpt / y ü e T to break (Kuoyü).
- h—i. *ngiwāt / ngiwot / y ü e T, L, and ngwāt / ngwāt / w a T, L amputate, cut the feet (Tso). i. is Yin bone (O 1223, sense of name?).
- j. *ngiwăt | ngiwot | y ü e L, K, and *ngwăt | ngwăt | w a T, L cut off the feet (Hanfei) (L. has also ngust and nguât).
- 307 a—e. *b'iwăt / b'iwnt / f a T, L strike (Shī); hew, cut (Shī); attack (Shī); (what is beaten:) a shield (Shī); loan for id. merit, boast (Lunyü); a plough furrow (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 2:8,5), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 5,7), d. is Yin (inser. 27), e. is Chou I (inser. 54). The graph has 'man' and 'dagger-axe'.
- f. *b'wâd / b'uẫi / p e i L, and *p'wâd / p'uâi / p ' e i L regular, orderly (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for 旒 (Shī).

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- 308 a—c. *b'iwăt / b'iwot / f a T, L to punish, to fine (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 56), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 309 a. *ts'iat / ts'iet / ts'ie T steal (Shu); stealthily, without permission (Tso); loan for 察 (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 310 a—b. *dz'iat | dz'iet | t s i e T, L cut off (Shī); restrain, govern (Shī). a. is the form of Shuowen (from 'small bird' and 'dagger-axe'), b. is the corrupted modern form.
- 311 a—e. *miat / miet / m i e T, L extinguish, destroy (Yi), reduced, small (Shu); not have, not (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 49,2, sense of name), c. is Yin (inscr. 10), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54), e. is Chou I (inscr. 78). In c—e. the sense is doubtful ('to signalize'? 'to reward'?). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1. miat / miet / mie T, L covering (Shī); character also applied to a synonymous word *miek / miek / mi L (Shī).
- g. *miat / miet / mie T to despise (Shu, lost chapter ap. Shuowen).
- h. *miat / miet / m i e T sore eye, troubled eye-sight (Lü).
- i—j. *miat / miet / m i e K Shuowen says: grain, corn; but there are no text examples in support of this. j. is Chou I (inscr. 92, sense of c. above).
- **k.** *miat / miet / m i e T, L strips of bamboo skin (Shu).
- 1. *miwăt / miwot / w a T sock, stockings (Hanfei).
- m. variant of the preceding (Tso).
- 312 a. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e L archer's thimble (Shī ap. L); *kwad / kwad / k u a i T, L divide (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e T, L open a passage for and lead forth a stream (Shu); to open (Chouli); cut off (Tso); bite off (Meng); decide (Li), decidedly, certainly (Kuots'ê); loan for a. above (thimble) (Shī); loan for *χiwat / χiwet / h ü e T, L quickly (Chuang).
- c. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e T, L half-circle shaped girdle-pendant (Tso); loan for a. above (thimble) (Li).
- d. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e L sleeve (Li). The same character has been applied to a synonymous word *miad / miäi / m i T, L (Li).
- e. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e T farewell words (Lie).

- f. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e K make heavy traces in the earth (sc. horse, when running fast) (Kuots'ê).
- g. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e T, L shrike (Meng).
- h. *k'iwat / k'iwat / k'ü e T, L, and *k'iwat / k'ü e T break, splinter (Shī); defective, incomplete (Lao).
- *xiwat / xiwet / h ü e _ L, and *xiwat / xiwät / h ü e _ L, K wheeze (Chuang).
- *iwat / iwet / y ü e T, L pull up, pull out, dig out (Tso).
- k. *k'wad / k'wai / k' u a i T, L cheerful, find pleasure in (Meng), satisfy (Tso). Of the above, a. *kwad 'divide', b. *kiwat 'cut open, cut off' (also c. and e.) and h. *k'iwat, k'iwat 'break' are cognate words.
- 313 a—c. * $k\hat{a}d/k\hat{a}i/k$ a i T, L, and * $k\hat{a}t/k\hat{a}t/k$ o T to beg (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 7,6, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 108). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *g'ât / yât / h o T what, where, when, how, why (Shī); loan for l. below (Shī).
- * $g'\hat{a}t / \gamma\hat{a}t / h$ o T felt (Yili).
- f. *g'ât / γât / h o T grubs in wood (Kuoyü).
 g. *g'ât / γât / h o T, L hair cloth, coarse cloath (Shī).
- h. $*q'dt/\gamma dt/h$ o T name of a bird (Lie); *k'dt/k'at/k o L k'o-tan name of a bird (Li).
- *kât / kât / k o T Dolichos, Pachyrhizus (Shī).
- *k'ât / k'ât / k 'o T thirsty (Shī); *g'iat / g'iät / k i e T, L dried up (Chouli).
- k. *\frac{1}{2} at / \frac{1}{2} at / \text{h o } T shout (Kuots'\hat{e}); *\frac{1}{2} at / \frac{1}{2} at i T, L choke (Chuang, in the Ts'uei version).
- * $\hat{a}t / \hat{a}t / o \longrightarrow T$, L stop, repress (Shī).
- m. *k'iat / k'iät / k'i e T, L, and *k'iăt / k'i e T, L go away (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. martial-looking (Shī); loan for d. above (Lü).
- n. *g'iat / g'iät / k i e T, L, and *kiat / kiät / k i e L, K, and *k'iat / k'iät / k' i e - T, L, and *g'iat / g'int / k i e — T lift, raise (Shī), carry on the shoulder (Kuots'ê); high, tall (Shī); *k'iad | k'iäi | k'i — T, L lift up one's clothes (Shī).
- o. *g'iat / g'iat / k i e T, L commemorative pole (over a grave) (Chouli), inscription (Chouli); *k'ăt / k'ăt / k' i a — T, L a kind of musical instrument (Li); wooden vase
- p. *g'iat / g'iät / k i e K, and *kiāt / kiot / k i e L robust (Chuang); *k'iat / k'iät / k'ie — L quick, fast (Shī).
- q. *g'iat / g'iät / k i e T, L monolith (Shu, as name of a rock).
- r. *g'iat / g'iät / k i e T exhaust (Shī); lift, carry (Li, so acc. to Shuowen and Cheng Hüan); kie-küe fall prostrate (Sün).
- s. * $k'iad / k'i\ddot{a}i / k$ ' i \hat{T} , L, and * $k'iat / k'i\ddot{a}t / k$ ' i e T to rest (Shī); * $k'\hat{a}d / k'\hat{a}i / k'$ k'a i — T, L to desire (Tso); hasty (Kungyang).
- *\(\gamma\)i\(\text{int} / \text{hie} T\), L short-muzzled dog (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- u. *χiāt / χint / h i e T, L to cease, to rest (Tso); loan for t. above (Shī).
- v. * iăt / int / y e T, L suffer from heat (Sün).
- **x.** * $i\tilde{a}t/int/ve$ T announce (Tso), go to see, visit (Tso).
- * iad / iai / y i T, L (after Tsilin), and * ad / ai / y a i T, L, and * at / at / o – L, K sour, bad (food) (Lunyü).
- **z.** $*k'\hat{a}t / k'\hat{a}t / k'$ o T to thirst for (Kuoyü), s. w. as j. above.
- a'. * dd | di | a i T, L energetic, zealous (Shī, so acc. to Shuowen); numerous (Ch'uts'i); ample, rich (sc. clouds) (Kuan).

- 314 a—b. *g'âd / yâi / h a i T to hurt (Shī), to be hurt (Shī), damage, harm (Tso); disadvantage (Kuots'ê); loan for 曷 (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of 曷). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kad / kai / k i e T, L castrate (Chuang).
- d—e. *kåt / kåt / k o T cut (Tso), destroy, destruction (Shu). e. is Chou II (inscr. 179, sense of 313 a. above).
- f. *g'ăt / yăt / h i a T, L wheel-axle cap with linch-pin (Tso).
- g. $*\chi w \hat{a}t / \chi u \hat{a}t / h$ o T empty (Lü).
- 315 a. *tâd / tâi / tai T girdle, sash (Shī); strap, string (Tso); carry at the girdle, carry (Tso). The original graph was probably a drawing of skirts with a sash above.
- **b.** *d'iad / d'iāi / c h ī T coagulate (Kuoyü), to block, obstruct (Meng); accumulate (Chouli); discard, left over (Shī).
- c. *tiad / tiei / t i T bottom of a flower or fruit, base (Mo).
- **d.** *d'iad / d'iei / t i T to screen off, to shade (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. *d'iad / d'iei / t i T go away (Ta Tai li); loan for *d iad / ziäi / s h ī L sword sheath (Li).
- f. *î'iad' / tś'iäi / c h' i T, L, and ? / tśig / c h i T, L discordant (sc. notes) (Li).
- **316 a.** *t'dd / t'di / t' a i T great (Lunyü), excessive (Shī); spread out and reach everywhere (Yi); name of a kind of ritual vessel (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 317 a—c. *d'dd / d'di / t a T, and t'dd / t'di / t a i T, and *d'dr / d ' d / t o T great, greatly (Shī) (cf. 316 above). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 3,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph is a drawing of a man (grown-up person).
- d—e. *t'ād / t'āi / t 'ai special form of writing the preceding word in this reading (inscr. 70). e. is Chou I (inscr. 70).
- 1—g. *d'âd / d'âi / t a i T wave (Ch'uts'ī); loan for *t'âd / t'âi / t ' a i T, L excessive, arrogant (Tso); penetrate, discern (Chuang); for *t'ât / t'ât / t ' o L pass over (Tso).
- **h.** *d'dd / d'di / t a i T, L wheel-axle cap (Ch'uts'i).
- i. *diad / źiäi / s h ī L, K experienced (Kuan).
- j—k. *d'iad / d'iei / t i T, L solitary-growing (sc. tree) (Shī). k. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 311, sense of name).
- 1. d'iad / d'iei / t i T, and d'âd / d'âi / t a T foot shackle of criminal (Kuan).

- 318 a—b. *nâd / nâi / n a i T name of a fruit (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. n a i h o how (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 319 a—c. *ts'âd / ts'âi / t s ' a i place name (inscr. 117 etc.); this is the name written 禁 in the classics, and hence we know the reading above. b. is Chou I (inscr. 117), c. is Chou II (inscr. 167). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *sat / sat / s h a T kill (Shī); *săd / săi / s h a i T, L diminish, reduce (Tso), of a smaller degree (Li); loan for id. a bag round the feet of a corpse (Yili).
- e. variant of the preceding ('kill') (Chouli).
- f. *sat / sat / s h a T, and *siat / siät / s h ê T a kind of fragrant tree (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. *sât / sât / s a T, L to slap from the side (Kungyang).
- 320 a—e. *pâd (pwâd) / pâi (puâi) / p e i T, L cowry shell (Shī). (Both T and L spell pâi, but all the modern dialects reveal Anc. puâi, and hence Arch. *pwâd). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 30,2), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 10,2), d. is Yin (inscr. 4), e. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph is a drawing.
- **i**—g. *b'wad / b'wai / p a i T, and *pwad / pwai / p a i T to ruin, ruined (Shī); break (Shī); defeat, become defeated (Tso). g. is Chou III/IV (inser. 315).
- 321 a—c. *g'wâd / yuâi / h u e i T unite, assemble, collect (Shī), meet, a meeting (Shī); (meet with:) happen (Shī); (shutter:) lid, cover (of vessel) (Yili); *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i T, L (adding upp:) calculation, account (Chouli); (junctures:) seems of a cap made of several slips (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan); loan for k. below (Shu). b. is Chou III (inscr. 220), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 297). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i T barn (Hanfei).
- e. *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i T, L a kind of flag (Tso).
- f. *kwâd | kuâi | k u e i T, L watering channel, drain (Shu).
- g. *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i T, L to mince (food) (Shī).
- h. *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i T, L joining-point of the two ends of a collar or a belt (Tso).
- i. *kwâd / kwâi / k u e i T, L, and *kwât / kuât / k u o T, L a kind of coniferous tree (Shī); ornament on coffin (Tso).
- j. *kwâd | kuâi | k u e i T, L, and *g'wâd | γuâi | h u e i L, K sacrifice to avert calamity (Chouli).
- k. *g'wdd / yudi / h u e i L, K apply several colours, make variegated (Lunyü).
- *k'wad / k'wai / k ' u a i T, L gay, well-lighted (sc. room) (Shī); *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i L, and *kwât / kuât / k u o L (after Sü Miao) faded (sc. colour) (Chuang).
- m. *g'wât / γuât / h u o T, and *kwâd / kuâi / k u e i L (after Liu), K bind up the hair in a knot (Yili).
- n. *'wâd / 'uâi / w e i T, L luxuriant, dense (sc. vegetation) (Shī, so acc. to Shuowen; Mao takes it to denote dense clouds).
 - Of the above, a. *g'wâd 'unite, collect, a. *kwâd 'account', h. *kwâd 'joining points', k. *g'wâd 'apply several colours', m. *g'wât 'bind up the hair' and n. *'wâd 'dense' are cognate words.
- 322 a—b. *ngwâd | nguâi | w a i T outside (Shī), abroad (Shī); exclude (Yi). b. is Chou I (inscr. 109). The graph has 'moon' and 'prognosticate'; explanation uncertain.
- 323 a. *twâd / tuâi / tai T, L a kind of spear (Shī). The Mand. form is irregular, we should expect a tuei. The graph has 'baton' and 'signify' (s h ī, the latter cannot be phonetic).

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324 a—c. *d'wâd / d'uâi / t u e i — T, L gad (Chuang); loan for *d'wâd / d'uâi / t u e i — L, and *t'wâd / t'uâi / t' u e i — L open a passage through (Shī), opening (Lao); loan for f. below (Sün). b. is Yin bone (B hia 9: 12, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou II (inscr. 153, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.

d. *t'wâd / t'uâi / t' u e i — T to rush (Shī).

- e. *t'wâd / t'uâi / t'uei T, L, and *śiwad / śiwäi / shuei T, L, and *t'wâr / t'uâ / t'o — T, L, and *diwat / iwät / y ü e — T, L exuviae of insects or reptiles
- *diwad / iwäi / j u e i T sharp weapons, sharp (Shu); keen, valiant (soldiers) (Tso); thin, small (Tso).
- *śiwad / śiwäi / s h u e i T, L, and ts'iwad / ts'iwäi / t s' u e i T kerchief (Shī).

*siwad | siwäi | shuei — T, L to purify water (Chouli).

- *śiwad / śiwäi / s h u e i T, L to tax (Ch'unts'iu); to present, give (Li); loan for *t'wâd / t'uâi / t' u e i — L mourning worn after the regular period is passed (Li); for *t'wân / t'uân / t' u a n — L black dress (Li); loan for m. below (Tso).
- j-k. *d'wât / d'uât / t o T snatch (Shu ap. Shuowen). k. is Chou III (inser. 220). *t'wât | t'uât | t'o - T, L, and *d'wât | d'uât | to - T, L take away (Lao); beat, kill (Kuliang); *siwad / siwäi / s h u e i — L wipe off (Yili) (cf. g. above).
- m. $*t'w\hat{a}t/t'u\hat{a}t$ / t'o T, and $*d'w\hat{a}t/d'u\hat{a}t$ / to T, L peel off (Lie), take off (as clothes) (Kuoyü), take away (Tso); (take oneself away:) escape, disappear (Lao); careless (Tso); *t'wâd / t'uâi / t 'u e i — L gently, slowly (Shī).
- n. * iwat / tsiwät / c h o T, L short pillars, supporting rafters of house (Lunyü); loan for f. above (Lao), for m. above (Sün).

- o. *diwat / iwät / y ü e T pleased, glad (Meng).
 p. *diwat / iwät / y ü e T, L find room for, have space enough, accommodate (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for id. inspect (Chouli), to count, sum up (Tso).
- *śiwat / śiwät / s h u o T speak (Shī), explain (Lunyü); *śiwad / śiwäi / s h u e i T, L exhort (Meng); loan for id. rest over night (Shī); loan for m. above (Shī), for o. (Shī), for p. (Shī).

Of the above, a. *d'wâd 'glad' and o. *diwat 'glad' are cognate words; and e. *t'wâd etc. 'exuviae', and m. *t'wât, d'wât 'peel off' are cognate.

325 a—b. *tswâd / tsuâi / t s u e i — T collect, accumulate (Kungyang); to the highest degree (Kuots'ê). Explanation of graph uncertain.

c. $*dz'w\hat{a}d / dz'u\hat{a}i / t s u e i - T small (Tso)$.

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- d. *ts'wad / ts'wăi / c h ' u a i T bite, eat (Meng).
- e. *ts'wât / ts'uât / ts' o T, L pinch with the fingers, a pinch-ful (Li); loan for id. small cap (Shī); *tswâd / tsuâi / ts u e i L pointed (Chuang).
- 326 a. *t'ad / t'ai / c h'ai T, L scorpion (Shī). The graph is a drawing (cf. 萬 267 above), with the addition of rad. 142 'insect'.
- 327 a—c. *kăd / kăi / k i e T armour (Shī), scale (of animals) (Li); protect (Shī), assist (Tso); loan for id. boundary (Tso), border (Ch'uts'ī), contiguous (Tso); great (Shī); solid (Yi); small (Yi); loan for *kat / kat / k i a L obliquely (Chuang); sudden (Meng); loan for j. below (Meng), for ↑ (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 43,4, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 45,6, sense uncertain). The graph is a drawing of a man protected by armour made of slips.
- d. *kăd / kăi / k i e T, L good (Shī).
- e. *kăd / kāi / k i e T boundary (Shī), cf. a. above.
- f-g. *kād / kāi / k i e T, L itch, scabby disease (Li). g. is Yin bone (A 4: 10,7; there has been much divergence about the interpretation of this character, but the phonetic to the right is undoubtedly our a. here).
- h. *g'àd / γαi / h i e T, L to make a creaking sound as of gnashing teeth (Chouli).
- i. * $\chi ad / \chi ai / h$ i e K careless (Meng ap. Shuowen).
- j. *kad / kai / kie T, L mustard plant (Li); grass, weeds (Tso).
- k. *kiad / kiei / k i L knot (Yili).
- 328 a—c. *pwād / pwāi / p a i T to bow in obeisance (Shī), to bow one's thanks (Tso); to bend (sc. a branch) (Shī). a. is the current form, b. is a variant in Chouli, c. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph has 'hand' and an element of uncertain interpretation.
- 329 a. *k'jad | k'jäi | k'i T, L to rest (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 330 a—d. *ngiad | ngiāi | y i K to sow, plant, cultivate (Shī ap. Shuowen); *śiad | śiāi | s h ī L, K force, influence (Li). Whether this is a case of the same character being applied to quite another word with kindred s e n s e (toil: force), or the alternation ng- ~ ś- is a vestige of some Archaic initial consonant c o m b i n a t i o n, is uncertain. The two readings *ngiad and *śiad of this primary word explain the two initial series among the derivates. b. is Yin bone (A 6: 15,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57), d. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph shows a kneeling man planting.
- e. *ngiad / ngiäi / y i T, L to sow, plant (Shī).
- f. *ngiad / ngiäi / y i T to sow, plant, cultivate (Shu); art (Tso), method, rule (Tso); talent (Lunyü).
- g. *ngiat / ngiet / y e L unstable (Chouli).
- h. *ngiat | ngiet | y e T pole (Chouli); loan for id. unstable, unsafe (Chouli); loan for [ki] (Kuliang).
- i. *ngiad / ngiāi / y i K speak in the sleep (Lie).
- j. * \acute{n} iat / \acute{n} iät / \acute{p} ê T hot (Shī).
- k. *nįwat / nžįwat / j o T to burn (Tso), cognate to the preceding.
- 1. *śiad / śiāi / s h ī T force (Meng); force of circumstances, conditions (Meng).
- m. *siat / siāt / s i e L, K familiar (Shī).
- n—o. *siat / siāt / si e T, L garment next to the body, undress (Lunyü); ordinary, of everyday use (Li), familiar, intimate, be intimate with (Li), to be familiar, disrespectful (Shu). o. is Chou II (inscr. 180).

- 334 歲 本 335 制 捌 336 盆 d 禁案338电洩 f j d. e h c 9 批批批批批批勤 d. C j k l c
- 331 a. *ngiad / ngiäi / y i L (after Sü Miao) method, rule (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 332 a. * iad / iäi / y i T, L to bury (sacrifice by burying) (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 333 a—b. *diad / iäi / y i T, L border (Tso); posterity, descendants (Tso). b. is Chou IV (inser. 292). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 334 a—b. *d'iad / d'iai / c h i T, L swine (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 51,3). The graph shows the animal pierced by an arrow.
- 335 a. **tiad | tsiāi |* c h ī T cut out (as clothes, Shī, or as parts of a victim, for sacrifice, Li); prepare, institute, establish (Tso); institution, law, statute (Tso); regulate (Tso), restrain (Shu). The graph has 'knife', for the rest explanation uncertain.
- b. *fiad / tśiäi / c h ī to make up, to fashion (a garment) (Tso), cf. a. above; robe, cloak (Tso).
- c. *î'iad / tś'iäi / c h ' ī T, L, and *î'iat / tś'iät / c h ' ê T to trail, drag (Yi).
- **d.** *kjad / kjäi / k i T mad (sc. dog) (Lü).
- 336 a. *diad / źiäi / s h ī T to divine by Achillea stalks (Shī). The graph has 'bamboo' and 'magician'.
- **b.** variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- c. *diad / ziāi / s h ī T, L to bite (Tso); loan for id. reach (Shī, so the Mao comm.; others take it to be a particle).
- d. *diad / źiäi / s h i T, L shore, bank of a river (Tso).
- 337 a—d. *tsiad / tsiäi / tsi T sacrifice (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 41,7), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 38,2), d. is Chou III (inscr. 218). b. has 'hand' and 'falling drops' (= libation) and 'flesh, meat'; in c. and d. the drops have disappeared, and there is instead rad. 113).
- e. *tsjad / tsjäi / t s i T millet (Lü).
- f. *tsiad / tsiäi / t s i T, L juncture, conjunction (Lunyü); connection, intercourse (Tso).
- g. * $t'iad / \hat{t}'i\ddot{a}i / c h$ ' $\ddot{i} T$ stop (Ch'uts' \ddot{i}).

- h. *tsăd / tṣăi / c h a i T, L suffering, distress (Shī).
- i. *ts'âd / ts'âi / ts' a i T name of a state (Lunyü); to correct, dominate (Shu); *sât / sât / s a L banish (Tso).
- j. *ts'at / ts'at / c h' a T examine (Lunyü), discern (Li); become discernible (Li).
- 338 a. *ziad / iäi / y i T, L to drag, trail (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *siat / si at / s i e L to leak (Tso); reduce (Tso); *ziad / i ai / y i T, L to be dispersed (Tso).
- c. *siat / siät / sie L rope, fetters (Lunyü); reins (Tso).
- 339 a—c. *śiad / śiäi / s h ī T generation, epoch (Shī); world, worldy, vulgar (Li). b. is Chou II (inser. 169), c. is Chou III/IV (inser. 295). For the explanation of the graph cf. 633 a—c. below.
- d. *śiad / śiāi / s h ī T, L, and ? / źia / s h ê T, L lend, borrow (Chouli); remit (Kuoyu).
- e. *ziad / i ä i / y i L, K, and *ziat / iät / y e K to pull (Sün); oar (Ch'uts'ī).
- f. *zįad / įäi / y i T oar (Ch'uts'i).
- g. *ziad / iäi / y i T garrulous (Sün).
- h. *siat / siat / s i e T, L, and *ziad / iai / y i T, L leak out, ooze (Kuan); spread, distribute (Li); be dispersed, relieved (Shī); comfortably, at ease (Shī); careless, neglectful (Meng); numerous (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- i. *siat / siät / sie T, L to bind (Chouli).
- j. *siat / siat / s i e L bridle strap (Yili).
- k. *zįad / įäi / y i T, L, and ? / i / y i T fatigue, sufferance (Shī).
- 1. *siat / siät / sie T, L cleanse (Yi); leak (Chuang); cf. h. above.
- m. *siat / siat / si e T, L bind (Ch'uts'ī); leading-string (Li); cf. i. and j. above.
- 340 a. *liad / liäi / li T, L whetstone (Shī), polish (Tso); loan for id. oppressive, cruel (Shī), stern (Lunyü); ugly (Chuang); high (Kuliang), dangerous (Yi); pass a ford with clothes on (Shī); ends of a sash hanging down (Shī); epidemic (Li); stimulate (Shu); demon (Tso); close to (Chuang); hedge (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain. (possibly primary graph of e. below, cf. 萬).
- b. *liad / liäi / li T, L grindstone, grind (Shu).
- c. *liad / liäi / li T exert oneself (Shu).
- d. *lįad / lį̃ai / li T, L epidemic, calamity (Tso); leper (Li); destroy (Kuan).
- e-f. *liad / liai / li T, L a stinging insect (Chuang).
- g. *lâd Î lâi / Î a i T, L, and *liad | liāi / l i L, K, and *lât | lât | l a L, K coarse grain (Lie).
- 341 a—c. *b'iai / p i T, L worn out (Shī); to damage, ruin (Tso); vile, despisable (Tso); throw aside (Li); loan for h. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (B shang 10: 2, sense of name), c. is Yin bone (G 6: 11, sense of name). The graph has 'baton, beat', and 'kerchief' with strokes indicating rifts.
- d. *b'iad / b'iai / p i T, L piece of silk, offering of silk, present (Tso).
- e. *b'iad / b'iäi / p i T fall (Kuoyü), bring down, stop (Chouli); to ruin (Kuots'ê), become spoiled, ruined (Kuoyü); bad (Chouli); exhaust (Kuots'ê); loan for id. conceal (Kuots'ê, cf. h. below).
- f. *b'iad / b'iai / pi T, L die (Tso); fall down (Tso); kill (Li), destroy (Tso).
- g. variant of the preceding (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- h. *piad / piäi / pi T, L to cover (Li), screen (Tso); loan for id. small (as just opening leaves) (Shī, so acc. to the Mao comm.; acc. to others: umbrageous); decide (Tso).

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- i. *piad / piäi / p i T, L, and *piat / piät / p i e T, L a kind of pheasant (Chouli).
- j. *piat / piät / p i e T, L turtle (Shī).
 k. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- 1. *p'iat / p'iät / p' i e T hasty, irascible (Lie).
- m. *b'iat / b'iet / pie T, L tread, march (restless at work) (Chuang).
- 342 a—e. *giwad / jiwäi / wei T to guard (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 31,5), c. is Yin bone (B hia 22: 16), d. is Chou I (inser. 55), e. is Chou II (inser. 145). The graph has 'walk', two 'feet' and either 'a square' or a 'circle' indicating the walled area guarded by the sentinel. Cf. 章 in the -r class below.
- 1. *giwad / jiwäi / wei K speak in the sleep (Kuan).
- g. *g'wad / ywai / h u a i T, L overstep, go beyond (Tso).
- **343 a.** * \hat{t}_{iwad} / $t\hat{s}_{iwai}$ / c h u e i T, L annex, attach (Shī); excrescence (Chuang); superfluous, malplace (Lao). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 344 a. *diwad / iwäi / j u e i T, L perspicacious (Shu); 叡 variant of the same (Yi). The graph has 'eye' and 'deep' (466 a. below).
- 345 a. *ts'įwad / ts'įwäi / ts' u e i T, L (after Liu) down, fine hair (Shī). The graph has 'hair' tripled.
- b. *ts'iwad / ts'iwäi / ts'uei T, and *t'iwad / ts'iwäi / ch'uei T, L, and *t'iwan / ts'iwän / ch'uan L, K hole, cave, pit (Chouli).
- c. *ts'iwat / ts'iwat / ts' ü e T brittle, fragile (Kuan). Often read ts'uei in Mand. through confusion with the synonymous 脛 (296 c. above).
- 346 a—e. *siwad / siwäi / s u e i T year (Shī); harvest (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 36,6), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 38,2), d. is Chou II (inser. 132), e. is Chou II (inser. 180). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- f. *χiwăd / χiwwi / h u e i L, K beard (Chuang).
- g. *χwâd / χuâi / h u e i T, L rustling of wings (Shī).
- h. *xwât / xuât / h u o T, L splash (Shī).

- *'iwad / iwoi / wei T, L bad weeds (Sün); dirt, filth (Shu).
- *· iwat / · iwnt / y \u00fc e T, L, and *· iat / · i\u00e4t / y e T sound of vomiting (Li); *ywâd / yuâi / h u e i — T, L tinkle (of bells) (Shī); loan for id. ample, deep (sc. chamber) (Shi).
- k. *kiwad / kiwäi / k u e i T, L to wound, damage (Li). The Archaic initials in this group are very irregular and enigmatic.
- *ngiǎd / ngivi / y i T, L Shuowen says: to mow, thus taking it to be the 347 a. primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. Loan for id. govern, regulate (Shu); (governor:) prominent man (Shu). The original graph may have been a drawing of some kind of grass-cutting scissors.
- b. *ngiǎd / ngini / y i T, L to mow (Kuoyü), cut (Shī).
- c. *ngâd / ngâi / a i T, L Artemisia (Shī); loan for id. end, to end (Shī); beautiful (Meng); nourish (Shī); requite (Kuoyü); loan for a. above ('mow' and 'govern') (Shī).
- *b'iwād / b'iwvi / f e i T to bark (Shī). The graph has 'mouth' and 'dog'.
- 349 a. *kâr / kâ / k o T, L tally, piece, item (Chouli, Tso); side-building (Tso); *kân | kân | kan — L sides of a target (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 350 a. *nâr / nâ / n o T, L place name (Tso); loan for id. much (Shī); fine, beautiful (Kuoyü); tranquil (Shī); auprès-de, in regard to (Kuoyü); how, what (Tso). The graph has 'city' and another element of uncertain analysis.
- 351 a-b. *klwar / kua / k u a T fruit (Shī); result, effect (Tso); (when it comes to the result:) really (Meng); (go to the bitter end:) determined, courageous (Lunyü); loan for i. below (Chouli), for m. (Chouli), for n. (Meng, current ed.); loan for *k'lwâr / k'uâ / k'u o — L satisfied (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 41,5, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *klwâr / kuâ / k u o T, L a kind of small wasp (Shī).
- *klwâr / kuâ / k u o T bind, wrap up (Shī).
- *k'lwâr | k'uâ | k'uo T dust (Ch'utsī). *k'lwâr | k'uâ | k'o T try, test (Ch'uts'ī). ŧ.
- *glwâr / luâ / lo L bare, naked (Li).
- *glwår / luå / lo L, K naked (Tso). h.
- *glwar / lua / lo T, L naked (Tso). i.
- *g'lwar / ywa / h u a T, L ankle (Li).
- *g'lwar / ywa / h u a L hi-h u a oblique, perverse (Chuang, sense much debated).
- *g'lwar / ywa / h u a T, L, and *g'lwar / yuai / h u e i T, L, and *g'lwan / yuan / huan — L turn round (as a wheel) (Li).
- *klwân / kuân / k u a n T, L pour out libation in sacrifice (Shī); pour out and serve (guests) (Chouli).
- n-o. *wâr / wâ / wo T servant girl (Meng ap. Shuowen). o. is Yin bone (A 7: 17,2, sense of name?).
- 352 а—b. *klwâr / kuâ / k u o Т Shuowen says: earthen vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inser. 143, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *klwar / kua / k u o (variant of 351 c. above, hence the reading) a kind of small wasp (Shī ap. Shuowen).

- 353 a—c. *χwâr / χuâ / h u o T fire (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 3,1), c. is extracted from the archaic graph of 480 s. below (Chou II, inscr. 132). The graph is a drawing of flames.
- 354 a—c. *t'nwâr / t'uâ / t'o T, L tranquil, at ease (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 19,1), c. is Chou I (inser. 58). The graph has 'woman' and 'hand'.
- d. *nwər | nuậi | n e i T, L hungry, starve (Lunyü); loan for id. rotten (Lunyü).
- e. *niwer | nzwi | j u e i T, L tassel, free-hanging end of band (Shī). The phonetic at the right has been corrupted into 357 a. below, the archaic graphs of 354 and 357 being very similar.
- f. *niwăr | ńwig | w e i T implicate (Lie, in a symbolic name). Same corruption of the phonetic as in the preceding.
- g. *sniwor | swi | s u e i T, L strap on carriage for help in mounting (Lunyü); loan for id. to comfort, give repose to (Shī); desist (from battle) (Tso); calm, solemn (Sün); solitary (Shī); loan for *sniwār | swig | s u e i L, and ? | χjwig | h u e i L name of a sacrifice (Yili); for *t'nwar | t'ua | t o keep at a level below the heart (sc. the cup in making obeisance) (Li); loan for e. above (Shī).
- 355 a. *swâr | suâ | s o raincoat made of straw (only Han time text ex., Shuoyüan); it is thus the primary form of b. below, whence our reading (not in T or K, but Shuowen defines it as 'raincoat made of straw', and the Sung editors of Shuowen consequently read it *swâr | suâ | s o). The original graph was probably a drawing. Loan for *siwor | swi | s h u a i T, L (Pek. reading irregular, we should expect a s h u e i) diminish, decline, decay (Lunyü); *ts'war | ts'wie | c h ' u e i T, L reduce, graduate (Tso); *ts'wor | ts'uâi | t s ' u e i L (graduated clothes:) mourning clothes (Li).
- b. *swâr / suâ / s o T, L raincoat made of straw or rush (Shī); to cover with thatch or straw (Kungyang).
- c. variant of the preceding (raincoat) (Lie).
- d. *siwər / swi / s h u a i T, L rafter (Tso).
- e. *is'wər / is'u@i / t s' u e i T (graduated clothes:) mourning clothes, piece of mourning cloth worn on the breast (Tso), see a. above.
- 356 a. *χiwăr / χjwig / h u e i T destroy, demolish (Shī); denigrate, revile (Lunyü); pray in order to eliminate noxious spirits (Chouli); deteriorate (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *χiwār / χiwig / h u e i T, L blazing fire (Shī).

- 357 a. *'iwăr / 'jwig / wei T, L collect, to store (Lunyü); bend (Li); fall (Chuang); hang down (Li); cast away (Lunyü); entrust to (Tso), deliver to (Tso); accessory (Meng); wei-t'o fine bearing, stately manner (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain. **b.** * iwar / jwig / wei — T, L long and winding (sc. road) (Shī). c. * iwar / jwie / wei — T rheumatism or paralysis in the legs (Lü). d. * iwar / jwig / wei — T, L to wither (Shi). e. *·iwăr / ·jwie / wei — T tortuous movement, fluttering (of a flag) (Ch'uts'i), cf. b. above. *·iwăr / 'jwig / w e i — T, L feed (an animal) (Li); loan for the similar 餒 (Kuoyü). g. *'wâr / 'uâ / w o — T to sprain (Hanfei). h—i. see group 354 above. 358 a—b. *ts'įžr / ts'ię / t s' i — T this (Shi). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 315). Explanation of graph uncertain. *ts'iar / ts'ig / ts'ī — T, L small, petty (Shī). d. *ts'iar | ts'ig | ts' i - T lower end of plough handle, in which share is fastened (Chouli). *ts'iŭr / ts'ig / t s ' i — T, L trample (Lie). *ts'iăr / ts'ie / ts'i — T, L female of birds, female (Shi). g. variant of the preceding (Lü). h. *ts'iar / ts'ia / ts'i - T, L, and *ts'i - T, L (limpid:) fresh and bright (Shī); sweet (Meng). *ts'iar / ts'ie / t s ' i — T, L, and *ts'iər / ts'iei / t s ' i — L, K bright, lustrous (Shī). *tsiar / tsie / t s i — T purple (Lunyü). k-l. *tojăr / toig / toi] - T, L defame, slander (Shī); undutiful (Shī); have aversion for (Kuan); loan for id. to measure (Shangtsi); (measured order:) limit (Kuan); think of, desire (Li); loan for 态 (Sün); for m. below (Lie). m. *tsiar / tsia/ t s i — T property, thing of value (Kuan). n. *tsiar / tsie / t s i — T mustache (Lü). variant of the preceding (T, L) (Tso). *dz'iar / dz'ig / t s' i — (even tone) T, L defect (Tso); loan for k. above (Sün). q. *dz'iar / dz'ig / ts' i — T bones with meat on (Chouli). *dz'iŭr / dz'ie / t s ī — (oblique tone) L, K carcass, bones of an animal (Li). *dz'iar / dz'ie / tsi — T, and *dz'iər / dz'iei / tsi — T eye socket (Lie). *tsiwar / tswig / tsuei — T, L, and *tsiar / tsig / tsi — T, L beak (Li, in the phrase tsuei-huei, tsi-huei name of a constellation). u. *dz'ăr | dz'ai | c h ' a i — T to heap, a heap (Shī ap. Shuowen). *dz'ăr | dz'ai | c h ' a i — T burnt-offering (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- 359 a—b. *ńiặr / ńżię / e r T adverb suffix (Shī); final particle (Shī); *niər / niei / n i L flowering, luxuriant (Shī); loan for *ńia / ńżię / e r T you (Shī); loan for c. below (Shī). b. is Chou III (inser. 234). Explanation of graph uncertain.

*dz'ar / dz'ai / c h ' a i — T firewood (Li); burnt-offering (Shu); to hedge in, to block,

c. $*\acute{n}i\check{a}r / \acute{n}\acute{z}ig / er - T near (Shī)$.

- d—f. niər / niei / n i T mother (Kuangya and T, no early text ex.). e. is Chou III (inscr. 231, sense of name), f. is Chou II/III (inscr. 266, sense of name).
- g. *niər / niei / n i L numerous (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- h. *niər / niei / n i T, L. dead father's tablet and temple (Li).

obstruct (Chuang); *tsiar / tsie / tsi — L accumulate, heap (Shi).

i. *niət / niet / n i e — L oblivious (Chuang).

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- j. *sniār / sig / s i T, L. seal (Tso). Mand. s i is irregular, we should expect a s ī.
 k—l. *snian / siān / s i e n T, L autumnal hunt (Tso). k. is the Shuowen form, l. the abbreviated current form.
- m—n. *miar / mjie / m i T, L to the finish, to finish (Chouli); complete (Shī); extend, increase (Tso), still more (Lunyü). n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 301).
- o. *miǎr / mjiɛ / m i T, L and *miər / miei / m i L (after Sü Miao) a rich and full flow (of a river) (Shī).
- 360 a—c. *miǎr / mjiɛ / m i T, L bow with the ends not bound with string and lackered but capped with bone or ivory (Shī); loan for id. to stop (Shī), cease (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 88), c. is Chou (inscr. 352, sense of name). The graph has 'bow' and 'ear'.
- d. *miar / mjie / m i T, L wash (Chouli).
- e. *miər / miei / m i T, L fawn (Li).
- 361 a—c. *t'ien / t'ien / t'ien T Heaven (Shī); loan for id. to brand on the forehead (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A: 3,7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63). The graph is a drawing of an anthropomorphic deity.
- d. *t'on / t'on / t'un T, L, and *t'ien / t'ien / t'ien L to swallow (Kuots'ê).
- 362 a—c. *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien T field, cultivated land (Shī); to cultivate the land (Shī); to hunt (Shī); loan for id. sound of the drum (Li), name of a kind of drum (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 7,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien (even tone) T, L, and *d'ien / d'ien / tien (oblique tone) T, L cultivate the field (only Han time text ex.); to hunt (Yi).
- e—f. *d'ien / d'ien / t'i e n (even tone) T to hunt (Lü); *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n (oblique tone) T cultivate the field (Shu). f. is Yin bone (G 9: 7).
- g—h. *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n T Royal domain (Shu); cultivated land, agricultural products (Li); regulate, make ready for culture (Shī); to hunt (Chouli). L gives the reading *diəng / ziəng / s h e n g (loan for 乘) in two more senses: area of 64 primary villages (Li); carriage of a minister (Tso). This loan is phonetically highly curious. h. is Chou I (inser. 97).

- 363 a—d. *d'ien | d'ien | tien T, L, and d'ieng | d'ieng | ting L, K set forth, present (offerings) (Shī); to fix, settle (Shu); put down (Shī); *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing (even tone) L stagnant (sc. water) (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 24,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 112, sense of e. below), d. is Chou II (inscr. 148). The graph shows a vessel on a support.
- e. $*\hat{d}'_{i} = ng / \hat{d}'_{i} = ng /$
- 1. d'ik/d'ik/chi T stamp the foot (Sün).
- 364 a—d. *nien / nien / nien T harvest (Ch'unts'iu), year (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 50,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57). The graph has 'man' carrying 'grain'.
- 365 a—d. *ts'ien / ts'ien / ts'ien T thousand (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 5,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 1,7), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph has 'man' with a stroke on one leg. Explanation uncertain.
- e. *ts'ien | ts'ien | ts'ien = T north-south going path between fields (Mo).
- f. *ts'ien / ts'ien / ts'ien T flourishing, rich (sc. country) (Lie).
- 366 a—b. *g'iwen / yiwen / h ü a n T dark-coloured (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 133). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *g'iwen / yiwen / h ü a n T, L to flow (Lunyü).
- d. *g'iwen / yiwen / h ü a n T, L troubled sight, delude, deceive (Meng).
- e. *g'iwen /yiwen / h ü a n T, L bar passed through ears of a ting vessel in order to lift it (Yi).
- i. *g'ien / yien / h i e n T bow string (Yili); string of musical instrument (Lunyü).
- g. variant of the preceding (Li).
- h. *g'ien / yien / h i e n T bright (Kuots'ê).
- i. *g'ien / yien / h i e n T, L millipede (Chuang).
- j. *g'ien / yien / h i e n T go about boasting (Ch'uts'ī).
- k. *k'ien / k'ien / k'ien T pull, drag, lead (Shī); (animals that are led:) cattle (Tso); attach (Lü).
- 1. *kwən / kuən / kun L, K big fish, N. Pr. (Kuoyü) (variant of 417 i. and 419 a. below).
- m. *g'ien / yien / h i e n L speak quickly (Chuang).
- 367 a—c. *iwen / iwen / y ü a n K abyss (Shī); deep (Shī); deep sound of the drum Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324). The graph has 'water' and a drawing of an abyss.
- d. variant of 姻, 370 f. below (Chouli).
- 368 a—b. *k'iĕn / k'iĕn / k'i n K, and *k'ǎn / k'ǎn / k'i e n K Shuowen says: solid, but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 81, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kien / kien / kien T hard, solid, strong (Shī).
- d. *k'ien / k'ien / k' i e n L, K, and *k'ăn / k' i e n L, K solid, firm (Chuang); loan for 366 k. above (Chuang).
- e—f. *g'ien / yien / h i e n T wise, worthy (Shī); superior (Li); loan for id. the hollow of a wheel nave (Chouli). f. is Chou I (inscr. 118, sense of name).
- g. *kiĕn / kiĕn / k i n T to bind tight, to press (only Han time text ex.); loan for c. above (Kuan).
- **h.** *dien / zien / shen T kidney (Shu).
 - Of the above, a. *k'iĕn 'solid', c. *kien 'solid', d. *k'ien, *k'ăn 'solid' and g. *kiĕn 'to bind tight' are cognate words.

暋 369 矜 370 371 31 靷蚓 372 終 d.

- *g'iĕn / g'iĕn / (k' i n) T, L lance shaft (Kuots'ê); loan for id. pity, pitiable (Shī); modest, respectful (Meng), dignified (Lunyü); vigorous (Shī); boastful (Kuan). In these loan senses T and L read *kiəng / kiəng / ki ng, but this is very enigmatic, for in the Shī also in these senses the character rimes in the -en class. The character also serves as loan for fix (Shī) which also ended in -n: *kwen. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 370 a—c. *·įčn / ¡įčn / y i n T rest upon (Meng), rely on (Shī); by means of (Shī); following, continue (Lunyu); accord with (Meng); then, therefore (Meng); because of (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 38,3, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou IV (inscr. 286, sense of name). The word 'to rest on' is etymologically identical with the next 'mat', and the graph shows a man resting on a mat.
- *·iĕn / ·iĕn / yin L, K mat (Shī).
 *·iĕn / ·iĕn / yin L, K mat, bed (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. generative influence of Heaven and Earth (Yi).
- * iĕn / iĕn / y i n T affinity by marriage (Shī).
- *· iĕn / iĕn / y i n T, L horse of mixed grey and white colour (Shī).
- h. *ien / ien / y e n T, L gullet (Kuots'ê), to swallow (Meng); loan for *iën / iën / yin — L, and *iwen / iwen / y ü an — L beat of the drum (Shī).
- *ien / ien / y e n K vapour, smoke (Sün).
- *'an / 'an / e n T kindness, favour (Shi).
- 371 a. *diĕn / iĕn / y i n T draw the bow (Meng), pull, draw (Tso), stretch (Lunyü); to lead (Shī); prolong (Shī). The graph has 'bow' and a stroke which probably depicts the string.
- b. *diěn / jěn / y i n T, L strap for pulling carriage (Shī).
- *diĕn / iĕn / y i n T, L earth-worm (Meng).
- *d'iĕn / d'iĕn / c h e n T, L rope by which cattle are led (Li). Of the above, a. *diěn 'draw, pull', b. *diěn 'strap for pulling carriage' and d. *d'iěn 'rope for leading cattle' are cognate words.
- 372 a. *d'iĕn / d'iĕn / c h e n L rope by which cattle are led (Chouli), variant of 371 d. above. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 373 a—c. $*d'_i \not\in n / d'_i \not\in n / c$ h' e n (even tone) T set forth, arrange (Shī), to display (Lunyü), diffuse, give (Tso); (place of display:) path from the gate to the great hall



(Shī); loan for id. old (sc. grain) (Shī), to tarry (Shu); $*d'i\check{e}n / d'i\check{e}n / c$ h e n — (oblique tone), L battle array (Lunyü). b. is Chou IV (inscr. 284), c. is Chou IV (inscr. 285) — in both these cases a Ts'i family name and enlarged by rad. 32 'earth'. Explanation of graph uncertain.

- d—e. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'ī). e. is Chou III (inscr. 216, sense of name of a feudal country, for which the classics have a. above).
- f. variant of a. in its reading and sense of 'battle array' (Ch'uts'i).
- g. $d'_i \in n / d'_i \in n / ch' \in n L ch' \in n t u n agitated, anxious (Chuang).$
- 374 a. $*d'i\check{e}n / d'i\check{e}n / ch'en$ T dust (Shī). The graph has 'deer' and 'earth'.
- 375 a. * \hat{t} iĕn / tśiĕn / c h e n T true, real (Chuang). Explanation of graph (cf. y. below) uncertain.
- **b.** $\hat{t}_{i}\tilde{e}n / t \hat{s}_{i}\tilde{e}n / c$ h e n T, L dry and compact (sc. wood) (Chouli).
- c. *tîřn / tśjěn / c h e n T, L dense, fine-textured (sc. stuff) (Li) etym. s. w. as last.
- d. *tien / tsien / chen T, L black hair (Shī).
- e. *tîĕn / tsiĕn / c h e n L, K black (beautiful) hair (Tso).
- f. *tiĕn / tiĕn / c h e n T, L press down, put down (Kuoyü); keep down, control (Tso); loan for u. below (Kuoyü).
- g. *t'iĕn / tś'iĕn / c h 'e n T, L open the eyes wide, glare (Chuang).
- h. *Îiën / tsiën / c h e n L, K, and *d'ien / d'ien / t'i e n L, K rumble (of falling stones) (Kungyang).
- i. *diěn / źiĕn / s h e n T careful, circumspect (Shī).
- j. *tien / tien / tien L, K overthrow, fall (Kuliang).
- k. *tien / tien / tien K stumble, fall (Sün).
- 1. *tien / tien / ti e n T, L illness, suffering, affliction (Shī); madness (Kuots'ê).
- m. *tien / tien / tien T, L top of the head (Shī); (fall on the head:). fall down, be overthrown, overthrow (Shī), cf. j. and k. above; loan for id. concentrate upon, wholly intent on (Chuang); loan for *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien L full, fill (Li); anxious, grieved (Li).
- n. *tien / tien / tien K top of a mountain (Shī).
- o. *tien / tien / tien T, L eye-tooth (Yili).
- p. *t'ien / t'ien / t'ien T, L, and *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien T jade pendant covering the ear (Shī); *tṣĕn / t̂ṣĕn / c h e n L, K a kind of jade (Ch'uts'ī).
- q. *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien K sound of drum (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- r. same as the preceding (Shi, Mao version).
- s. *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien K beat (Ch'uts'i).
- t. *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n (oblique tone) T to stop up (Ch'uts'ī).
- u. *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien (even tone) T, L to block, fill (Kuots'ê); loan for id. dignified (Chuang); sound of drum (Meng); for *d'ien / d'ien / t'ien T, L, and *tiën / tiën / c h e n T subdue (Kuliang); for *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n (oblique tone) L exhausted, distressed (Shī); for *d'ien / d'ien / c h'en (even tone) L old, of long standing (Shī).
- v. variant of the preceding ('to block, fill') (Sün).
- **x—y.** *tiĕr / tśig / c h ī T to place (Shī); set aside, abandon (Shī). y. is Chou IV (inser. 289).
- 376 a—b. *diěn / źiến / s h e n K careful, circumspect (inscr. 218), variant of 375 i. above (Shuowen). b. is Chou III (inscr. 218). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- 377 a—f. *dįėn / žįėn / c h 'e n T slave, servant (Shī); subject (Li); officer (Shī), minister (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 32,5), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 15,4), d. is Yin (inscr. 23), e. is Chou I (inscr. 58), f. is Chou I (inscr. 59). The graph shows an 'eye' turned in a vertical position. Possibly this is the primary graph for lift t'iën 'to glare' (see group 375 g.), and if this * \hat{t} ' \hat{i} en has been loaned for the similarly sounding * $d\hat{i}$ en 'slave', it may in part be due to folk-etymology: 'the angrily glaring one' = 'the slave'.
- * \hat{t}_{ien} / $t \leq ien$ / chen T, L to wipe (Li).
- 378 a—e. tsižn / tsižn / tsi n T advance (Yi); loan for id. butt-end of spear (Chouli); name of a feudal state (Tso); loan for f. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (G 13:1), c. is Chou III (inser. 220), d. is Chou II/III (inser. 259), e. is Chou III (inser. 238) — all in the sense of name. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- f. *tsiěn / tsièn / tsin T, L insert (Li).
 g. *tsiěn / tsièn / tsin T, L pale red (Tso, as part of name); loan for f. above (Sün).
- *tsian / tsiän / tsien T, L annihilate (Shī ap. Shuowen); (exhaustingly:) entirely, completely (sc. complete happiness) (Shī).
- 379 a—d. *tsičn / tsičn / tsi n T advance (Shī); introduce (Shu), to present (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 36,7, rad. 77 inst. of 162), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67), d. is Chou II (inser. 189). The graph has 'bird' (presented as gift?) and 'walk'.
- **380 a—d.** *dz'iĕn / dz'iĕn / t s' i n T place name (Tso); b. is Yin bone (B hia 39: 2), c. is Chou III (inscr. 220), d. is Chou III (inscr. 229). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *dz'iĕn / dz'iĕn / t s 'i n T, L an insect resembling the cicada (Shī).
- *tṣi̯ɛn / tṣi̯ɛn / c h e n T hazel (Shï).
- *tsjen / tsjen / c h e n K name of a river (Shī); loan for id. numerous, prolific (Shī).
- *tsien / tsien / chen T arrive, reach (Shī).
- *tṣiɛn / tṣiɛn / c h e n T luxuriant, richly-growing (Shī); numerous (Ch'uts'ī).
- 381 a—b. *dz'iěn / dz'iěn / t s i n T exhaust, entirely (Shī); b. is Yin bone (A 1: 44,7, sense of name). The graph shows a hand holding a brush and wiping an empty vessel. c. *dz'ien / dz'ien / tsin - T, L ashes (Shi).

- d. *dz'įė̃n / dz'įė̃n / t s i n T, L Shuowen says: name of a plant, but there are no text examples of this; loan for id. promoted, prominent (sc. servant) (Shī).
- e. *dz'iĕn / dz'iĕn / t s i n T gift at departure (Meng).
- g. *tsiěn / tsiěn / tsi n T ford (Lunyü); moist (Chouli). Phonetic abbreviated.
- 382 a—f. *siĕn / siĕn / si n T cyclical character (Shī); bitter, pungent (Li); painful (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 87: 3), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 16,5), d. is Yin (inser. 7), e. is Chou I (inser. 74), f. is Chou I (inser. 78). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *siěn / siěn / s h e n L a kind of demon (Chuang).
- h. *sien / sien / s h e n T drawn-out, long (Shī).
- i—j. *tṣiɛn / tṣiɛn / c h e n K hazel (Tso ap. Shuowen), same as 380 f. above. j. is Chou II/III (inscr. 269, sense of name).
- k—m. * $s_i \in n / s_i \in n / s_i = 1$ new, renew (Shī). l. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), m. is Chou I (inser. 67).
- n. *siěn / siěn / si n T firewood (Shī).
- o—p. *ts'iĕn / ts'iĕn / ts'i n T parents (Meng); relatives (Tso); near, close (Li); to love (Meng); oneself (Shī). p. is Chou II (inscr. 148).
- q-r. variant of the preceding (K). r. is Chou I/II (inscr. 205).
- s. *ts'iĕn / ts'iĕn / ch' en T, L inner coffin (Tso).
- 383 a. *siën / siën / si n T Shuowen says: rapid flight; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *siĕn / siĕn / si n T, L, and *siwĕn / siwĕn / siwēn T, L rapid, sudden (Lunyü).
- c. *sižn / sižn / s i n T, L, interrogate (Shī); announce, admonish (Shī); regulate (Li); to plan (Li).
- d—e. *sižn / sižn / s i n (Tsiyün; the word is not recorded in T or K) a kind of medical plant (Tsiyün, no text examples). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 330, sense here uncertain).
- 384 a. *siĕn / siĕn / s i n T truthful, true, sincere (Shī); to believe (Shī), to trust (Tso); good faith (Tso); loan for id. rest two nights in one place (Shī); loan for 伸 (Meng). The graph has 'man' and 'speak'.
- 385 a—e. *śiĕn / śiĕn / s h e n T cyclical character (Shu); stretch (Li), extend, prolong (Shī); repeat (Yi); exhibit (Li); at ease (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 12,2), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 5,1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 55), e. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph may be the primary form of m. below, depicting the lightning(?).
- f. *siěn / siěn / s h e n T extend (Li); straighten (Yili); comfortable (Lunyü).
- g. *śiĕn / śiĕn / s h e n T, L chant, drone (Li).
- h—i. ŝiĕn / ŝiĕn / s h e n T sash (Lunyü). i. is Chou II/III (inscr. 241, sense of name).
- j—k. d'iĕn / dż'iĕn / s h e n T spirit (Shī); divine, superhuman (Yi). k. is Chou II (inscr. 184).
- 1. *diěn / jěn / y i n T, L a small drum (Chouli).
- m-n. *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n T lightning (Shī). n. is Chou II (inscr. 154).
- 386 a—c. *śiĕn / śiĕn / s h e n T body, person. b. is Chou I (inscr. 77), c. is Chou II (inscr. 174). The graph is a drawing.
- **d.** *d'ien / d'ien / t 'i e n K glad (Lü).

- 387 a. *liĕn / liĕn / li n T Shuowen says: will-o'-the-wisp, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph (see m. below) has yen 'flame' and ch' uan 'turn in opposite directions'.
- **b.** *liĕn / liĕn / li n T will-o'-the-wisp (Lie).
- c. *lišn / lišn / lin L, K limpid (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- d. *liën / liën / lin T robust (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- e. *ližn / lin L, K to work loose, become unsteady (sc. parts of a wheel) (Chouli).
- f. *liěn / liěn / li n T, L a thin stone, worn thin (Lunyü).
- g. *liĕn / liĕn / li n L, K rumble of carriages (Ch'uts'ī).
- h. *liën / liën / li n T walk with difficulty (Ta Tai li).
- i. *lièn / lièn / li n T group of 5 families (Chouli); neighbour (Shī); (near one:) assistant (Shu); loan for b. above (Lie), for e. (Chouli), for g. (Shī).
- j. *liěn / lièn / li n T, L unicorn (Shī).
- k. *liĕn / liĕn / li n T scales of fish or reptile (Li).
- 1-m. *lien / lien / lien T, L to pity (Li). m. is Chou III/IV (inser. 332).
- 388 a—e. *ńįčn / ńźįčn / j e n T man (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 50,6), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 30,2), d. is Yin (inscr. 10), e. is Chou I (inscr. 63). The graph is a drawing. f—g. *ńįčn / ńźįčn / j e n T kind, good (Shī). g. is Chou II/III (inscr. 251, sense of name).
- 389 a—f. *piěn / piěn / p i n T guest (Shī); loan for h. below (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 9,6), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 21,5), d. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,6), e. is Chou I (inser. 67), f. is Chou II (inser. 167). The graph shows 'roof' and 'man', sometimes with addition of 'foot' or 'cowry' (gift). The meaning of the stroke over the man's head is uncertain.
- g. *piěn / pièn / p i n T, L guest receiver, ceremonial assistant (Li), to welcome (Li); loan for id. set forth, arrange (Shī); loan for h. below (Kuots'ê).
- h. *piĕn / piĕn / pin T, L reject (Chuang); loan for g. above (Li).
- i. *piến / piến / p i n T, L put body in coffin (Li); coffin, convey a coffin (Tso).
- j. *piěn / piěn / p i n T river bank, shore (Shï).

- k. *pįčn / pįčn / pi n T, L hair at the temples (Kuoyü).
- 1. *p'iĕn / p'iĕn / p'i i n T pell-mell, numerous (Ch'uts'ī).
- o. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p'in L knit the brows (Chuang).
- p. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p'in T, L, and *b'ien / b'ien / p'ien T, L pearl-oyster (Shu).
- q. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p i n (oblique tone) T knee cap (Ta Tai li).
- r. variant of the preceding (Hanfei).
- 390 a—b. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p' i n T river bank, shore (Shī); on the brink of, close to (Kuoyü); urgent (Shī); loan for id. to wrinkle (sc. the brow) (Meng); repeatedly, frequently (Lie); several together (Kuoyü). b. is Chou I (inscr. 63)). The graph has 'head' and 'to wade', the 'water' element of which is lost in the modern character.
- c. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p'in T make an angry mien, knit the brows (Hanfei).
- d. *b'iĕn / b'iĕn / p' i n T, L a water-plant (Marsilea?) (Shī).
- 391 a—b. *giwen / juen / y ü n T Shuowen says: little, few; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. b. is Chou I/II (inscr. 209, sense of e. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kiwĕn / kiwĕn / k ü n T even, equal (Shī), adjusted (Shī); uniform (Tso); all (Tso).
- d. *kiwěn / kiuěn / k ü n K soldier's uniform (Lü).
- e. *kiwěn / kiuěn / k ü n T, L weight of 30 k in (Meng); potter's wheel (Chuang); loan for c. above (Shī).
- f. *g'iwen / yiwen / h ü a n T open the eyes big (Ta Tai li).
- g. variant of the preceding.
- h—i. reading and sense unknown. i. is Chou II/III (inscr. 276, sense of name); adduced here because it shows the Arch. form of f—g. above.
- j. *giwěn / jiuěn / y ü n L, K rind of the bamboo (Li).
- 392 a—d. *dziwěn / ziuěn / s ü n T ten days, decade (Shu); everywhere, all round (Shī); equally distributed, equal (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 7,1), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 29,6), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 306, sense of 'all round'). The 'sun' is a later addition, and to judge from the form d. the primary graph would seem to be identical with 391 a, b. above. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *dziwěn / ziuěn / s ü n T, L go everywhere, all round (Tso), publish throughout (Tso).
- f. variant of the preceding (Hanfei).
- g. *dziwěn / ziuěn / s ü n T accompany in death, bury alive along with, die for (Tso); devote oneself, wholly given up to (Chuang).
- h-i. variant of the preceding (T). i. is Yin bone (B hia 21: 1, sense here uncertain).
- j. *ziwēn / juēn / y ü n L, K, and *dziwēn / ziuēn / s ü n L, K, and *siwēn / siuēn / s ü n L, K clear land for culture (Shī). The phonetic has here its form without 'sun'.
- k. *siwěn / siuěn / s ü n T, L sincere (Shu); believe (Lie); fear (Li); respectful (Lunyü).
- 1. *siwěn / siuěn / s ü n T, L to drip, tears falling (Kuoyü); loan for id. truly, really (Shī); loan for *xiwen / xiwen / h ü a n L far away (Shī).
- m. *siwěn / siuěn / s ü n T, L troubled eye-sight, deluded (Chuang); *siwěn / siuěn / s h u n T, L, and *γiwen / γiwen / h ü a n T flutter the eyes, scared (Chuang).

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- n. *siwen / siuen / s ü n T, L bamboo sprouts (Shī; in this sense mostly read s u n in Peking); cross-beam in a bell frame (Chouli, one version); bamboo carriage (Kungyang); narrow strips of bamboo (for plaiting mats) (Shu).
- o. *siwěn / siuěn / sün T N. Pr. (Tso).
- p. *siwěn / siuěn / s ü n T, L to plan (Shi).
- q. *siwěn / siuěn / s ü n T, L take the first inimical step, start a quarrel with (Kungyang).
- r. *xiwen / xiwen / h ü a n T, L, and *siwen / siwen / s ü n L ornated, decorated (Lunyü).
- s. *siwen / siuen / s ü n L, K cross-beam in a bell-frame (Chouli), cf. n. above.
- t. variant of n. above 'bamboo sprouts' (Chuang).
- u. *t'iwen / t'iwen / ch' un La kind of tree (varnish tree?) (Tso).
- 393 a—h. *kiĕt / kiĕt / k i T luck, auspicious (Shī), good (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 43,2), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 35,1), d. is Yin bone (A 5: 16,2), e. is Yin bone (A 5: 17,1), f. is Yin bone (A 5: 16,2), g. is Yin (inser. 25), h. is Chou I (inser. 55). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- i. *k'iĕt / k'iĕt / k ' i T, L beetle (Chuang).
- j. *k'iĕt / k'iĕt / k'i T, L to examine, to question (Tso); reprimand, regulate (Shu); loan for id. k'i-chao next morning (Tso); k'iao-k'i anxious (Chuang).
- k. *g'iĕt / g'iĕt / k i T, L, well-trained (sc. horse) (Shī, so the Mao comm.; Cheng-Hüan takes it to mean 'robust').
- 1—m. *g'iet/g'iet/ki T, L a family name (Shī). m. is Chou I (inscr. 90).
- n. *kiet | kiet | kie T, L, and *kiĕt | kiĕt | ki L, K to grasp (Shī); loan for 戛 (Kuots'ê).
- o. *kiet / kiet / k i e T, L name of a medicinal plant (Kuots'ê). a well-sweep (Chuang).
- **p.** *kiet / kiet / k i e T tie, knot (Shī).

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- q. *kiet / kiet / kie T, L, and *kat / kat / kia T lift up the skirts, carry in the skirts (Shī).
- r—s. *g'iet / γiet / h i e T, L (lift the neck:) upwards flight of a bird (Shī); loan for id. h i e h u a complicated, intricate (Chuang). s. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295).
- t. *kied / kiei / ki T, L hair-knot, chignon (no pre-Han text ex.); *kiet / kie L name of a god with this hair-dress (Chuang).
- u. *kat / kat / k i a T, L straw, stalk of grain (Shu).

- v. *g'at / γat / h i a T shrewd (Kuots'ê).
- **x.** *k'at / k'at / k i a T, L diligent (Shu).
- y. *g'iet / γiet / h i e T tuck up the skirts in order to carry in them (Shī) cognate to q. above.
- z. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. L).
- 394 a—d. *'iĕt / 'iĕt / y i T one (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 33,7), c. is Yin (inscr. 32), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph is a symbol.
- 395 a. *'iĕt / 'iĕt / y i T one (Shī); single-hearted, wholly devoted to (Shī); uniformity (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *iet / iet / y e T, L choke (Shi).
- c—g. *iëd / i / y i T, L excellent, good (Shī); loan for id. deep (Shī); repress (Kuoyü). e. is Chou II (inscr. 188, sense of name), f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 317, sense of name), g. is Chou (inscr. 357).
- h. * iěd / i / y i T, L rice injured by damp (Lunyü); choke (Lü).
- i. * ied / iei / y i T, L cloudy (Shī).
- j. variant of the preceding (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- k. *'ied / 'iei / y i T, L kill (Shī).
- 396 a. *diĕt / jĕt / y i T to flee, escape (Tso); let loose (Tso); relax, licentious (Shu); fault (Shu); at ease (Shī); retire from the world (Lunyü); loan for id. one after another and in good order (Shī). The graph has 'hare' and 'go'.
- 397 a. *dižt / jět / y i T row of pantomime (Lunyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 398 a—c. *d'iĕt | dz'iĕt | s h ī T fruit (Shī); riches (Tso); full (Tso), fill, stop up (Shī); solid (Tso), real, really (Lunyü); sincere (Meng); id est, this, that (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 147), c. is Chou III (inser. 228). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 399 a—c. *tsiět / / t s i (this reading, though not in T or K, is revealed by the Shī rimes and several hie-sheng derivates) go to (Shī); forthwith, thereupon (Shī); if (Shī); loan for id. wick of a candle (Kuan). The same character has been applied to a synonymous word *tsiək / tsiək / t s i, see the -k class below. b. is Yin bone (A 5: 21,5), c. is Chou I (inser. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *tsiět / tsiět / c h i L to scrape (Chouli).
- e—f. *tsiet / tsiet / tsie T knots or joints of bamboo or other plants (Sī); regular division (Li); juncture, circumstance (Lunyü); regulate, discriminate (Lunyü); to moderate (Tso); rule, law (Li); baton, token of authority (Meng); capital of pillar (Lunyü); loan for *tsiet / tsie T, and dz'iet / dz'iet / tsie T lofty (Shī). f. is Chou IV (inscr. 290).
- g. *tsiet / tsiet / c h ê T comb (Shī).
- 400 a—d. *ts'iĕt / ts'iĕt / ts'i T seven (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 5: 3), c. is Yin inser. 19), d. is Chou I (inser. 67). Explanation of graph uncertain. Observe that the cross served in later time for 'ten', see group —, but in Archaic times for 'seven'; the Archaic graph for 'ten' was a vertical stroke.
- e. \hat{t} 'iĕt / \hat{t} 'siĕt / c h ' \hat{i} T, L revile (Tso).
- f. *ts'iet / ts'iet / ts' i e T cut (Shī); press, urge, earnest (Lunyü).



- 401 a. *ts'iĕt / ts'i T varnish (only Han-time text ex.). The graph shows a tree with drops of fluid.
- **b.** *ts'iĕt / ts'iĕt / ts'i T, L varnish tree (Shī); black (Chouli).
- c. *siět / siět / s i T, L knee (Yili).
- 402 a. *śiĕt / śiĕt / s h ï T fail, lose (Shī); let go, neglect, err (Tso); loan for b. below (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diět / iět / y i T, L escape (Li); retire (Meng), idleness (Tso); neglect (Shu).
- c. *diĕt / iĕt / y i T, L gush forth quickly (Chuang); let loose, dissipated, reckless (Shu) (in the first sense also read *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T).
- d. *diět / iět / y i T, L, and *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L rush past, overtake (Tso); take by a rush (Tso); loan for 轍 (Kuots'ê).
- e. $t'iet/\hat{t}'iet/ch'i$ T, L beat, flog (Tso).
- f. *d'iĕt / d'iĕt / c h ï T, L order (Shu), orderly, regular (Shī); rank, office (Tso), emoluments, salary (Tso).
- g. *d'iět / d'iět / c h i L, K small satchel (Li); loan for f. above (Chuang).
- h. *d'iĕt / d'iĕt / c h i T, L to fly, soar (Chuang).
- i. *d'iet / d'iet / tie T, L gourd (Shi).
- j. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L stumble (Sün); to rush (Mo).
- k. *d'iet | d'iet | tie T, L alternate (Shī); loan for id. rush into (Tso), cf. d. above.
- 1. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e L, and *t'iĕt / t'iĕt / c h' ī L to wink, to blink (Kungyang, one version).
- 403 a—c. *ližt / ližt / li T chestnut (Shī); loan for id. full and rich (sc. ears of grain) (Shī), solid, compact (Shī); shivering, cold (Shī); awed, respectful (Shu); pass along (sc. steps of a staircase) (Yili); loan for 裂 (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 19,3, sense of name), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *liět / liět / li T fear (Shī).
- e. *liět / liět / li T regularly-veined (sc. jade) (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).
- 404 a—d. *ńżet / ńżiet / j i T sun (Shī); day (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 19,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 6), d. is Chou I (inscr. 79). The graph is a drawing.
- e. *nįėt / nįėt / n i T, L a lady's clothes nearest to the body (Tso).
- f. *niět / nižet / j i T, L post-horses, relays for speed (Tso).
- g. *niět / ńiět / n i T adhere, cleave to (Tso ap. Shuowen).

- h—i. *niet / niet / nie T to block, stop up (inscr. 294). i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 294).
- j. *niet / niet / n i e T, L black sediment in muddy water (Lunyü); to block, stop up (Yili).
- 405 a—b. *piět / piět / pi T necessarily, certainly, must (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 179, sense of j. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *piět / piět / pi T, L ornament at lower end of scabbard (Shī).
- d. *b'iĕt / b'iĕt / p i T, L nonchalant, rude (Shī).
- e. $*b'\hat{i}\check{e}t'/b'\hat{i}\check{e}t'/p$ i T beat (Lie).
- f. *b'iĕt / b'iĕt / p i T, L fat and robust horse (Shī).
- g. *b'iet / b'iet / p i T, L, and *b'iet / b'iet / p i e L, K fragrant (Shī).
- h. *b'iĕt / b'iĕt / p i T, L, and *b'iet / b'iet / p i e L, K nice-smelling (sc. food) (Shī).
- i. *b'iet / b'iet / pie L, and *p'iet / p'iet / p'ie L cut through (Chuang).
- j. *piĕd / pji / p i T, L, and *piĕt / piĕt / p i T, L handle, shaft (of lance etc.) (Chouli); lath tied to bow for keeping it in shape (Chouli).
- k. *piĕd | pji | p i T, L guard against, caution (Shī); toiling, distressed (Shu); loan for l. below (Shī).
- 1. *piěd / pji / p i T, L to bubble up (as water from a spring) (Shī).
- m. *piěd / pji / p i T secret (Ch'uts'ī).
- n. *piěd / pji / p i T, L to shut, close (Shī).
- o. *miět / miět / m i T quiet, silent (only Han time text ex.).
- p—q. *miět / miět / mi T silent (Shī), secret (Yi); dense (Shī); near, close (Tso). q. is Chou II (inscr. 202, sense of name).
- r. *miět / miět / m i T honey (Ch'uts'i).
- s. *mičt / mičt / mi T Shuowen says: to wipe a vessel clean; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- t. *miět / miět / m i T gentle, mild (Shu, kinwen version ap. Sü Kuang).
- 406 a—d. *piět / piět / pi (primary form of 405 j. above, hence the reading) lath tied to bow for strengthening it and keeping it in shape. That this was the primary sense and reading is shown on the one hand by the graph, which is drawing of a bow with lath, on the other by it's being used in the bone inscr. as loan for . Shuowen says: 'strong', and T. says: 'a strong bow', which agrees with this. But the reading

- g'iang in T must be due to a confusion with 強. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 4,4), c. is Yin bone (B shang 26: 6, sense of 1/2), d. is Yin (inser. 32, sense of name).
- *b'iet / b'iet / p i T support, aid (Shu). The radical is EX 'a mat', a support. f. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense here uncertain).
- 407 a—c. *piět / piět / pi T hand-net (for catching birds) (Shī); wooden fork (for taking meat out of pot) (Li); wooden writing slip (Li); loan for id. finish, complete (Shu): all, entirely (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A1: 29,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 77, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. variant of the preceding in the sense of 'net' (Kuovü).
- e—h. *piět / piět / p i T finish (inscr. 58). f. is Yin bone (A 2: 30,1), g. is Yin bone (A 5: 14,4), h. is Chou I (inser. 58).
- *piět / piět / p i T shoot (Ch'uts'i).
- *piět / piět / pi T, L interlaced branches, wattle (Li).
 *piět / piět / pi T, L seem of a cap (Yili). j.
- k.
- *piet / piet / pi L, K prohibit, keep people off (Chouli).
- *piět / piět / p i T, L knee-cover (Shī).
- 408 a—c. *p'iět / p'iět / p' i T mate, one of a pair (Shī); correspond to (Shī); single, one (esp. horse) (Kungyang; also man, hence p'i-fu 'single man' = ordinary, vulgar man, Meng). b. is Chou I (inscr. 55), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- **409 a—b.** *q'iwet / vivet / h ü e T cave, pit (Shī); hole (Meng). b. is extracted from the Arch. graph for **a** (Chou III, inser. 229). The graph is a drawing.
- *yiwet / yiwet / h ü e T empty space (Ch'uts'ī).
- *qiwět / iuět / y ü T, L rapid flight (of bird) (Shī).
- 410 a—c. *riwet / riwet / h ü e T blood (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 33,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63). The graph is a drawing of a sacrificial vessel with content.
- *yiwet / / h ü (this reading is deduced from a rime in Shī, Wen wang yu sheng, Han version ap. Han Ying, where this word rimes with DE *p'iĕt, on the one hand, from its phonetic a. above on the other) water channel, moat (Shī); character then applied to a synonymous word * $\gamma iw k$, which properly has of for phonetic, see that group.
- *siwět / siuět / s ü T sollicitude, pity, sorrow (Shī), care about (Shī).
- f...h. *siwět / siuět / s ü ... T sollicitude, care about (Chouli); loan for *swət / suət / s u - L rub, brush (Li). g. is Chou I (inser. 79), h. is Chou II (inser. 182).
- 411 a. *siet / siet / sê T lute (Shī); loan for id. solemn, stately (Shī); dense, numerous (trees) (Shī); rustling of the wind (Ch'uts'ī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 412 a-b. *pied / piei / pi T, L, and *piet / pie T, L box-staple of a lock (Li); to shut, close (Tso); obstruct (Tso); loan for 405 j. above (lath) (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 138). The graph shows a door with a lock.
- 413 a—c. *Ρĕd / tśi / c h ī T arrive, come to (Shī); highest point, utmost (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 16,5), c. is Chou I (inser. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *tiěd / îi / c h ī T (cause to come:) transmit, convey (Shī), offer (Tso), bring about (Shī); bring to the utmost (Li).

- e. *tjěd / îi / c h i L, K carriage low and heavy in front (Shi).
- f. *tiět / tiět / c h i T, L sound of reaping (Shī).
- g. *tîĕt | tîĕt | c h ī T, L sickle (Shī); (grain as cut with the sickle:) ear of grain with small part of the stalk (Shu).
- h. *tiet / tiet / chī T, L, and *tiet / tie T, L to stop up (Shī); *d'iet / d'iet / tie L tie h u a n g threshold (Tso).
- i. *tižt / tsižt / c h i T, L foot fetters (Chouli); loan for h. above (Chuang).
- j—l. *siět / siět / s h ï T chamber (Shī); mansion, palace (Shī); house, family (Shī). k. is Yin bone (A 1: 36,3), l. is Chou I (inscr. 79).
- m. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L laugh (Shī); bite (Yi); in the former sense T ant L give an alt. reading ? / χji / h i.
- n. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L ant-hill (Shī); mound (Meng).
- o—p. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L, and *d'iet / d'iet / c h ī L (after Tsīlin), K nephew, niece (Tso). p. is Yin bone (A 1: 25,3).
- q. *d'iet / d'iet / tie T, L band of hemp or white cloth worn at mourning (Tso).
- r—s. *d'iet / d'iet / t i e T, L high age, old (Shī). s. is Yin bone (B hia 20:14). Of the above, a. *tījēd 'come' and b. *tijēd 'cause to come' are cognate words.
- 414 a—b. *ńiĕt / ńźiĕt / j ī T Shuowen says: come, arrive, but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 88, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'come' doubled.
- 415 a—c. *tiĕd / t̂i / c h ï T, L to slip (Shī); loan for *tied / tiei / t i L, K stem of a fruit (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 30, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 89, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** $\hat{t}_i \not\in d / t \leq i / c h i T angry (Li).$
- e. *tied / tiei / ti T, L sneeze (Shi).
- 416 a. *kən / kən / k e n T, L refractory, obstinate, resist (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** $*k \ni n \mid k \ni n \mid k \in n$ T, L root (Tso); trunk (Tso).
- c. $*k' \ni n / k' \ni n / k' \in n$ K sincere (Lü).
- **d.** *g'ən / γən / h e n T disobedient, refractory (Kuoyü).
- e. *g'ən / yən / h e n L, K oppose (Kuoyü), quarrelsome (Meng); to hate (Tso); contest (Li).

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- *g'ən / yən / h e n T hate, displeased (Kuoyü).
- *g'an / γ an / h e n T scar (Lie).
- h. *ngiən / ngiən / y i n K raised border, dyke (Ch'uts'i).
- i—j. *g'εn/γăn/hien T obstacle, limit (Kuots'ê). j. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of name).
- k. *ngien / ngiën / y i n T silver (Shu); loan for h. above (Sün).
- *ngen / ngān / y e n T eye (Yi); loan for *ngən / ngən / e n L protrude as a knob (Chouli).
- m. *k'ən / k'ən / k' en T, L cleave, split, damage (Chouli).
 - Of the above, a. *kən 'refractory' and d, e, f. *g'ən 'refractory, oppose, hate' are cognate words.
- 417 a-b. *kwon | kuon | k'un T, L (Mand. k'un in this and the following is irregular, we should expect a k u n) elder brother (Shī); descendants (Kuoyü); afterwards (Tso); numerous, swarming (sc. insects) (Li). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 322, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kwən / kuən / k'un T, L k'un-lun name of a mountain (Shu).
- d. *kwən / kuən / k u n T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu).
 e. *kwən / kuən / k u n T, L high, resounding (sc. tone of a bell) (Chouli).
- *kwən / kuən / k u n T, L cord (Shi).
- g. *kwən / kuən / k u n K well-proportioned (sc. nave, so as to turn smoothly) (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- *kwən / kuən / kun K kun yü red metal (Lie). Kun yü may be the name of some Western people, and the metal produced by it named after the tribe, with addition of rad. 167.
- *kwən / kuən / k u n T, L eggs of fish (Kuoyü); a fabulous big fish (Chuang).
- *kwən / kuən / kun T a big kind of fowl (Ch'uts'ī).
- k. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T, L chaos, chaotic (Lao); loan for *kwən / kuən / k u n L k un - yi tribes of the North-West (Shi); abundantly flowing (Meng).
- *g'wən / yuən / h u n T, L, and *kwən / kuən / k u n L blaze, enlighten (Tso).
- 418 a—d. *kwən | kuən | ku n T, L royal robe embroidered with dragons (Shī). c. is Chou II (inscr. 155), d. is Chou II (inscr. 159). The graph is a drawing of a ceremonial robe.
- e. *kwan / kuan / kun L, K to bank up the roots of a plant (Tso).

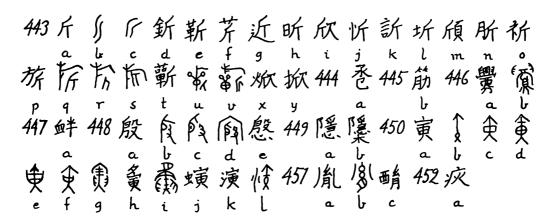
- 419 a—b. *kwən / kuən / k u n T big fish (same as 417 i. above); N. Pr. (Shu). b. is pre-Han (inscr. 401, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 420 a—b. *k'wən / k'uən / k' u n T obstruct (Yi), distress, exhaust (Tso); anxiety (Shu); fatigue (Li). b. is Yin bone (O 61). The graph has 'tree' and 'enclosure'.
- c. *k'wən / k'uən / k ' u n T, L sincere (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. *k'wən / k'uən / k' u n L to beat, to pound (Meng).
- e. *k'wən / k'uən / k 'u n T, L threshold (Li); loan for id. of equal length (Yili); to glance off (sc. arrow from target) (Yili).
- f. *k'wən / k'uən / k' u n T to bind (Kuoyü); often written with 图 as phonetic.
- 421 a. *k'wən / k'uən / k' u n T earth (Yi). The graph has 'earth' and 'stretch'.
- 422 a. *k'wən / k'uən / k 'u n L, K earth (Yi), primary form of the preceding. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kiwən / kiwen / k ü a n L, K small watering channels in fields (Chouli).
- c. variant of the preceding (Lü).
- d. *χiwən / χiuən / h ü n T instruct, explain (Shī); (to be instructed:) obey, follow (Shu). The phonetic in this character is not J|| c h 'u a n 'stream' but our a. above.
- 423 a. *k'wən / k'uən / k'un T, L shave the head (Tso). The graph has 'hair' and 'amputate'.
- **424 a.** *k'w > n / k' w > n / k' u > n K 'u n T, L passage between buildings (in palace) (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 425 a—b. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T pig-stie, latrine (Yili; the comm. here take it to be loan for 豢, unnecessarily). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'pig' and 'enclosure'.
- c. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T, L suffer, grief (Kuots'ê); disturb, be troubled by (Tso); to disgrace (Li).
- d. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T, L troubled, disorderly (Ch'uts'ī).
- 426 a—b. *'wən / 'uən / wen K Shuowen says: kind; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is pre-Han (inscr. 457, sense of name). The graph shows a vessel with something in it.
- c. *'wən / 'uən / w e n T warm (Li); mild, gentle (Shī); loan for *'iwən / 'iuən / y ü n L support, aid (Li).
- d. *wən / wən / wen T closed travelling car in which one could lie down (Hanfei).
- e. * iwan / iuan / y ü n T, L hate, anger (Shi); grieved (Li).
- f. *'iwən / iuən / y ü n T, L hemp floss (Lunyü); confused, numerous (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. hidden, mysterious (Yi); generative influences of Heaven and Earth (Yi); *'wən / uən / w e n L, K yellowish-red, brown (Li).
- g. * iwan / iwan / y ü n T, L to pack, store up (Lunyü).
- h. *wən / uən / wen T an aquatic plant (Tso); 'iwən / iuən / yün T, L to hoard, accumulate (Tso).
- i. * iwən / iuən / y ü n T, L accumulate.
- 427 a—c. *d'wən / d'uən / t' u n (even tone) T accumulate (Yi); bring together soldiers as a garrison, to station soldiers (Tso); loan for id. hill (Chuang); *tiwən / tiuen / c h u n T, L difficult (Yi). b. is Chou II (inscr. 133, sense of n. below), c. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense of n.). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- **d.** *d'wən / d'uən / t ' u n T sorrowful, anxious (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. *d'wən / d'uən / t' u n T, L young pig (Chuang).
- f. *d'wən / d'uən / t ' u n L, K confused, stupid (Chuang).
- g. *d'wən / d'uən / t ' u n T, L war-chariot (Tso).
- h. *d'wən / d'uən / t u n (oblique tone) T, L h u n t u n Chaos (Chuang); *d'wən / d'uən / t ' u n (even tone) L, and *d'wən / d'uən / t u n (oblique tone) L confused, stupid (Lao).
- i. *d'wən / d'uən / t u n T dull (Kuoyü).
- j. *twən / tuən / t u n T, L bow down to the earth (sc. the head) (Tso); loan for id. raise, lift (Sün); sudden (Lie); loan for *d'wən / d'uən / t u n L worn, dull, spoiled (sc. edge) (Tso), to ruin (Kuoyü).
- k. *tiwən / tiuen / c h u n T, L, and *d'wən / d'uən / t' u n T, L thick (sc. darkness, as in the grave) (Tso).
- 1. *t'iwen / t'iwen / c h 'u n L, K a kind of tree (varnish tree?) (Shu).
- m. * \hat{t} iwən / tsiuen / c h u n L, and * \hat{d} iwən / ziuen / c h ' u n L a whole slice (of meat) (Yili); loan for * \hat{t} iwən / tsiuen / c h u n L sincere, diligent (Li).
- n—o. *diwən / ziuĕn / c h 'u n T silken (Lunyü); pure (Shī); entire (Shu), all (Chouli); great (Shī, so the Mao comm.); tiwən / tsiuĕn / c h u n T, L border (of a mat, a garment etc.) (Shu); *d'wən / d'uən / t 'u n (even tone), L, and *d'wən / d'uən / t u n (oblique tone) L tie together, envelop (Shī); loan for *tṣiəg / tṣi / t s ī black, which has properly ≯ for phonetic (see that group) this and a. above being similar in ancient script. o. is Chou IV (inscr. 290, sense of name).
- 428 a—c. *d'wən / d'uən / t'un (even tone) L, K young pig (Lunyü); loan for *d'wən / d'uən / t un (oblique tone) L drag the feet in walking (not lifting them) (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 23,6), c. is Chou I (inser. 74). The graph has 'pig' and 'flesh' (in c. also a 'hand').
- d. *d'wən / d'uən / t u n (oblique tone) L, K withdraw (Yi).
- 429 a. *d'wən / d'uən / t'un K Shuowen says: buttocks, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below. There are no text examples of this. The graph seems to have been a drawing of a sitting man on a stool.
- **b—c.** *d'wən / d'uən / t ' u n T, L buttocks (Kuoyü).
- d. *tien / tien / tien T, L the rear (of an army) (Tso); protect (Shī); loan for id. to sigh (Shī); *d'ien / d'ien / tien palace, hall (no pre-Han text ex.).

- 430 a—h. *tswən / tsuən / ts u n T a kind of vase (Shī); loan for id. to honour (Shu), honorable, of high rank (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 4,6), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 4,4), d. is Yin (inser. 23), e. is Yin (inser. 3), f. is Chou I (inser. 54), g. is Chou II (inser. 69), h. is pre-Han (inser. 430). The graph shows two hands holding a vase, the rôle of the additional radical 170 in some forms is obscure.
- i. *tswən / tsuən / t s u n L, K wine-cup, wine-vessel (Tso).
- j. *tswən / tsuən / tsun T, L many together (Shī ap. Shuowen); loan for id. respect (Sün); loan for k. below (Tso).
- k. *tswan / tsuan / tsun T, L chat (Shī).
- 1. *tswən / tsuən / t s u n T, L having a purpose, regulated, moderate (Li); to regulate, have in hand (Kuots'ê).
- m. *tswən / tsuən / t s u n K a kind of trousers (only Han time text examples); loan for l. above (Sün).
- n. *dz'wən / dz'uən / t s 'u n, t u n (even tone) T, L (Pek. t u n is irregular) to squat (Chuang); heap up, lay one upon the other (Tso); *ts'iwən / ts'iuən / t s 'ü n L make postures (in dancing) (Shī).
- o. *dz'wən / dz'uən / t s u n (oblique tone) T, L metal cap on butt-end of a weapon or a shaft (Li).
- p. *dz'wən / dz'uən / t s u n T, L name of a fish (Shī).
- q. *tsiwən / tsiuən / ts u n T follow, go along (a road) (Shī); according to (Tso).
- 431 a—b. *ts'wən / ts'uən / ts' u n T thumb (Kungyang), inch (Meng). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for † (Chou II, inscr. 161). The graph shows a hand with the thumb marked by a stroke. In the compounds this character serves in the sense of 'hand'.
- c. *ts'wən / ts'uən / ts' u n T, L cut, chop (Yili).
- d. *ts'wan / ts'uan / ts' u n T, L to measure, consider (Shī).
- 432 a. *dz'wən / dz'uən / t s 'u n T dwell on, be among (Shī); exist (Meng); remain, survive (Tso); preserve, maintain (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *dz'iən / dz'ien / t s i e n T, L, and *dz'wən / dz'uən / t s u n T, L grass, herb (Tso ap. L); loan for id. repeat, increase (Tso).
- c. $*dz'i\partial n / dz'ien / tsien T$, L a fence, to fence in (Tso).
- d. *dz'iən / dz'ien / t s i e n L, K repeat, a second time (Yi), cf. b. above.
- 433 a. *swən / suən / s u n T, L humble (Yi); yield (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *siwan / siuen / s ü n T, L cross-beam in a bell-frame (Li).
- c—d. *tsiwən / tsiuĕn / t s u n T, L ceremonial assistant (Li); loan for g. below (Lunyü ap. Cheng Hüan).
- e. *siwan / siwan / s ü a n K snare catching the feet of animals (Yi Chou shu).
- f. *siwan / siwän / s ü a n T, L reject, send away (Tso, so acc. to Shuowen); select Shī); pick out the faults of, criticize (Shī); loan for id. complete, perfect, correct (sc. dance) (Shī, so the Mao comm.); *siwan / siwän / s ü a n T, L, and *swân / suân / s u a n L to count, enumerate (Shu).
- g. *dz'iwan / dz'iwan / c h u a n T, L create (Yi); invent, plan (Lunyü); take, hold (Li); loan for f. above (select) (Li).
- h. *dz'iwan / dz'iwan / c h u a n T, L provide food (Chouli), provisions (Lunyü).
- i. *dz'iwan / dz'iwan / c h u a n T, L, and *ts'iwan / ts'iwan / ts' ü a n T discourse upon, eulogize (Li).

- 434 a—c. *swən / suən / s u n T grand-son, grand-daughter, descendant (Shī); loan for e. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 14: 7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *swon / suon / sun T a kind of fragrant plant (Ch'uts'i).
- e. *swon / suon / s u n T withdraw (Shu); docile (Shu).
- f-g. variant of the preceding (Shu ap. Shuowen). g. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 320).
- 435 a. *swən / suən / s u n T diminish (Yi); damage (Lunyü). Since the part to the right cannot be phonetic, the explanation of the graph is uncertain.
- 436 a. *swən / suən / s u n T, L slight meal of cooked rice (Chouli); cooked rice Shī); rice mixed with water (Li). The graph has 'evening' and 'eat'.
- 437 a—d. *pwən / puən / p e n T, L ardent, brave (Shu); *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n L, K great (Shī); *piār / pjig / p i T, L brilliant, ornated (Shī). Loan for h. below (Li), for m. (Kuliang), for n. (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 43,2, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of some kind of sacrifice), d. is Chou I (inscr. 86, sense of great, fine). Explanation of graph uncertain. For the addition of radical 154, cf. i—j. below.
- e. *p'wən / p'uən / p ' e n T, L spirt (Chuang).
- f. *p'wən | p'uən | p' e n K blow out, spit out (Mu T'ien tsī chuan).
- g. *b'wən / b'uən / p e n T to guard, as a dog (Hanfei).
- h. *piwan / piwan / fe n T, L overthrow, fall (Tso); move (Tso).
- i—l. *piwən / piuən / f e n T to steam rice (inscr. 246); Shuowen gives both variants i. and j. which shows that 貝 is a superfetation element, and that a. and b, c, d. above are really the same character. k. is Chou II/III (inscr. 246), l. is Chou II/III (inscr. 272).
- m. *b'iwən | b'iwən | fen T, L tumulus (Li); raised bank (Shī); great (Shī); fat soil (Shu).
- n. *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n T, L full of annoyance (Kuoyü); full of dissatisfied eagerness (Lunyü).
- o. *b'iwan | b'iwan | f e n T, L bank of river (Shī); gush forth (Kungyang).
- p. *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n T sheep-shaped demon (Kuoyü).
- q. *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n T, L abundant in fruit (Shī); hemp seeds (Li).
- r. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n T, L gelded pig (Yi).

- s. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n T a kind of war chariot (Mo).
- t. *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n L, and *p'iwən / p'iwən / f e n L ornaments about bridle (Shī).
- 438 a—c. *pwən | puən | p e n T run (Shī), elope (Chouli). b. is Chou I (inscr. 63), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph has 'man' and several 'feet'.
- d. variant of the preceding (Sün); the graph has three oxen.
- e. *piwən / piuən / f e n T, L to steam rice (Shī).
- f. *b'iwan / b'iwan / fen T, L big drum (Shu).
- 439 a. *pwən / puən / p e n T, L basket (Tso). The seal form of Shuowen has not 田 field but a drawing of a basket with a lid.
- 440 a. *pwon / puon / p e n T root (Shī); trunk (Tso); origin, fundament (Tso). The graph has 'tree' with the base marked by a stroke.
- 441 a—c. *mwən / muən / men T gate, door (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 15,7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *mwən / muən / m e n : T, L sad (Yi); dull, stupid (Lao).
- e. *mwon / muon / men T, L lay the hand on, hold (Shi).
- f. *miwon / miwon / wen T hear (Shī); to be heard (Shī), fame (Shī).
- g—h. *miwən | miwən | wen T ask, make inquiries (Shī); loan for f. above (Shī). h. is Yin bone (B hia 9: 10).
- i. *mion / mion / m i n T, L, and *miwon / miuon / wen T, L certain tribes of the South (Chouli).
- 442 a. *mwən / muən / m e n L red millet (Shī). The graph has 'hemp' and 'grain', explanation uncertain.
- 443 a—c. *kiən / kiən / ki n T axe (Tso); loan for id. perspicacious (Shī). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 新 (Chou I, inser. 67), c. is pre-Han (inser. 420, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *kiən / kiən / kin T, L axe (Chuang).
- e. *kiən / kiən / k i n T, L strap on horse's breast (Tso); loan for id. to ridicule (Tso).
- **f.** *g'in / g'in / k' in (even tone) T, L cress (Shi).
- g. $*g'\hat{i}\partial n / g'\hat{i}\partial n / k i n$ (oblique tone) T near, be near to (Shī).
- h. *\chi_ion / \chi_ion / h i n T, L dawn (Yili).
- i. *xiən / xiən / h i n T rejoice (Tso), delicious (Shī).
- j. variant of the preceding (Mo).
- k. variant of the preceding (Meng).
- *g'iər / g'jei / k 'i L, K fief of 1000 li square, imperial domain (Shu); *ngiən / ngiən / y i n T, L raised border (Huainan).
- m. *g'i = r / g'j = k' = T, L tall (Shī); *k' = n / k' = n / k' = n L intense, extreme (Li); solid (Chouli).
- n. *g'iər / g'jei / k'i T, L small sacrificial table on which heart and tongue of the victim were placed (Li).
- *g'iər / g'jgi / k ' i T pray, beg (Shī); announce (Shī); loan for l. above (Shī); loan for 原原 (Li, so acc. to certain comm.).
- p—s. *g'iər / g'jçi / k 'i T a kind of flag (Shī). q. is Yin (inscr. 25, sense of name), r. is Chou I (inscr. 65), s. is Chou II (inscr. 133).

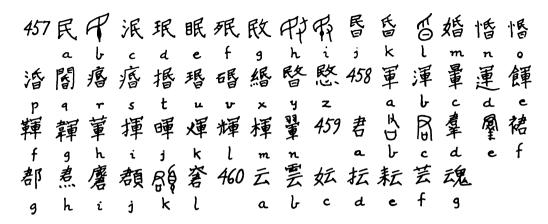


- t—v. *g'iər / g'jgi / k'i L flag (s. a. the preceding) (inscr. Yin bone I 47:9); loan for id. pray, demand (s. as o. above) (Chuang). u. is Yin bone (I 47:9), v. is Chou II (inscr. 164, sense of 'pray').
- x. *χiən / χiən / h i n T, L blaze, burn.
- y. $\chi_i = \pi / \chi_i = \pi / \chi$
- 444 a. *kiən / kiən / k i n T (half a gourd:) nuptial cup (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 445 a. *kiən / kiən / kin T, L sinew (Meng). The modern graph has 'bamboo', 'flesh' and 'strength'.
- 446 a—b. *χiən / χiən / h i n L, and *χiɛn / χiɛn / h i n T smear with blood in sacrifice (Meng), anoint (Kuoyü); loan for id. crevice, opening (Tso); beginning, symptom (Kuoyü), tendency, inclination for (Tso); loan for 熏 (Chouli). b. is Chou II (inscr. 164). In this inscription, as in many other, the character is used as an adjective followed by s h o u 'longevity', with a sense analogous to that of m e i in the expression 眉 叢 of the classics. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 447 a. *\(\chi_{i\nu} \) / \(\chi_{i\nu} \) / h i n L, and *\(\chi_{i\nu} \) / \(\chi_{i\nu} \) / h i n T smear with blood (Li), same word as the preceding. The graph has 'blood' and 'ox cut in half'.
- 448 a—d. *'iən / iən / yi n T, L great, ample (Shu); many (Shī); a kind of sacrifice (Yili); loan for id. hit the mark, determine exactly (Shu); grieved (Shī); sound of thunder (Shī); name of a city and dynasty (Shī); loan for 'ɛn / 'ān / ye n T, L dark-red (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 54), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou I (74). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *'iən / 'iən / y i n T grieved (Shī).
- 449 a. 'iən / jən / yi n T conceal (Lunyü); (a screen:) low wall (Tso); (hidden feelings or thoughts:) calculate, ponder (Shu); grieved, suffering (Shi); loan for id. to lean on (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain. Shuowen says the right part is phonetic and read * iən / iən / yi n 'attentive, respectful'; and this again has 'heart' for rad. and the upper part is phonetic: * iən / iən / yi n 'to lean on'. But there are no text examples whatever in support of these Shuowen words.
- b. * iən / iən / y i n K bevel (Sün).

- **450 a—g.** *din / jen / y in T, L, and *din / i / y i T, L cyclical character (Tso); respectful (Shu), attentive (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 3,1), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 7,4), d. is Yin bone (A 3: 7,2), e. is Yin (inser. 26), f. is Chou I (inser. 74), g. is Chou I (inser. 77). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- h-i. *diən / iĕn / y i n T, L small of the back, region of the reins (Yi). i. is Chou III (inscr. 229).
- j. *diən / iĕn / y i n T, L earth-worm (Sün).
- k—l. *dian / iän / y e n T, L to flow out, extend (Kuoyü). l. is Yin bone (H 2: 26.8, sense of name).
- 451 a—b. *diən / iĕn / y i n T descendants, posterity (Shī). b. is Chou III (inscr. 229). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *dian / jen / y i n T, L take a mouthful of wine and rinse the mouth (Li).
- 452 a. *t'iən / t'iĕn / c h ' e n L, K fever (Shī); sickness (Meng). The graph has rad. 104 (sickness) and 'fire'.
- **453 a—b.** $*\tilde{t}i \ni n / t \not = i$ (chen T thick (or black?) hair (Shī ap. Shuowen). b. is pre-Han (inscr. 414, sense of name).
- $\hat{t}i\partial n / t \hat{s}i\partial n / c$ h e n T, L calm gaze which hides an inner anger (Tso).
- d. *tion / tsien / chen T, L path between fields (Shī); boundary dykes (Chuang); loan for id. to offer up, present in sacrifice (Li).
- * \hat{t} iən / tsiën / chen L, K, and *tian / \hat{t} iän / chan L, K to twist (Meng); *dian / źiän / s h a n — L, and *d'ian / d'iän / c h a n — L twisted (Chouli, so the Cheng Chung comm.).
- *fiən / tśjěn / chen T, L black dress (Yili); unlined garment (Lunyü); beautiful embroidered robe (Meng).
- g—h. *tion / tsičn / chen T, L crossboard at back of carriage (Chouli); carriage (Chouli); loan for id. depressed, anxious thought (Ch'uts'ī). h. is Chou II (inscr. 194).
- * $ti\partial n / \hat{t}i\bar{e}n / chen$ T precious thing, precious (Tso).
- * $t'i n / \hat{t}'i n / ch' en T$ fever (Kuoyü).
- k. *d'ien | d'ien | t'ien T, L (Pek. t'ien is irregular, we should expect a tien) cease (Shī), cause to cease (Shī); ruin, destroy (Shī); loan for 476 d. below (Shī).
- 1. $*d'i\partial n / d'ien / chen$ T, L, and $*ti\partial n / tsien / chen$ T examine (Chuang). m. $*t'i\partial t / t'iet / t'ie$ T, L t'ao-t'ie glutton (Tso).
- n. *nian / nian / nien T L, and *nien / nien K, and *d'ien / d'ien / tien — K tread, trample (Chuang).
- **454 a.** * $\hat{t}'i\partial n / t\dot{s}'i\partial n / c$ h' e n T (Anc. $t\dot{s}'i\partial n$ is irregular, we should expect a $t\dot{s}'i\dot{e}n$) cut the teeth (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **455 a—g.** * $d_{i \ni n}$ / $z_i \not\in n$ / c h ' e n T cyclical character (Tso); heavenly body (Tso); part of the zodiac (Shu); fatal star, decisive moment (Shī); season (Shu); morning (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 7: 4), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 27,2), d. is Yin (inser. 25), e is Yin (inser. 32), f. is Chou I (inscr. 59), g. is Chou I (inscr. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- h. *dien / zien / ch' en (even tone) T, and *d'ien / dz' ien / ch' en T part of the constellation Scorpio (Kuoyü); morning (Shī).
- i-i. variant of the preceding (Shuowen). j. is Chou II (inser. 161, sense of name).
- **k.** *dien / źiěn / ch'en T roof (Kuoyü).
- 1. *diən / ziĕn / s h e n (oblique tone) T, L sacrificial meat (Tso).
- m. *dien / zien / shen T, L clam, oyster (Li).

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- n-o. tien / tsien / chen K boy or girl (only Han time text ex.). o. is Chou II (inscr. 175, sense of name).
- *tion / tsiën / c h e n T, L shake (Shī); dust off (Li); move (Li); lift (Kuoyü); save, help [Yi); spread the wings and fly (Shī); move into order, arrange (troops) (Shī); call back into lines (troops) (Shī); to stop (Chuang); (shake:) scared (Kuots'ê); throw open (granaries) (Tso); bring together, join (Li); loan for id. numerous (Shī); generous, noble (Shī); from (Shī; so the Mao comm.; Erya interprets 'ancient'); loan for 453 f. (Li).
- q. *tion / tsiën / chen T, L, and *sion / siën / shen T, L pregnant (Tso).
- *tion / tsien / chen T endow, succour (Mo).
- *tion / tsien / c h e n T clap of thunder (Shī); shake (Shī); fear (Shī); become pregnant (Shī), cf. p. and q. above.
- *t'iən / \hat{t} 'iĕn / c h ' e n T, L, and *t'iər / \hat{t} 'i / c h ' \bar{i} T, L laugh (Chuang).
- *d'iwən | dz'iuĕn | c h'u n T lip (Tso).
 *d'iwən | dz'iuĕn | c h'u n T, L borders of a river (Shī).
- 456 a. *niən / nziĕn / j e n T edge of a blade, knife (Meng). The graph has 'knife' with the edge marked by a stroke.
- *ńien / ńźičn / j e n T a measure (Meng), to measure (Tso); loan for j. below (Lie).
- c. *nion / nzien / j e n T endure (Shī); cruel (Shī).
- d. *njən / nźjěn / j e n T, L full (Shī).
- e. *niən / nziĕn / j e n T tough, strong (as a sinew) (Kuan).
- f. *niən / nziĕn / j e n T, L speak hesitatingly (Lunyü).
- g. *ńɨ̞ən / ńźiĕn / j e n T piece of wood inserted in order to stop a wheel (Ch'ute'ī); loan for id. measure of 8 ch' i (Meng); solid (Kuan); soft, slack (Sün).
- h. *njən / njen / n i n T, L, and *njən / néjěn / j e n L (after Sü Miao) twist into a cord (Ch'uts'ī); to thread (a needle) (Li).
- *niət / niet / n i K glue (Kuots'ê).
- *ńiən / ńźiĕn / j e n T to know (Kuanyin). The character above should be 認.
- 457 a—b. *miən / miěn / m i n T, and *miěn / miěn / m i n T people (Shī). This word rimes as *miën in Shī king, but various derivates clearly indicate *mien, so there must have been alt. readings. b. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain. c. *miěn / miěn / m i n — T, L to ruin, destroy (Shī); troubled, confused (Shu).



- d. *miən / miĕn / m i n T, L a kind of precious stone (Li).
- e. *mian / mien / m i e n T sleep (Lie).
- *miən / mien / m i e n L, and *mwən / muən / m e n L, and *χπωən / χυən / h u n L blinded, confused (Chuang, one version); desolate, distracted (Lü).
- g—i. *miwen / miwen / m i n K strong (Shuowen, same as y. below). h. is Chou II (inser. 139), i. is Chou II (inser. 180).
- j—l. *χmwən / χuən / h u n T dusk, evening, darkness (Shī); (evening ceremony:) marriage (Shī); wife (Shī); relatives by marriage (Shī); benighted, blinded, mentally dark (Shu); to die shortly after birth (Tso); loan for y. below (Shu). l. is Yin bone (O 715).
- m. *ymwən / yuən / h u n T take a wife, marriage (Yi); relatives by marriage (Shu).
- n. *xmwən / xuən / h u n T, L disorderly (Shī); stupid (Kuots'ê).
- o. *xmwən / xwən / h u n T darkened in mind, stupid (Meng).
- p. *\(\gamma\) \(\gamma\) \(\lambda\) \(\l
- q. *\text{\gamman} / \text{\ching} \text{\lambda} / \text{\lambda} \text{\l
- r—s. *miən / miĕn / m i n L, K, and *xmwən / xuən / h u n L suffering, distress (Shī).
- t. *miən / mien / min K lay the hand on (Lü).
- u. *miən / mien / min L a kind of precious stone (Chouli), cf. d. above.
- v. variant of the preceding (Li).
- x. *miən / miĕn / m i n L, K cord (Shī); wrap round, envelop, cover (Shī); loan for 縣 (Li).
- y. *miwen / miwen / min T, L violent (Shu); strong, energetic (Shu, one version); sorry, melancholy (Chuang).
- z. *miwen / miwen / m i n T, L grieved, commiserating (Tso).
 - Of the above, f., j., n—p., and possibly a. ('the darkened, stupid ones' = people) are cognate words.
- 458 a. *kiwən / kiuən / k ü n K troup, army (Shī); camp, encamp (Tso). The graph has 'covering' and 'chariot'.
- b. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T L sound of running water (Sün); muddled, confused (Lao); chaotic (Chuang).
- c. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T, L vapour, halo (Lü).
- d. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T revolve, turn round (Yi); move (Chuang); longitudinal (Kuoyü).

- e. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T, L bring supply of food to (Tso).
- f-g. *qiwən / jiuən / y ü n T, L, and *qiwan / qiwon / h ü a n T, L to work leather (Chouli).
- h. *xiwən / xiuən / h u n T, L (Pek. h u n is irregular, we should expect a h ü n) strong-smelling vegetables, onion, garlic etc. (Li).
- *xiwər / xjwgi / h u e i T shake, wave (Li).
- *xiwər / xiwei / h u e i T, L light, brightness (Yi).
- k. *χίνοτ / χϳνεί / h u e i T, L flame, brightness (Yi); *gịwən / jịuən / y ü n L brightness (Shī); loan for f. above (Li).
- *xiwər / xjwçi / h u e i T bright (Meng).
- m. *xiwər / xjwei / h u e i L, K clothes-peg (Li).
- n. *xiwər / xiwei / h u e i T, L a kind of pheasant (Shī).
- 459 a—c. *kiwən / kiuən / k ü n T lord, prince (Shī); princess (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 27:13), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-e. *g'iwən / g'iuən / k' ü n T flock, herd (Shī); class, group (Yi); all (Tso); group of three (Shi); sociable (Lunyü). e. is Chou IV (inscr. 284).
- *g'iwən | g'iuən | k' ü n (even tone) T skirt (Chuang).
- g. *g'iwən / g'iuən / k ü n (oblique tone) T district (Tso).
- h. *χiwən / χiuən / h ü n L, K vapour, odour (Li).
 i. *kiwen / kiwen / k ü n T fallow-deer (Kungyang).
- j-k. *k'iwen / k'iwen / k' ü n L, and *iwen / iwen / y ü n T, L big head (Shuowen; used as personal name in Tso). k. is Chou II (inscr. 181, sense of name).
- *g'iwen / g'iwen / kün, kiung T, L distress, embarrassed (Shī). The Pek. kiung is irregular.
- 460 a. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T cloud (Kuots'ê), cloudy (Lü); loan for id. has said (Shī); a particle (Shī); go to and fro, interrelations (Shī); to move (Kuan); loan for f. below (ample) (Chuang); for 運 (Lü). The original graph was probably a drawing of a cloud.
- **b.** *giwən / jiuən / y ü n K cloud (Shī).
- *giwən / jiwən / y ü n T, L family name (Tso).
- d. *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T to lose (Kuots'ê); loan for 隕 (Kuots'ê).
- *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T, L to weed (Shī).
- *giwən / jiuən / y ü n T, L fragrant plant (Li); loan for id. ample, rich (sc. vegetation) (Lao); yellow (Shi); loan for e. above (Lunyu).
- g. *g'wən / yuən / h u n T spiritual soul (as opp. to p'o) (Tso).
- 461 a—c. *\(\gamma\inv iu\)\(\text{n} / \gamma \text{iu}\)\(\text{n} / \hat{n} \text{u} \text{n} / \hat{n} \text{u} \text{o smoke, steam (Shi); loan for } id.\)\(\text{happy},\) joyful (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 154), c. is Chou II (inser. 180). Explanation of graph
- d. *χiwən / χiuən / h ü n K to smoke (Hanfei).
- *xiwən / xiuən / h ü n T, L a fragrant herb (Tso); to be pungent, to sting (Yi); loan for id. peaceful, harmonious (Chuang).
- * $\chi_i w \ni n / \chi_i u \ni n / h \ddot{u} n T merit (Tso).$
- *xiwən / xiuən / h ü n T h ü n y ü name of a Northern tribe (Meng).
- *xiwən / xiuən / h ü n T, L purple, brown (Shu). h.
- *xiwən / xiuən / h ü n L, K mutton soup (Li).
- *xiwăn / xiwon / h ü a n T, L ocarina (Shi).

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- **462 a.** * $\hat{t}'iw\partial n / ts'iw\partial n / c$ h' u a n T stream, river (Shī). The Anc. Chin. reading $ts'iw\partial n$ (and hence the modern derivate c h' u a n) is an irregular form; the Shī rimes show that the word originally belonged to the ∂n class: * $\hat{t}'iw\partial n$. The primary graph was a drawing.
- **b.** * $t'iw n / \hat{t}'iu \hat{e}n / ch' un$ K ornated band on axle-cap of wheel (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- c. *\d^i\times_iwan | d\delta'\times_iw\tilde{n} | s h u n T follow (Chouli), obey (Tso), accord with (Shī); submissive, docile (Shī).
- d. *dziwən / ziuĕn / s ü n T, L, and *d'iwən / dź'iuən / c h 'u n (even tone) T silk cord (Li); loan for 循 (Sün).
- e. *dziwən / ziuen / s ü n T, L perambulate, make a visiting and inspection tour (Shu).
- f. *dziwan / ziuen / s ü n T, L docile (Lie); gradually (Yi).
- 463 a—b. *î'iwən / tś'iuĕn / c h ' u n T spring time (Shī); loan for d. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (B shang 31: 6). Explanation of graph uncertain
- c. *i'iwən / tś' iuĕn / c h 'u n T troubled, agitated (Tso ap. Shuowen); loan for id. stupid (Huainan).
- d. *t'iwən / tś'iuĕn / c h 'u n T, L wriggle, move (Shī); loan for the preceding (Tso).
- e. *t'iwən / î'iuĕn / c h ' u n T, L Cedrela (Chuang).
- f. *siwon | siuen | s h u n T, L a tuft of free-hanging, disorderly hair (Li).
- 464 a—d. *diwən / żiuěn / c h 'u n K Shuowen says: well-cooked, fully-prepared (sc. sacrificial dish); but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 34,6, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou II (inscr. 172, sense of p. below, 'to beat'), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 298, sense of p. 'vessel'). The graph consists of h i a n g 'to offer' and y a n g 'mutton'. The abbreviated modern form has coincided with 异.
- e. *diwən / żiuĕn / c h 'u n T, L to flow (Chuang); to soak (Kuoyü); salty and poor land (Tso); loan for id. a pair (Tso); *tiwən / tśiuĕn / c h u n L moisten (Chouli), moist, fat (Li); loan for id. a measure of breadth (of cloth) (Chouli).
- f. *diwən / żiučn / c h ' u n T, L clear and unadulterated, pure (Shu); generous (Lao).
- g—i. *diwən / ziuĕn / c h ' u n T, L a kind of bell broader in the upper part (bulb-shaped) than at the rim (Kuoyü); *d'wər / d'uâi / t u e i T, L metal cap on butt-end of a weapon-shaft (Shī). i. is Chou IV (inscr. 284, sense of p. below, 'vessel').

- i—k. *diwən / ziuen / ch' un T, L quail (Shī); *d'wan / d'uan / t' uan L eagle (Shī). k. is Chou (inser. 371).
 - *tiwan / tśiuen / c h u n T, L inculcate, repeat (Shī); loan for id. to favour, assist (Kuoyü).
- m. *niwan / niziuen / j u n T, L brown ox with black lips (Shī).
- n. *twon / tuon / t u n T, L solid, reliable (Shu).
- o. *twen / tuen / tuen L agitated, anxious (Chuang).
- p-q. *twən / tuən / t u n T, L solid, thick (Li); earnest, generous (Tso); strong (Tso); lie heavy on, press (Shī, so the Mao comm.); to mass (sc. troops) (Shī, so the Mao comm.); *twor / tuâi / t u e i — L, K solitary (Shī); to correct, punish (Shī); to direct (Meng); break (Chuang); a kind of sacrificial vessel (Chouli); *d'uân / d'uân / t ' u a n — L, K dense (Shī); *d'wən / d'uən / tun — L hun-tun chaos (Tso). For phonetically obscure reasons loan for 默 (Shi) and 嘘 (Chouli). q. is Chou IV (inscr. 290)
- *t'wən / t'uən / t'un T, L bright, enlighten (Kuoyü ap. Shuowen); torch for burning oracle bones (Chouli; in this sense L records a great variety of readings); dim light (sc. of a star) (Tso); loan for *t'wən / t'uən / t' u n — L, and *t'wər / t'uâi / t' u e i - L ample, complete (Shī).
- *t'wən / t'uən / t' u n T sun rising (Ch'uts'i).
- *t'wən / t'uən / t'un L, and *d'wən / d'uən / t'un K, L (after Sü Miao) slow and heavy (sc. motion of carriages) (Shī); loan for l. above (Chuang).
- *d'wər / d'uāi / t u e i T, L hate, detest (Shu).
 *d'wər / d'uāi / t u e i K discontented, detest (Meng). Character wrongly written above, should have phonetic 敦.
- **465 a.** *d'iwn / dz'iuen / sh u n T, L, and *d'wn / d'uen / t u n T, L shield (Shī). Both T and L really distinguish the former reading as meaning 'shield' and the latter as used for N. Pr. (Tso), but modern usage in Mand. is to read tun in both cases. The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *d'iwan / dz'iuen / shun T, L bench (Chuang, so acc. to the Sī-ma comm.); shield (Tso).
- *d'iwən | dž'iučn | shun T, and *dziwən | ziučn | sün T lay the hand on (Mo).
- *t'iwən / t'iuĕn / c h ' u n T, L funeral car (Li).
- *d'wən / d'uən / t u n T, L withdraw (Shi); evasive (Meng).
- *dziwən / ziuĕn / s ü n T follow, go along (Tso); along (Tso); orderly (Lunyü).
- g. *d'wət / d'uət / t u T, L fat (Tso).
- 466 a. *siwən | siuen | s ü n T Shuowen says: deep, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *siwən / siuen / s ü n T, L deep (Shī). Here the phonetic has been corrupted into 344 a. above.
- c. *dziwan / ziuěn / s ü n T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu).
- 467 a-b. *sniwan / siuen / s u n T, L hawk, falcon (Shī). b. is Chou (inscr. 355, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *niwan / nziuen / j u n T downy (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- *tîniwən / tśiuĕn / c h u n T a water-level (the instrument) (Meng); regulate (Shu); rule, model (Yi).

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- 468 a—c. *ziwən / iuĕn / y ü n T sincere, true (Shī); promise (Shu ap. Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 19,1), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 326). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-f. variant of the preceding. e. is Yin bone (A 4: 28,5), f. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- g. *ziwən / juĕn / y ü n T, L h i e n y ü n name of a Northern tribe (Shī).
- h—i. variant of the preceding. i. is Chou II (inscr. 172).
- j. *ziwən / juĕn / y ü n T some kind of pointed weapon (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- k—l. *ziwən / iuen / y ü n T advance (Yi ap. Shuowen). l. is Chou II (inscr. 189, sense of g. above).
- m. *d'iwən / dż'iuen / shun K lick (Hanfei).
- n—o. *diwan / iwan / y ü a n T name of a river (Shu). o. is Chou III (inscr. 224, sense of name).
- p. *ts'iwən / ts'iuĕn / ts' ü n K Shuowen says: 'to run' and 'to squat'; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- q. *ts'įwən / ts'įučn / t s 'ū n T retive, cease (Kuoyü).
- r. *ts'îwən / ts'îuĕn / ts' ü n T, L draw back (Kuan); *siwən / siuĕn / s ü n L rapid (Li).
- s. *ts'iwən / ts'iuĕn / ts'ün T hare (Kuots'ê).
- t. *tsiwan / tsiuen / ts ü n T talented, eminent, great (Shu).
- u. *tsiwən / tsiuen / t s ü n T, L, and *tswən / tsuən / t s u n T, L to burn, apply fire to (Chouli).
- v. *tsiwan / tsiuen / t s ü n T, L agriculturist (Shī).
- z. *tsiwon / tsiuen / ts ü n T, L remains of a meal (Li); loan for 強 (Kungyang).
- y. *tsiwən / tsiuĕn / tsün T fine horse (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); loan for id. quickly (Shī); loan for t. above (Shī).
- z. *siwən / siuĕn / s ü n T, L lofty (Li).
- a'. *siwən / siuen / s ü n T, L to ladle out, take from (Tso); deep (Shī).
- b'. *dz'wən | dz'uən | ts' un L kick (Kungyang); to squat (Chuang).
- c'. *ts'įwan / ts'įwan / ts' ü a n T, L change (Tso); (changing:) seriatim, in due order (Tso).
- d'. *swân / suân / s u a n T an animal of uncertain species (Mu t'ien tsī chuan) (by later comm. stated to be the lion, but that is unlikely the lion was hardly known in China in Chou time).
- e'. *swân / suân / s u a n T sour (Li).
- f. tswər / tsuâi / tsuei T, L push (Tso) (Mand. readings tsun, tsün etc. refer to Kuangyün but to neither T nor L).

- g'—h'. tswar | tsuāi | t su e i T, L genitalia of a baby (Lao ap. Shuowen, so acc. to L).
- 469 a. *śiwan / śiuĕn / s h u n T Hibiscus (Shī).
- b. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- *śiwən / śiuĕn / s h u n T to blink (Lie).
- d. variant of the preceding L, K, to wink, move the eyes (Chuang). Since the right part cannot be phonetic, the explanation of this character is uncertain.
- 470 a. *liwon / liuen / lun K Shuowen says: to think, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *liwən / liuen / l u n T, L, and *lwən / luən / l u n T, L discuss (Li), discourse about (Tso), think of (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for c. below (Li), for e. (Li), for j. (Kuovü).
- *liwan / liuen / l u n T class, category (Yili); principle (Shī); natural band, relation (Meng); loan for j. below (Yili).
- d. *liwan / liuen / l u n T, L ripples (Shī); sink, be ruined (Shī).
- *liwen / liuen / lun T, L twist a cord (Shī), cord (Li); envelop, comprise (Yi).
- *liwan / liuen / l u n T wheel (Shi); loan for id. vertical, from North to South (Chouli); great, vast (Li).
- g. *liwən | liuen | lu n T, and *lwən | luən | lu n T discontented, displeased (Ch'uts'i).
- h-i. *lwən / luən / lun T, L Kun-lun name of mountain (Shī).
- j. *lwən / luən / l u n L, K select (Kuoyü).
- 471 a—c. *piwən / piuən / f e n T divide (Li); separate (Chuang); distribute (Li); decide (Li); *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n — T part (Tso), share, lot, duty (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 45,7), c. is Chou II (inscr. 145). The graph shows a knife cleaving something.
- d. *piwən / piuən / f e n T, L flour (Li).
- e-f. *piwən / piuən / fen T, L to fly, soar (Chuang).
- **g.** p'iwan / p'iuan / f e n T, L anger, angry (Tso).
- *p'iwən / p'iwən / f e n T, L mixed (Shu); confused (Kuots'ê); numerous (Yi); kerchief (Li).
- *p'iwən / p'iuən / f e n T, L fragrant (Shī); loan for 墳 (Kuan).
- *p'iwən / p'iuən / f e n T, L snow falling (Shī). j.
- *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n L, K hill (Chuang).
- *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n T to grasp, join hands (Kuots'ê).
- m. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n T, L elm (Shī).
- n. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n T, L (after Sü Miao) vapour, indications in sky (Tso.
- o. *b'iwən | b'iuən | f e n K cut grain put in sheaves (Kuan).

 p. *b'iwən | b'iuən | f e n T, L big head (Shī); loan for *pwan | pwan | p a n T, L divide, share (Shu), distribute, give (Li); loan for 斑 (Meng).
- q. variant of the preceding (Yili).
- r. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f e n L hemp (Chouli); loan for *p'iwən / p'iuən / f e n L to trouble, disorder (Shu). Upper part of character is an abbreviation of E.
- s—t. *b'wən / b'uən / p' e n T vessel, bowl, basin (Li). t. is Chou III (inscr. 257).
- u. *piən / piən / pi n K of equal quality or quantity (sc. two things) (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).

477分外少粉翁粉忿纷芬雰耸扮粉氛粉 9 i 监份 貧盼盼奶糞 t 仌 **扙汶紊蚊蚤** С f g 476 典 d 杏

- v. *b'iən / b'iĕn / p'i n K poor (Shī).
- x. *p'en / p'an / p' an T, L beautiful eyes, with black and white well defined (Shī).
- y. *pwan / pwan / pan T, L distribute, give in fief (Li).
 - Of the above, a. *piwən 'divide', *b'iwən' 'share', p. *pwan 'divide, distribute', and y. *pwan 'distribute' are cognate words.
- 472 a. *piwən / piuən / f e n T, L manure, dirt (Tso); cleanse (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 473 a. *piwən / piwən / f e n T, L spread the wings, fly up (Shī); make an effort, energetic (Shī); eager, excited (Tso); shake (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 474 a—b. *b'iwən / b'iwən / f e n T, L to burn (Shī); destroy (Tso). b. is Yin bone (B hia 9: 2). The graph has 'forest' and 'fire'.
- *pien / pien / pin L, K of equal quality or quantity (sc. two things) (Lunyū). Cf. 471 u. above. The phonetic is our a. here abbreviated.
- 475 a—g. *miwən / miuən / w e n T drawn lines, design (Yi); ornaments, ornamented (Shī); written character (Tso); literary document, literature (Lunyü); accomplished, civil (as opp. to military) (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 18,4), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 38,2), d. is Yin bone (A 1: 11,1), e. is Yin (inser. 3), f. is Yin (inser. 15), g. is Chou I (inser. 69). The graph shows a man with tattooing on the breast. Already in Yin time, however, there are abbreviated forms like d. above.
- h. *miwən / miuən / w e n T wipe off (Ch'uts'ī).
 i. *miwən / miuən / w e n T, L name of a river (Shu); loan for a word 'dirty' (Ch'uts'i) not incorporated in T or K (Tsiyun reads muon / m e n).
- j. *miwan / miuan / w e n T, L entangle, confuse (Shu).
- k—l. *miwən / miuən / w e n T, L mosquito (Chuang).
- m. *miən / min K violent (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- n. *mion / mien / min L, K autumnal (heaven); austere, stern (Shi).
- o-p. *miən / miën / m i n L precious stone (Li) (T, reading it muâi, takes this character to be a variant of 546 b. below). p. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of a. above).
- q-r. *miwen / miwen / m i n T, L distress (Shī); pity (Shī); anxiously zealous (Shu). r. is Chou (inscr. 381, sense of name).

- s. *miwen / miwen / min T grieved (Meng).
- t—u. *liən (mliən?) / liền / lin T regret (Yi); niggardly (Lunyü). u. is Yin bone (B hia 13: 15, sense of name).
- 476 a—c. *tien / tien / tien T statute, standard text, code (Shī); regulate (Shu); use as norm (Shu); loan for *t'ien / t'ien / t'ien L solid (Chouli). b. is Chou I (inser. 97), c. is Chou II (inser. 151). The graph shows 'documents' on a 'stand'.
- d. *t'iən / t'ien / t'ien T, L abundant, ample (Shu); rich, prosperous (Tso); good (Li); lord, govern (Shu, so acc. to Wang Su).
- 477 a—c. *tsiən / tsien / tsien T, L grass, fodder (Chuang); straw mat (Ch'uts'ī); (to place on a bedding of straw:) set forth, present (Shī); loan for *dz'iən / dz'ien / tsien L repeat, repeatedly (Shī). b. is Chou IV (inscr. 286), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 330). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 478 a—e. *siən / sien / sien T before (Shī); preceding, former (Shī); advance (Tso); go before, lead (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 56,3), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 15,2), d. is Yin (inscr. 10), e. is Chou I (inscr. 57). The graph has 'man' and 'foot'.
- 1. *sien / sien / sien T, L sleek, glossy (Shu).
- g. *sian / sien / sien T, L barefooted (Tso).
- h. *siən / sien / si e n T, L bright and well-polished metal (Kuoyü); the angles of a bell with oval opening (Chouli).
- i. *siən / sien / sien T, L, and *siər / siei / si L place name (Tso).
- j. *sion / sien / sien T, L, and *sior / siei / si T, L wash (Shī).
- k. *sien / sien / s h e n T run in crowds (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1—m. *sien / sien / s h e n K go to and fro (K, no early text ex.). m. is Chou III (inscr. 225, sense of a. above).
- n. *sien / sien / s h e n T numerous (Shī), cf. k. above.
- o. *siɛn / siɛn / s h e n K, and *siən / siĕn / s h e n L numerous (Shī), s. w. as the preceding.
- 479 a—d. *k'iwən / k'iwen / k' ü a n T dog (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 26,6), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 17,5); d. is Chou II (inscr. 161). The graph is a drawing.
- e. *kiwən / kiwen / k ü a n T, L small watering channels in fields (Shu).
- 480 a—b. *ken / kān / k i e n This is the primary form of c. below 'distress, difficulty' (hence the reading), as testified by the form b. in the inscr. Yin bone E 159: 3. The graph shows a man (prisoner?) with back-bound hands.
- c—d. *kɛn / kān / k i e n T distress, difficulty (Shu); hard and difficult (Shī); dangerous (Shī). d. is Yin bone (A 5: 40,7). To the back-bound man (prisoner?) has been added a 'drum' (triumphal music of victory?), which has been corrupted into 戌 in the modern character.
- e—i. *ken | kăn | k i e n this is a variant of the preceding (hence the reading): distress, difficulty (inser. Yin bone B hia 24:2); loan for *g'ien | g'ien | k' i n T clay (Shuowen, no early text ex.); time, season (Kuan). f. is Yin bone (B hia 24:2), g. is Yin (inser. 10, sense here uncertain), h. is Chou II (inser. 150, sense of p. below), i. is Chou II (inser. 164, sense of p. below). The graph shows the same backbound man, now placed over 'fire'. The latter element, written as in form h., has been misunderstood and given rise to the modern element \(\frac{1}{2} \) at the bottom.
- j—l. *ken / kan / kien K distress, difficulty (Chouli). k. is Chou II (inser. 172), l. is Chou II (inser. 180). This is the same word and, in principle, the same graph as c—d. above, the triumphal 'drum' being drawn more elaborately.

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- m. *g'iɛn / g'iĕn / k i n T, L barely (Kuoyü).
- n. *g'iɛn / g'iĕn / k i n T, L to plaster (Shī); to inter, bury (Shī).
- o. *g'ien / g'ien / kin T, L die of starvation (Tso).
- p. *g'ien / g'ien / k i n T a kind of precious stone (Tso).
- q. *g'ien / g'ien / k i n T see a superior, have audience (Shī).
- r—s. *g'ien | g'ien | k i n T, L famine (esp. want of vegetables) (Shī). Cf. o. above. s. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- t. *kiən / kiən / kin T, L (in praxis reduced so as to coincide with e.) violet (used as a vegetable) (Shī); aconite (Kuoyü); mu-kin Hibiscus (Li).
- u. *kiən / kiən / ki n T attentive (Yi), respectful (Shu); cautious (Shī).
- v. *g'iən / g'iən / k' i n T, L, and *kiən / kiən / k i n T sad (Kungyang); sincere, energetic (Lie).
- **x.** *g'iən / g'iən / k' i n K toil, diligent, devoted (Shī).
- y. variant of the preceding (Ta Tai li).
- z. variant of m. above (Li).
- 481 a—b. *kwen / kwan / k u a n T, L a big fish (Shī, so the Mao comm. and Shuowen); loan for id. widower (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'fish' and 'eye'.
- c. *kwen / kwan / k u a n T, L distress (Shu).
- 482 a—c. *kiɛn / kiĕn / k i n T head-kerchief (Shī), towel (Tso), covering (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 5,3), c. is Chou II (inscr. 153). The graph is a drawing.
- 483 a—b. *'iɛn / 'iĕn / y i n T to dam up (Shu ap. Shuowen). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 14,4, sense of g. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. * ien / ien / y i n L, K to dam up (Shu).
- d. *'iɛn / 'iĕn / y i n L, K stop up (Tso); mound (Tso).
- e. * ien / ien / y i n T, L block, stop up, obstruct (Tso).
- f. *'iɛn / 'iĕn / y i n T, L a curved or angular piece of extra wall as protection to gate in city wall (Shī); crooked (Chuang); loan for d—e. above (Chuang).

- g. * ien / ien / y in T, L sacrifice (Shī) (defined as 'pure sacrifice' by certain early comm., as cognate to h. below by others).
- h. *iən / ien / y e n T smoke (Chouli).
- 484 a. *siɛn / siɛn / s h e n K great crowd, a flock (Shī). The graph has 'live' (living creatures) doubled.
- 485 a. *k'iwen / k'iwen / k ' ü n T, L round granary (Shī). The graph has 'enclosure' and 'grain'.
- b. *g'iwen / g'iwen / k ü n T, L a kind of bamboo (Shu); *k'iwen / k'iwen / k ' ü n T Cassia (Ch'uts'ī).
- c. *g'iwen / g'iwen / k ü n T, L mushroom (Chuang); loan for b. above (Lü).
- d. *kiwen / kiwen / k ü n T fallow-deer (Shī).
- e. variant of the preceding (Tso), the phonetic abbreviated; loan for *k'iwɛn / k'iwɛn / k'iwɛn / k'iwɛn / k'iwɛn / L bind (Tso); loan for 秦 (Tso).
- f. *kiwən / kiuən / k ü n (same as next, hence the reading) collect, harvest (Kuoyü).
- g. *kiwən / kiuən / k ü n K pick, gather (Mo); phonetic abbreviated in the same way as e. above.
- h. variant of 420 f. above (Kuoyü).
- 486 a. *kwət / kuət / ku T bone (Tso). The graph has 'cut the meat from bones' (18 a. above) and 'flesh, meat'.
- b. *kwət / kuət / ku T, L, and *g'wət / yuət / hu T, and *g'wat / ywat / hu a T ku kiu name of a bird (Tso, used as an official's title).
- c. *g'wət / γuət / h u T dig out (Kuoyü); muddle (Lü); *k'wət / k'uət / k ' u L with force (Chuang).
- d. *g'wet / ywat / h u a T, L disturb, trouble (Shu); crafty (Tso).
- e. *g'wat / ywat / h u a T slippery, smooth (Chouli); *kwət / kuət / k u T, L confuse, disturb, trouble (Chuang).
- 487 a. *ngwet | nguet | w u T, L cut the feet (Chuang). The graph has two legs and a stroke crossing their upper part.
- b. *ngwət / nguət / w u T, L shake, move (Shī).
- c. *ngwət / ngwət / w u T, L tree trunk without branches (Tso) (cognate to a.); unprosperous (Shu).
- d. variant of the preceding (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- e. *ngwət / nguət / w u L, K unstable, unsafe (Yi).
- f. *ngiwat / ngiwvt / y ü e T, L, and *ngwət / nguət / w u L, K cross-bar at end of carriage pole (Lunyü).
- 488 a. *t'wət / t'uət / t'u K perverse, refractory (Yi ap. Shuowen). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 489 a. *t'wət / t'uət / t' u T, L, and *d'wət / d'uət / t' u T, L dig through, break through (Tso); protrude (Lü); bursting forth, brusquely, suddenly (Shī). The graph has 'hole' and 'dog'.
- 490 a. *tswət / tsuət / t s u T soldier (Tso); group of men (Li) or families or states (Li); *tsiwət / tsiuĕt / t s u T, L finish (Shī); die (Tso); loan for *ts'wət / ts'uət / t 's u K brusque (Meng). The small seal graph of Shuowen has

 R garment with a stroke on the skirt.



- b. *dz'wət / dz'uət / t s u T, L grasp by the hair (Kuots'ê); collide, combat (Kuoyü).
- c. *dz'iwət / dz'iuet / t s u T, and *tsiwət / tsiuet / t s u L precipitous (Shī).
- d. *ts'wad / ts'uāi / ts' uei T, L second, assistant (Chouli).
- e. *ts'wəd / ts'uâi / ts' u e i T, L to taste (Li).
- 1. *ts'wad / ts'uai / ts' u e i T dip into a fluid (Kuotsê).
- g. *ts'wəd / ts'uāi / ts' u e i T burn (Sün).
- h. *tsiwad / tswi / t s u e i T to drink to the full, drunk (Shī).
- i. *ts'iwad / ts'wi / ts' u e i T kingfisher (Tso); rump of a bird (Li).
- j. *dz'iwod / dz'wi / ts' u e i L, K distressed (Meng). The Mand. ts' u e i is irregular; the word has oblique tone, and we should expect a ts u e i.
- k. *dz'iwod / dz'wi / t s u e i T, L suffering, fatigue, distress (Shī).
- 1. *dz'iwod / dz'wi / t s u e i T exhausted, weary (Sün).
- m. *dz'iwad / dz'wi / t s u e i T, L collect, assemble (Shī); loan for d. above (Chouli), for k. above (Sün).
- n. *swad / suâi / s u e i T break (Lie).
- o. *siwad / swi / s u e i T candid (sc. gaze) (Meng).
- p. *siwod / swi / suei T, L pure (Yi); loan for n. (Sün).
- q. *siwəd | swi | s u e i T, and *swəd | suậi | s u e i T, and *dz'iwət | dz'iwet | t s ü T reprimand, insult (Kuoyü).
- 491 a. b'wət / b'uət / p o L, and *b'wəd / b'uāi / p e i T, L comet (Tso); loan for b. below (Lunyü ap. Shuowen). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *b'wət / b'wət / p o T, L quarrel (Chuang); sudden (Chuang), quickly changing (Lunyü); loan for id. powdery (sc. soil) (Chouli).
- c. *b'wət / b'uət / p'o K (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) to burst forth, grow vigorously (Meng).
- d. *b'wət / b'uət / p o T, L, and *b'wəd / b'u@i / p e i T disordered (Shī); rebellious (Tso); *b'wət / b'uət / p o L ample, abundant (Tso).
- e. *b'wət / b'uət / p o T, and *b'wəd / b'uāi / p e i T confused talk (Mo).
- f. *piwət / piuət / f u T, L rope (Li).
- 492 a. *mwət | muət | m o K Shuowen says: to dive, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.

- b. *mwət / muət / mo, mei T (Pek. mei is a colloquial form, the literary reading is mo) to dive (Chuang); disappear, die (Tso); to end, cease (Shi); make an end of, destroy (Li); to finish, come to the end of (Lunyü); (have a final goal:) covet (Kuoyü).
- *mwət / muət / m o T, L to die (Tso).
- *mwət / muət / m o T a kind of jade (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- 493 a. *tist / tšiět / c h i T substance, solid part (Yi); natural qualities (Li), natural, simple, honest (Shī); good faith (Tso); affirm (Shī); just, exactly (Li); directly (Li); verify (Li); written contract (Chouli); (solid lump:) chopping-block (Kuliang); centre of target (Sün); * $ti = d / \hat{t}i / c h i - T$, L gage, hostage (Tso); gift (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tist / tsiet / c h i L, K axe (Kungyang).
- * $t\hat{i}$ ∂d / \hat{t} \hat{i} / c h \bar{i} T, L stumble (Tso).
- d. * $t'i ext{-}i ext{d} / \hat{t}'i / c h' i ext{ } ext{L}$, and * $\hat{t}i ext{-}i ext{d} / t ext{s}i / c h i ext{ } ext{L}$ cruel, nasty (Shu); angry (Li).
- 494 a—c. *dz'iət / dz'iĕt / t s i T sickness, pain (Shī), defect (Meng); aggrieved, to hate (Lunyü); be anxious (Kuan); violent (Shī); evil (Tso); hurried (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (B hia 35: 2), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'man' and 'arrow'.
- d. *dz'ijt / dz'ijt / t s i T, L Tribulus terrestris (Yi).
 e. *dz'ijt / dz'ijt / t s i T, L, and *dz'ijd / dz'i / t s i T, L jealous (Ch'uts'i).
- 495 a. *iwət / iuət / y ü T Shuowen says: a fragrant herb, thus taking it to be the primary graph of b. below in this sense; but there are no text examples in support of this. In the small seal of Shuowen there is 'earthenware' (vessel) and 'two hands' above, and 'aromatic liquor' below.
- b. *iwət / iwət / y ü T, L thickly-wooded (Shī); to block up (Tso); heart oppressed, depressed (Ch'uts'ī); a fragrant herb (Li); strong-smelling (Li); vapour (Lü); a kind of plum (Shī).
- 496 a—e. *î'iwət / tś'iuět / c h ' u T go out, come out (Shī), bring out (Shī), expel (Tso); *î'iwəd / ts'wi / c h' u e i — T, L bring out, take out (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 28,6), c. is Chou I (inser. 59), d. is Chou II (inser. 132), e. is Chou II (inser. 139). The graph shows a 'foot' and a curved stroke the meaning of which is uncertain.
- 1. *t'iwət / t''iuet / c h ' u T, L (throw into darkness:) expel (Tso); degrade (Lunyü); abandon (Shu).
- *tiwət / tiuet / c h u K bend (Sün); loan for f. (Li).
- h. *twət / tuət / t u T, L scold (Kuots'ê).
- *tiwat / tsiwät / c h o T, L stupid, inept (Shu).
- *tewat / tswat / c h u a T, L, and *tsiwat / tsiwat / c h o T, L to sprout (Shi); grow strong and fat (sc. sheep) (Meng).
- *k'iwət / k'iuət / k' ü T, L bend (Tso); subdue (Shī); loan for id. exhaust (Sün); The small seal had 尾 as radical, abbreviated in the modern loan for 闕 (Li). character.
- 1-m. *k'iwət / k'iuət / k' ü T, L stop speaking (Kuots'ê); cease (Li); turn, bend (Li); oppress (Lü); subjugate, submit (Sün); loan for f. above (Kuots'ê).
- n. variant of s. below (Sün).
- 0. *kwət / kuət / k u T, and *g'wət / yuət / h u T dirt, to sully (Ch'utsī); loan for id. exhaust (Sün).
- *k'wət / k'uət / k 'u T, L dig in the ground, underground (Tso); rise (as dust) (Ch'uts'ī).



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- q. *k'wat / k'uat / k 'u T, L cave, hole (Tso).
- r. *g'iwət | g'iwət | k ü T strong, intense, immoderate (Ch'uts'i).
- s. *g'îwət | g'îuət | k ü T, L, and *g'îwăt | g'îwət | k ü e L, K dig out (earth) (Yi), hole (Shī).

Of the above, g. *tiwət 'bend' and k, l. *k'iwət 'bend' are cognate words. And p. *k'wət 'dig in the ground, q. *k'wət 'hole' and s. *g'iwət, g'iwāt 'dig out, hole' are cognate.

- 497 a—b. *d'iwət | dz'iuĕt | s h u T glutinous millet (inscr. 364). b. is Chou (inscr. 364). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *d'iwət | dz'iwet | s h u T, L glutinous millet (Li); loan for g. below (Kuots'ê).
- d. *d'iwət / dz'iuĕt / s h u T road, path (Li); art, device (Tso); loan for e. below (Li), for 瓷 (Li).
- e—f. *d'iwət / dź'iuĕt / s h u T follow (Li), accord with (Shī); transmit, carry forward (Lunyü). f. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of 瓷).
- g. *d'iwət | $d\hat{z}$ 'iuĕt | s h u T needle (Kuan); to lead (as a needle the thread) (Kuoyü).
- **h.** * $t'iwat / \hat{t}'iu\check{e}t / ch'u T$, L fear (Meng).
- i. *siwət / siuĕt / s ü T entice (Kuots'ê).
- 498 a—d. *sliwət / siučt / s h u a i T, L, and *sliwəd / swi / s h u a i T go along, follow (Shī); to lead (Shī); leader (Tso); loan for id. all (Shī); rash, hurried (Lunyü); *liwət / liučt / l ü L edge, border (Li); limit (Meng); leather band (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 11,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou II (inscr. 180). Shuowen gives a sense 'net for catching birds', of which there are, however, no text examples. If this sense is reliable, the graph may be a drawing of a net, applied by loan to the meanings above.
- e—f. *sliwət / siuĕt / s h u a i T (follow:) following, thereupon (inscr. 54). f. is Chou I (inscr. 54).
- g. *sliwət / ṣiuĕt / s o T, L (the Pek. reading is very curious) s i s o cricket (Shī).

 h. *liwət / liuĕt / l ü T, L fat round intestines (Li).
- 499 a—c. *sliwət / siuĕt / s h u a i T to lead (an army) (Tso); to direct, arrange (Tso); follow the lead, obey, imitate (Li); *sliwəd / şwi / s h u a i T leader (of an army) (Tso), officer (Tso). Etym. same word as 498 a. above. b. is Chou I (inscr. 86), c. is Chou II (inscr. 134). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 500 a—c. *piwət / piuət / f u T not (esp. not able to, not willing to) (Shī); loan for id. gust of wind (Shī); loan for h. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 25,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56). The graph was possibly the primary form of e. below 'rope', showing a rope tving two objects together?
- *piwət / piuət / f u T, L a hangings or screen covering the back entrance of a carriage (Shī).
- *piwət / piuət / f u T, L rope (Shī).
- *p'iwət / p'iwət / f u T, L to chop (Tso). g. is Chou III (inscr. 238).
- *p'iwət / p'iuət / f u T, L to brush off, wipe off (Li); shake (Tso); beat off (Li); loan for k. below (Ch'uts'i), for m. below (Shi), for 妈 (Meng).
- *p'iwət / p'iwət / f u K f a n g f u indistinct, appear like, resemble (Ch'uts'ī).
- variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- *p'iwət / p'iuət | f u T shrubby, dense (Kuoyü); *piwət / piuət / f u L clear away dense vegetation (Shī); screens of a carriage (Shī), cf. d. above; loan for id. vigorous (Shī); head ornament (Yi); *piwəd / pjwgi / f e i — L small (Shī, so the Mao comm.; others read *pjuət / pjuət / f u happiness); loan for e. (Tso), for 勃 (Chuang).
- *b'iwət / b'iwət / f u T, L great (Shī); resist, oppose (Li); turn away (Li); loan for 勃 (Sün).
- *b'iwət / b'iuət / f u T, L oppose (Shu).
- *b'just / b'just / f u T path on slope of a mountain (Ch'uts'i).
- *b'iwət / b'iwət / f u T, L, and *b'iwəd / b'jwei / f e i T grieved, annoyed (Chuang).
- *b'wət | b'uət | p o T, and *p'iwət | p'iuət | f u T annoyed looks (Meng).
- *piwəd / pjwei / fei T, L to bubble up (Shī); *pjwət / pjuət / fu L to gush forth (as a spring) (Shī).
- *p'iwad / p'jwgi / f e i T bake in the sun (Lie).
- s-t. *p'iwəd / p'iwei / f e i T, L expend largely (Lunyü), squander (Tso); *b'iwəd / b'iwei / f e i — L manifold (Li, so acc. to Cheng Hüan). t. is Chou I (inscr. 67).
- 501 a—b. *piwət | piuət | f u K knee covers (inscr. 65). b. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph is a drawing.
- *piwod / pjwei / fei T, L, and *pwâd / puâi / pai T, L small (as just opening leaves) (Shi, so the Mao comm.; acc. to others: umbrageous); loan for *piwət / piust / fu — T. L knee covers (Shī), see a. above.
- *b'wâd | b'uâi | p e i T, L streamer (Shī).
 *p'wâd | p'uâi | p' e i T, and *p'iwăt | p'iwt | f a T, and p'wât | p'uât | p' o - T annoyed (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- *p'wâd / p'wâi / p' e i T, L amply flowing (sc. rain) (Meng); abundant (Kungyang); loan for id. run forwards (Ch'uts'i); angry (Kungyang); obscured, darkened (Yi, so acc. to some comm.; acc. to others loan for d.); *b'wâd | b'wâi | p e i — L marshy jungle (Meng); loan for *pwâd / puâi / p e i — L uprooted (Shī).
- *p'iwad | p'iwii | fei T, L lung (Shī); loan for *p'wâd | p'uâi | p'ei L, and b'wâd / b'uâi / p e i — L dense, luxuriant (sc. foliage) (Shī).
- **502 a—b.** *biwət(?) / iuĕt / y ü T Shuowen says: writing stylus or pencil; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. following, thereupon (Shī); a particle (Shī). b. is pre-Han (inscr. 451, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- *bliwət | liuĕt | l ü T law, rule (Yi); follow a model (Li); rank (Li); (regulate:) to comb (the hair) (Sün); (regulator:) pitch-pipe (Meng); loan for id. high (Shī).
- d. *plist / piet / p i T writing pencil (Li); cognate to a.

- 503 a—g. *miwət / miwət / w u don't (Shī); loan for id. eagerly (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 35,2, sense of don't), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 27,3, sense of don't), d. is Yin bone (A 4: 54,4, sense of h. below), e. is Yin bone (A 6: 22,2, sense of h.), f. is Yin bone (A 6: 54,3, sense of h.), g. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of don't). Originally there were two distinct characters for the word a. (forms b. and c.), and the word h. (forms d. e, f.) but they were sometimes confused already in Yin time. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- h—i. *miwət / miwət / w u T sacrificial animal, victim (Shī); thing, object, article (Shī); colour of cattle (Shī); quality (Shī), divide acc. to quality, to sort, classify (Tso); class, sort (Tso); variegated pennon (Chouli). i. is Yin bone (I 6: 4).
- j. *miwət / miwət / w u Τ Shuowen says: an edible plant; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for *χmwət / χwət / h u L confused, dim (Chuang).
- k. variant of 歿 (Tso, one version).
- *χmwət / χuət / h u Τ careless (Chuang); confused (Kuots'ê); sudden (Tso); destroy (Shī).
- m. *\chimmumut / \chiu vit / h u T, L writing tablet (Li).
- n. *miw n / miu n / w e n T, L cut the throat (Li).
- o. *miwen / minuen / wen T, L corner of lips (Chouli).
- p. *xmwət / xuət / h u T, L confused, stupefied (Li).
- **q-r.** *miwən / miwən / wen L shut (as the lips) (Chuang).
- 504 a—c. *ket / kāt / k i a T, L a kind of lance (inser. 181); a *beater* used in music, to strike with a *beater* (Shu); (tact beater:) regulator, law, rule (Shu). b. is Chou I (inser. 67), c. is Chou II (inser. 181). The graph has 'dagger-axe' and 'flesh', the latter misunderstood and corrupted in the modern character. This archaic graph has often been interpreted as 载, less plausible in my opinion.
- 505 a—e. *'iɛt / 'iĕt / y i T cyclical character (Tso); hook (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 20,7), c. is Yîn bone (A 1: 3,1), d. is Yin (inscr. 6), e. is Chou I (inscr. 59). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 506 a. *siɛt / siɛt / s h ï T, L louse (Chuang). Below, there is 'insect' doubled; meaning of upper part uncertain.
- 507 a. *giwet / juët / y ü L, K Shuowen says: to pierce; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for l. below (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- b—d. *giwet / juět / y ü T, L go awry, perversed (Shī); follow (Shu); then, there-upon, a particle (Shī). c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou II (inscr. 140).
- e. *giwet / juět / y ü T, L (after Sü Miao) black horse which is white-breeched (Shī).
- f. *giwet / juet / y ü T, L kingfisher (Tso).
- g. *kiwet / kiwet / k ü T, L orange (Shu).
- h. *kiwet / kiuet / k \u00fc T, L, and *giwet / iuet / y \u00fc T well-rope (Li).
- i. *g'iwet / g'iwet / k ü T headless demon (only Han-time text ex.); vapours round the sun (Lü).
- j. *g'iwet / g'iwet / k ü T be scared and run away (Li).
- k. *kwet / kwat / k u a T, L scrape (Chouli).
- 1. *kiwət / kiwet / k ü e T, L treacherous, crafty, deceive (Lunyü).
- m. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- n. *kiwət / kiwet / k ü e L, K lock on a trunk or box (Chuang).
- o. *kiwət / kiwet / k ü e T, and *giwət / juet / y ü T to flow (Ch'uts'i).
- p. *xiwed / xjwi / h u e i T, and *xiwet / xiwet / h ü e K scared look (Sün).
- 508 a. *'ad / 'ai T to love (Shī); to grudge (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *'ad / 'âi / a i T, L dark (Ch'uts'i).
- c. * ad / ai T umbrageous (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. *əd / 'di / a i T, L, and * iəd / 'jei / y i T to seem, appear (Li); loan for id. to pant (Shī).
- 509 a—b. *d'ad | d'āi | t a i T, and *diad | i | y i T Shuowen says: come to, reach to, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295, sense of h. below: set of bells). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c—d. *d'əd / d'āi / t a i T, L, and *d'iəd / d'iei / t i L, K come to, reach to (Lunyü); until, when (Tso); loan for id. peaceful (Li). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327).
- e. $t' \rightarrow d / t' \neq i / t'$ a i K dark (Ch'uts'i).
- 1. *d'iəd / d'iei / t i T, L a kind of Prunus (Shī); loan for *d'iəd / d'iei / t i L, and *d'əd / d'iei / t a i L dignified, well-trained (Shī).
 - In the following derivates the modern characters have corrupted our phonetic a. above into ‡, a confusion due to the extreme similarity of the two elements in the archaic script; cf. o—p. below where there are alternative forms, one corrupted and one correct.
- g. *diod / i / y i T, L to exercise, practise (Tso); toil (Shī); loan for id. remnant, surviving branch (on a tree (Shī).
- h—l. *siəd / si / s ī T, L long (Shī, so the Mao comm.); spread out, display (Shī); a *display *, a row of bells (Chouli); (display of merchandize:) shop (Lunyü); unrestrained (Lunyü); indulgent (Shu); encroach upon, attack (Shī); loan for id. then, thereupon (Shī); loan for g. above (Li), for 剔 (?) (Chouli). i. is Chou I (inscr. 65), j. is Chou II (inscr. 139), k. is Chou II (inscr. 180), l. is Chou III (inscr. 234, rad 167 instead of rad. 168, sense of 'row of bells').
- m. *sipd | si | s i K then, thereupon (same as the preceding in this sense) (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- n. *sipd / si / sī T Shuo wen says: name of a plant; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. comfortable (Sün).
- o-p. *died / i / y i T, L, and *sied / si / s ī T, L a shallow, preliminary grave (Yili).



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- 510 a. *k'wad / k'uĉi / k'u a i T, L (the Pek. reading ought to be k'u e i, but it is read k'u a i through confusion with 塊, with which it is cognate but not identical) clod of earth (Li). The graph has 'pit' and 'earth'.

 b. *ked / kãi / k i e — T, L come, reach to (Shī); limit (Shī).
- 511 a—g. *(twəb >) twəd / tuâi / t u e i T respond, in response (Shī), reply (Tso); correspond to, suitable (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4:36,4), c. is Yin (inser. 8), d. is Yin (inscr. 14), e. is Chou I (inscr. 63), f. is Chou I (inscr. 86), g. is Chou II (inscr. 139). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- h. *twod / tuâi / t u e i T, L, and *tiwod / twi / c h u e i T front side of a carriage box (Chouli).
- i. *d'iwad | d'wi | c h u e i T, L cause resentment (Shī); dissatisfied (Tso).
- 512 a. *t'wad / t'uâi / t'u e i T retire, withdraw (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 513 a. *dz'wəd / dz'uâi / t s u e i T crime, offense (Shī). Explanation of graph
- b. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 514 a—c. *p'wəd / p'u@i / p ' e i T an associate or vis-à-vis at a sacrifice (Shī); partner, wife (Shī); be the equal or counterpart of (Tso); to accord with (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 180), c. is Chou III/IV (inser. 319). The graph has 'wine vessel' to the left; the right part was probably originally a drawing of a kneeling person.
- 515 a—b. *kiəd / kjei / k i T Shuowen says: to belch; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. b. is Chou III (inscr. 235, sense of name). For the explanation, cf. c—f. below.
- **c_f.** *kipd / kipi / k i T to complete a repast (Li); to complete, finish (Ch'unts'iu), exhaust (Tso); all, entirely (Shī); particle of perfect tense (Shī), since, after (Shī); loan for 6 (Li). d. is Yin bone (A 8: 10,3), e. is Yin (inscr. 28), f. is Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph shows a kneeling person and a food vessel.
- g. *kjəd / kjei / k i K Shuowen says: rich vegetation; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. to come (Tso).

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- h. * $\chi i \not= d / \chi j \not= i / h i$ T, L, and * $\chi i \not= d / \chi j i / h i$ L, and * $g' i \not= d / g' j i / k i$ T to plaster (Shu); collect (Shī); to rest (Shī).
- i. *kəd / kāi / kai T, L, and *xiəd / xjei / hi T to scour, wash, scrub (Chouli).

 j—k. *kəd / kāi / kai T, L strickle for grain measures, to strickle (Li); measure (Li); norm (Chuang); a kind of vessel (Chouli); loan for id. moved, feeling (Chuang).
- 1. *kəd / kâi / k a i T, L throw water on, wash (Shī).
- **m.** *k'əd / k' $\hat{a}i$ / k ' a i L, K sigh (Shī).
- n. *k'əd / k'ai / k 'ai T, L disappointed, sad (Li); sigh (Ch'uts'i).
- o. *g'ied | g'ji | k i T, L arrive, attain (Shu); together with, and (Shu); loan for id. martial (Li).
- 516 a—b. *ngiəd / ngjęi / y i T Shuowen says: enraged boar; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of name). The graph has 'boar' below, explanation of upper part uncertain.
- c. *ngiəd / ngjei / y i T, L bold, resolute (Shu).
- d. *ngiəd / ngjęi / y i T, L Xantoxylum (Li).
- 517 a—b. *k'jəd / k'jgi / k'i T Shuowen says: cloudy vapours; there are no text examples of this, but this is obviously the primary graph of c. below in this reading and sense. b. is Chou III (inscr. 234, sense of f. below 'to pray'). The graph is a drawing.
- *\chi_i ad / \chi_j i / h i T to present food (Tso ap. Shuowen); loan for *k'_i ad / k'j i / k' i T (same as a. above) air (Lie), breath (Lunyü), vapour (Tso); temperament, disposition (Lunyü); vital principle (Li).
- *χɨρժ / χɨgɨ / h i T, L, and *k'ρժ / k'ệɨ / k' a i T, L sigh (Shī); *k'ρժ / k'ệɨ / k' a i L angry (Tso); loan for k. below (Li).
- e. *χiəd / χjei / h i T, L gift of animals (Lunyü) or grain (Kuoyü).
- f. *k'iət / k'iət / k'i T pray, beg, ask (Lunyü). This character is merely a modern modification of ⊆, a. above, which was loaned for *k'iət 'to pray' already in archaic time, as in inscr. 234, see a. above.
- g. *kiət / kiət / k i T speak with difficulty, stutter (Kuan).
- h. $\hat{k}_{ij}t/\hat{k}_{ij}t/k$ i T, L finish, stop, cease (Shu).
- i. *xiət / xiət / h i L to caper, sprightly (Chuang).
- j. *xiət / xiət / h i L, K water drying up (Yi); loan for id. nearly, almost (Shi).

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- k—l. *xiət / xiət / h i T, L come to (Shī). l. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327).
- m. *ngiət / ngiət / y i T, L, and *xiət / xiət / h i T, L great, robust (Shī).
- n. *ngiət / ngiət / y i T high, great (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- o. *g'wət / yuət / h u T, L, and *g'iət / yiet / h i e T, L bite (Li).
- p. *kiəd / kjęi / k i T, L, and *kwəd / kuậi / k u e i T, L cut (Chouli).
- 518 a—d. *sipd | si | sī T four (Shī). (The final dental has left traces far down in time: Tsiyün mentions a dialectal reading siët in Shensi). The oldest graph for this word was four horizontal strokes (e. g. Chou I, inscr. 65). But then another graph appeared: b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 261), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 295), d. is Chou (inscr. 373). Explanation od this graph uncertain.
- e. *sipd / si / si T team of four horses (Shi); loan for a. above (Li).
- f. *sipd/si/sī T, L ladle (Li).
- g. *siod / si / si T, L drivel from the nose (Shi).
- 519 a—f. *liɔd / lji / l i T sharp (Lunyü); profit, profitable, favourable (Shī); keen on profit, covet (Li); sharp-witted (Meng). a. is the current form, b. a variant given in Shuowen; both go back on archaic forms: c. is Yin bone (A 2: 18,2), d. is Yin bone (A 2: 3,1), e. is Chou II (inscr. 137), f. is Chou II (inscr. 193). a, c, e. have 'grain' and 'knife', b, d, f. have 'grain' and the archaic form for 勿 (物), see group 503 above.
- g. *liər / liei / li T, L, and *liər / lji / li T, L to plough (Lunyü, so acc. to some comm.; acc. to others: 'brindled'); a plough (Kuan).
- h—i. *liər / lji / li T pear tree, pear (Li); loan for id. to cut (Sün); loan for j. below (Sün).
- j. *liər / liei / li T black and brown (sc. ox) (Kuots'ê).
- k. *lier / liei / li T, L numerous, all (Shī; so the earliest commentaries to both Shī and Shu; later comm. take it to mean 'black, black-haired'); black (Lü, Shī kün lan 6; here the sense 'black' is certain: y e n sê li h e i the face is black); old (Kuoyü).
- 1. *liər / lii / li T tsi-li Tribulus terrestris (Yi).
- m. *lier / liei / li T, L Chenopodium (Li).
- 520 a. *lipd / lji / li T, L sound of dripping water (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. to direct, command (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *liəd / lji / li T, L go and inspect (Yi); govern (Meng).
- c. variant of the preceding.
- 521 a—b. *piod / pji / p i T, L give (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 177). The graph shows two hands presenting something (a vessel or a basket?).
- c. $*b'i \rightarrow d / b'ji / pi$ T nose (Meng).
- d. *p'iad / p'iāi / p ' i L to move, float (as a boat; as a pennon) (Shī); loan for *p'iad / p'iei / p ' i L in great crowds, luxuriant (sc. rushes) (Shī).
- 522 a. *mind / miwi / mei L, K a kind of demon (Chouli). The graph has 'spirit' and another element of uncertain interpretation. Same word as 531 h. below.
- 523 a—b. *giwəd / jwei / wei T, L stomach (Li). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 312, sense of d. below). The graph (cf. e. below) has 'flesh' and a drawing of a stomach with contents.
- c. *giwad / jwei / wei T, L younger sister (Kungyang).
- d-e. *giwad | jwei | wei T say, tell, call (Shī). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 331).
- f. *giwad / jwei / wei T porcupine (only Han time text ex.).
- g. *k'iwed/k'jwi/k'uei T, L, and *k'wed/k'wăi/k'uai T, L sigh (Lunyü).

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524 a. *qiwəd / jwei / wei, huei — T (Pek. huei is irregular). Shuowen says: porcupine (= 523 f. above); but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. category, class (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.

525 a-b. *'iwod / 'iwgi / wei - T repress, tranquillize, dominate (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.

*iwad / jwei / wei — T, and iwat / juat / y ü — T singe, repress (sc. sickness by strong medicine) (Hanfei).

d. * iwad / jwgi / wei — T to comfort, soothe (Shi).

*·iwəd / ·jwei / wei — T, L net (Li).

*'iwət / 'jwei / wei — T, L, and *'iwət / 'iuət / y ü — T, L some kind of Artemisia (Shī); luxuriant growth (Shī); ample, rich (sc. beauty) (Yi).

g. * iwad / jwgi / wei — T, L to lay on (Tso).

526 a—c. *dziwod / zwi / s u e i — K Shuowen says: to follow, agree with, thus taking it to be the primary graph of d. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of g. below), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86, sense of g.). The graph is a variant of the drawing of \mathcal{K} , explanation uncertain.

d—e. *dziwod / zwi / s u e i — T advance (Yi), progress (Shī); achieve (Shī); completely (Li); continue, prolong (Shī); accompany, follow (Li); then, thereupon (Shī); suburban road and district (Chouli); path between waters (Chouli); channel (Chouli); loan for o. below (Ch'uts'i). e. is pre-Han (inscr. 421, sense of name).

*d'wəd / d'wâi / t u e i — T, L troop (Tso); *d'iwəd / d'wi / c h u e i — L fall down (Chouli), throw down (Li); loan for m. below (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).

*d'iwəd / d'wi / c h u e i — T, L fall (Lunyü).

*dziwod / zwi / sue i — T, L a kind of pear tree (Shī). h.

*dziwad / zwi / s u e i — T, L fire drill (Chouli); torch (Tso). i.

*dziwad | zwi | s u e i — T, L jade insignium carried at belt (Shī).
*dziwad | zwi | s u e i — L, K ears of grain (Shī).
*dziwad | zwi | s u e i — T, L grave-clothes presented as gift (Tso).

m. *dziwod / zwi / s u e i — T, L underground tunnel (Tso); channel (Tso); defile (Tso); path (Shī); loan for id. turn round, revolve (Chuang); a section on a bell (Chouli); loan for g. above (Sün), for o. below (Chouli).

*dziwad / zwi / sue i — T, L plumes tied to a banner (Chouli).

*siwəd / swi / s u e i — T, L deep, distant (Ch'uts'i); long-drawn, long (Li).

- 527 a. *dziwad / zwi / s u e i T, L, and *dziwad / ziwäi / s u e i T, L broom (Li); comet (Tso). Modern readings h u e i and s a o have no ancient foundation. The small seal of Shuowen shows a hand and two broom-like objects.
- **b.** *dziwad / ziwäi / s u e i broom (Chuang).
- c. *χiwəd / χiwei / h u e i T, L to chirp (as insects) (Shī); to jingle (as bells) (Shī); small and sparkling (as stars) (Shī).
- d. *g'iwəd / yiwei / h u e i T clever (Lunyü).
- e. variant of the preceding (Kuoyü).
 - The archaic initials in this group are very problematic.
- 528 a. *siwad / swi / s u e i T, L evil forces, noxious influences (Tso). The graph has 'sign' and 'eliminate'.
- 529 a. *liwad / liwi / le i T class, category (Shī); (determine the category:) discriminate (Shī); (of same category:) resemble, similar, equal (Tso); loan for id. good (Shī); name of a sacrifice (Shī). The graph has 'head', 'rice' and 'dog'; explanation uncertain.

 b. *lwad / luûi / le i T, L knot on a thread, defect (Lao); perverse (Tso).
- 530 a—c. *p'iwəd / p'jwei / f e i T, L (after Sü Miao), and *p'wət / p'uət / p 'o L new light of the moon, 3rd day of the moon (Shu). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 187, sense of name). The graph has 'moon' and 'come out'.
- 531 a—f. *miwəd / miwei / wei T cyclical character (Tso); loan for id. not yet (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 6,1), c. is Yin bone (B shang 8: 14), d. is Yin bone (A 2: 9,3), e. is Yin (inser. 20), f. is Chou I (inser. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *miwad / mjwgi / wei T taste (Yili).
- h. *mind / miwi / mei T, La kind of demon (Tso); same word as 522 a. above.
- i—j. *miod / mjwi / m e i T sleep (Shī); lie down to sleep (Shī). j. is Yin bone (A 2:5,2).
- k—m. *mwad / muāi / m e i T younger sister (Shī). 1. is Yin bone (A 2: 40,7, mostly used in the sense of n. below), m. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of n.)
- n—o. *mwəd / muậi / m e i T dusk, dark (Shī); blindly (Tso). o. is Chou I/II (inscr. 204).
- p. *mwəd / muâi / m e i T, L place name (Shī); name of a star, a faint light (Yi).
- q. *mwəd/muāi/mei L madder-dyed (sc. leather) (Shī) (K reads muāt/mo, taking the phonetic to be 末); loan for *mwɛd/mwāi/mai T, L (after Ts'i). a kind of music of the Eastern barbarians (Chouli).
- 532 a. *liəd / liei / li T, L, and *liət / liet / li e T, L to do violence (Shī); transgress, disobedient (Tso); miseries (Shī); loan for id. to come to (Shī); to stop (Shī); to settle (Shī). The graph has 'door' and 'dog'.
- **b.** *liəd / liei / li T afflicted, grieved (Ch'uts'i).
- c. *liwad / liwi / lei T tear (Ch'uts'ī).
- 533 a—d. *g'iwəd / γiwei / h u e i T a kind of cicada or cricket (Chuang, one version); loan for id. kind, good (Shī); love (Shī); to favour, aid (Shu); a kind of lance (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 7,6, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 33,7, sense uncertain), d. is Chou I (inscr. 86). The graph is a drawing of the insect.
- e. *g'iwəd / yiwei / h u e i T a kind of cicada or cricket (Chuang), same word as a.
- f. *g'iwad / yiwei / h u e i T a kind of Orchis (Ch'uts'i).

- g. *g'iwəd / γiwei / h u e i T intelligent, clever (Kuoyü).
- h. *dziwod / zwi / sue i T, L ear of grain (Shī).
- i. *siwad / siwäi / s u e i T, L, and *dziwad / ziwäi / s u e i T loose stuff (Li). We have here the same curious combination of phonetically not cognate initials as in group 527 above. The archaic initials are very obscure.
- 534 a. *k'wed / k'wăi / k' u a i T; T says: cut off; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *k'wed | k'wāi | k' u a i T, L a kind of rush (Tso). The phonetic is corrupted in the modern character. In the small seal of Shuowen it is still intact.
- 535 a—b. *k'iɛd / k'ji / k'i T throw away, abandon (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 147). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 536 a—c. *k'iɛd / k'ji / k' i T vessel (Shu); instrument (Tso), article (Tso); capacity, talent (Lunyü). b. is Chou I (inscr. 91), c. is Chou I (inscr. 101). The graph has four 'mouths' and 'dog'.
- 537 a. *ngied / ngji / y i T, L cut the nose (as punishment) (Shu). The graph has 'nose' and 'knife'. The word is cognate to but not identical with 285 e.
- 538 a—d. *kiwed / kjwi / k i T (the Mand k i is irregular; we should expect a k u e i) youngest (of brothers etc.) (Shī); last of a series (Tso); small (Yili); thin (Kuan). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 40,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 50), d. is Chou I (inscr. 96). The graph has 'grain' and 'child', explanation uncertain.
- *g'iwed / g'jwi / k i T agitated (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. ends of a sash hanging down (Shī).
- 539 a. *giwed / jwi / wei T place of rank (Shī); throne (Tso). The graph has 'man' and 'stand'.
- **540 a.** *g'iwed / g'jwi / k u e i K basket (Lunyü ap. Shuowen). Cf. i. below. The original graph must have been a drawing.
- **b.** *kiwəd / kjwęi / k u e i T precious (Yi); dear, expensive (Tso); eminent (Tso).
- c. *kwəd / kuâi / k u e i T, L disturbed, anxious (Ch'uts'i).



- d. *g'wad | yuái | h u e i T, L break through the banks, flow out (sc. a river) (Kuoyü): scatter, be scattered (Tso); trouble, confusion (Shī); loan for id. go to, attain to (Shī); angry (Shī).
- *g'wəd / yuai / h u e i T, L variegated (Li).
- *xwod / xuai / h u e i T, L wash the face (Li).
- *q'iwed | g'iwi | k u e i L, K box (Shu); loan for id. fail, defective, deficient (Shī).
- variant of the preceding ('box') (Hanfei).
- *g'iwed / g'jwi / k u e i T, L basket (Lunyü); loan for 510 a. above (Li).
 *g'iwed / g'jwi / k w e i T, L, and *k'wed / k'wăi / k' u a i T basket (Lunyū).
- *g'iwed | g'jwi | k u e i T leather embroidery (Kuoyū).
- *g'iwed | g'jwi | k u e i T, L present of food (Shī); meal (Yi); food (Shī).
- m-n. *giwed / iwi / y i T (Pek. y i is irregular, we should expect a we i) leave, reject (Shī); leave over, remain (Tso); transmit (Tso); to present (Meng). n. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- *g'wed / ywai / h u a i L natural, easy, gentle (Chuang).
- *ngwed / ngwăi / w a i T, L deaf (Kuoyü).
- *giwed / jwi / wei T, L low wall (Chouli).
- *k'ər / k'āi / k'ai T to open (Shī). The small seal of Shuowen shows two hands lifting a bar from a door.
- 542 a. *g'wər / yuâi / h u e i T revolve (Shī); deviate, corrupt (Shī). The small seal of Shuowen shows a spiral which is a symbol for a revolving movement.
- variant of the preceding (Lie).
- *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i T revolve, go everywhere (Lü).
- *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i T go to and fro (Chuang).
 *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i T, L go up against a stream (Shī).
- *q'wər / yuâi / h u e i T intestinal worm (Kuanyin).
- 543 a—c. *twər / tuâi / t u e i K Shuowen says: small mound, thus taking it to be the primary form of 堆; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 2,2, sense of fin), c. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of fin). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tiwor | twi | c h u e i T, L pursue (Shī), overtake, catch up (Tso); recollect, retrospective (Shī); loan for *twər / tuâi / t u e i — L engrave, carve (Shī); knob of a bell (Meng); a heap, piled up (in mou-tue i name of a cap) (Yili). e. is Yin bone (A 5: 26,7, rad 77 inst. of 162), f. is Chou I (inser. 63), g. is Chou I (inser. 70).
- h. *d'iwăr / d'wie / c h u e i T, L rope, suspend a rope (Tso).
- *d'iwar | d'wie | c h u e i T, L swelling of the feet (Tso).
- 544 a. *d'wər / d'uâi / t' u e i T, L collapse, fagged-out (Shī); soft (Yi). Since the right part cannot very well be phonetic, this must be a compound ideogram, k u e i meaning 'high' (high wall collapsing).
- *d'wər / d'udi / t ' u e i T bald (Chouli). Radical is t ' u 'bald' to the left, and a. above abbreviated phonetic.
- c. *d'wər / d'uậi / t 'u e i collapse (Li); give way, obey, conform to (Li); destroying wind, tornado (Shī). This is really the same word as a. above, with 'head' instead of kuei: 'head, top, high', and with t'u 'bald' = to rase, destroy.
- *lwər | luāi | lei T heaped stones (Ch'uts'i). The graph has 'stone' tripled.

- 546 a. *mwər | mu@i | mei T, L stem, branch, twig (Shī); a gag (Shī); a riding switch (Tso); the 'nipples' on bronze bells (Chouli); a 10th of a ts' un inch (Chouli); loan for id. finely carved and worked (sc. temple room) (Shī, so the Mao comm.). The graph has 'wood' and 'baton'.
- b. *mwər / muāi / m e i T a kind of pearl (Hanfei). The phonetic is a. abbreviated.
- 547 a—b. *kiər / kjęi / k i T small (Yi), little (Shī), few, several (Tso); how many, how much (Meng); loan for id. near (Shī); imminent (Shī); nearly, almost (Tso); expect, hope (Shī); occasion, time (Tso); examine (Li); loan for *g'iər / g'jei / k' i T, L border (on garment) (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 185, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kiər / kjęi / k i T mechanism (Shu); clever device (Chuang).
- d. *kiər / kięi / ki T, L pearl that is not round (Shu); astronomical globe of jade (Shu).
- e. *kiər / kjęi / k i T stones in river obstructing current (Meng).
- 1. *kiər / kjei / k i T, L auspicious (Lie); a stimulating drink after bath (Li).
- g. *kiər / kjei / k i T the stem in an ear of grain (Lü).
- h. *kiər / kjęi / k i T louse (Hanfei).
- i. *kiər / kjęi / k i T vilify, blame, ridicule (Tso); examine, inspect (Meng).
- j. *kiər / kjei / k i T bit, bridle (Ch'uts'i).
- k. *kiər / kjęi / k i T, L famine, esp. want of grain (Shī).
- 1. *g'iər / g'jei / k' i T, L royal domain (Shī); loan for id. the place inside the door, threshold (Shī).
- 548 a. *k'jər / k'jçi / k'i T how (Shī); *k'ər / k'ḍi / k'ai L joyous, happy (Shī). This latter reading is etym. same word as b. and c. below, and since the graph (cf. h. below) seems to be a drawing of some kind of drum, it is probably the primary form of *k'ər 'triumphal music'.
- **b.** * $k' \partial r / k' \partial i / k'$ a i T, L pleasant (Shī).
- c. *k'ər / k'āi / k 'a i T, L triumphal music (Chouli), triumphal (Tso); happy (Shī); complacent (Tso).
- d. $*k^{\prime}\partial r / k^{\prime}\partial i / k$ a i T, L high and dry (sc. place) (Tso).
- e. *k'ər / k'āi / k 'ai T, L coat of mail (Kuan).
- 1. $*k' \Rightarrow r / k' \hat{a}i / k'$ a i T to open (Kuan).

- **g—h.** g'ər / γâi / h a i (Yüp'ien; not recorded in T or K, so the reading is somewhat unsafe) to run (Yüp'ien, no text ex.). h. is Chou II (inscr. 202, sense of name).
- *ngiər / ngjei / y i T ant (Ch'uts'ī).
- *kier / kji / k i T, L to long for (Tso).
- 549 a. *\(\gamma_i \text{or} / \gamma_i \text{ei} / \text{h i } -- \text{T thin (sc. hair, feathers) (Shu); rare, few (Luny\vec{u}); cease (Lunyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *xiər / xjgi / h i L, K grief (Kungyang).
- *xiər / xjei / h i T, L first light of the sun (Shī); to dry (Shī).
- d. *\(\gamma\)i\(\gamma\)i\(\gamma\)i T to sob, moan (Ch'uts'\(\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\)).
- e-f. *xiər / xjgi / h i T, L swine (Chuang).
- g. *xiər / xjgi / h i T look for, hope for (Lü).
- 550 a—e. *'jər / 'jgi / y i T garment, clothes (Shī); to wear (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 27,7, sense of name), c. is Yin bone (B hia 34: 1, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense here uncertain). The graph is a drawing (sleeves and skirts).
- *iər / jei / yi T lean upon (Shī); depend on (Shī); accord with (Shī); metaphor (Li); loan for id. luxuriant (Shī); to rest (Shī); loan for g. below (Yili).
- g. * iər / 'jei / y i T, L a screen ornated with axes (Shu).
 h—i. * ər / 'âi / a i T to pity (Shī); sad (Shī); alas (Shī); wail (Tso); hateful, ugly (Chuang). i. is Chou I (inscr. 58).
- i. *iər / iei / v i T, L sobs at end of lamentation (Li).
- 551 a—c. *diər / i / v i T barbarian (esp. tribes to the East of ancient China); loan for id. level (Shī); equal (Li); simple (Li); preaceful (Shī); easy (Shī); pleased (Shī); extend, expose, display (Li); rule, law (Meng); hurt (Yi), kill, destroy (Tso); to squat (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (M 150), c. is Chou I/II (inscr. 209). The graph has either (b.) 'man' and 'arrow', or (c. and i. below) 'arrow' with something wound round the shaft.
- d. *diər / i / y i T, L set out, spread out (Yili), cf. a.
- *diər / i / v i T sister-in-law (Shī).
- *dior / i / y i T, L mucus from the nose (Li).
- g. *diər / i / y i T, L injure, to wound (Kungyang), cf. a.
- h—i. *diər / i / y i T precipitous (T, no text ex.). i. is Yin bone (O 1225, sense of name).
- *dier / i / y i T, L, and *d'ier / d'iei / t'i T name of a tree (Shī).
- *d'iər / d'iei / t'i T, L sprout, shoot (Shī); a kind of spurious grain (Meng); *diar / i / y i - L to mow (Chouli).
- 552 a—e. **tiar | tśi |* c h ï T fine-tasting (sc. food, wine) (Shī); fine, beautiful, excellent (Shi); (favour:) content, meaning, basic idea (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 35,7, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (B hia 1: 4, sense uncertain), d. is Chou I (inscr. 103, sense of name), e. is Chou III (inscr. 228). Below there is 'mouth', meaning of upper part uncertain.
- * $\hat{t}i\sigma r / t\delta i / c h i T$, finger (Tso); toe (Tso); to point, indicate (Shi); aim (Meng).
- g. *tigr / tsi / c h i T, L fat, grease (Shī).
- **h.** * $g'i\varepsilon r / g'ji / k'i T$, L pickled fish (Yili).
- i—j. *k'iər / k'iei / k'i T bow down (the head) to the ground (Chouli). j. is Chou I (inscr. 58).

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k. *ngiər / ngiei / y i — T come to (Mo).

m. *g'ier / g'ji / k' i — T dorsal fin of a fish (Li).

n. variant of the preceding (Yili).

* $dior / \acute{z}i / sh "i — T, L enjoy (Sh"i).$

- 553 a-g. *d'ior | dz'i | s h i sign, signify, show (Shi); inform (Tso). Loan for h. below (Li), for iff (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,1), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,3), d. is Yin bone (A 3:22,7), e. is extracted from the archaic graph for ill (Yin, inser. 22), f. is extracted from another archaic form for the same word (Chou I, inscr. 65), g. is extracted from yet another form for the same word (Chou II, inscr. 132). The graph possibly designs the stalks used in divination, laid out in different patterns? Cf. the character 175 a. above, 'calculate', which has our a. here doubled.
- h. *diər / źi / s h ī T look, see (Shī); cause to see, show (Shī); cognate to the preceding.
- *g'ier / g'ji / k ' i T, L place name (Tso); loan for id. great, large (Shī); numerous (Shī); leisurely, easy (Shī).

554 a. *tsjor / tsi / t s ī — T Shuowen says: to stop; T says: luxuriant growth. There are no text examples in support of either. Explanation of graph uncertain.

b-c. *tsiər / tsi / t s ï — T elder sister (Shī).

d-e. *tsiər / tsi / tsī - T, L a high number (Shī). e. is Chou II (inscr. 132).

f. * $t \approx i + t \approx i +$

^{*}g'ier / g'ji / k' i — T, L old (Shī); loan for id. severe, violent (Tso); hate, dislike (Shī, so the Mao comm.); *tier / tsi / chī — L to bring about (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for p. below (Tso).

^{*}kiər / kiei / k i — T, L cultivate (field); calculate (Li); consult (Shu); examine (Shu); accord with, agree with (Shu); loan for id. reach to (Chuang); a kind of lance (Kuoyü); loan for i. above (Shī).

^{*}śior / śi / s h ī — T, L a plant (some kind of Achillea? Ptarmica sibirica?) the stalks of which were used in divination (Shī).

- h-i. *dz'iər | dz'i | s h i T, L Diospyros, persimmon (Li).
- j. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L to pickle (Chuang). The character has two phonetics, see 555 k. below.
- 555 a—b. *ts'iər / ts' i / t s' ī T to arrange in order (Tso), order, sequel (Tso); next in order, second (Shu); take a position, to halt, to lodge (Tso); lodging place, hut (Tso); place, position (Tso); loan for id. haste, hurry (Lunyü). b. is Chou III (inscr. 219, sense of name). The graph has 'two', meaning of the other element uncertain.
- c. *ts'iər / ts'i / ts'i T, L well arranged, convenient (Shī); to second, assist (Shī).
- d. $ts'i = 1/t \cdot i / t \cdot s' \cdot i T$, L expose (textiles) on market (Chouli).
- e. tsier / tsi / tsi T consult (Shi); to sigh (Shu); alas (Shi).
- f. *tsiar / tsi / tsi T, L arbitrary, license (Meng).
- g. *tsiər / tsi / tsī T, L sacrificial grain (Tso); *dz'iər / dz'iei / tsi L a kind of liquor (Li); loan for j. below (Lie).
- h. *tsiər / tsi / tsī T property, means of living (Shī); provisions, materials (Tso); avail oneself of, take, use (Li); receive (Li); possess, rely on (Meng); furnish, give (Kuots'ê); loan for id. to murmur and sigh (Li).
- i. *dz'iər | dz'i | t s' i T, L to thatch (a roof) (Shi); Tribulus terrestris (Shi).
- j. *dz'iər / dz'i / ts' i T, L rice or millet cake (Chouli).
- k. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L to pickle (Chuang).
- 1. *tsiər / tsi / t s i T consult, plan (Tso).
- m. *dz'iər / dz'i / t s' i T provisions, store of grain (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- n. *dz'iər / dz'i / t s ' ī T a great number of plants (Ch'uts'ī; the comm. unnecessarily takes it to be loan for i.).
- 556 a. *dziər / zi / s i T, L rhinoceros (Shi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 557 a. *siər / si / sī T egoistic (Hanfei ap. Shuowen). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *siər / si / s i T private (Shi).
- 558 a—c. *siər / si / s ī T die, death (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 41,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph has 'man' (in b. a kneeling man) and 'fragment of bone' (skeleton).
- 559 a—e. *siər / si / s h ī T multitude (Shī), army (Shī); capital (Shī); chief, director (Shu), master (Shī), matron (Shī); take as master, imitate (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2:17,6), c. is Yin (inscr. 19), d. is Yin (inscr. 32), e. is Chou I (inscr. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 560 a—d. *\$\frac{i}{2}\text{i} / \sh \bar{i} T arrow (Sh\bar{i}); loan for \$id\$. set forth, display (Sh\bar{i}); to marshal (Sh\bar{i}); to swear (Sh\bar{i}); dung (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 51,3), c. is Yin (inser. 39), d. is Chou I (inser. 88). The graph is a drawing.
- e—h. *d'iər / d'i / c h ī T pheasant (Shī); loan for id. a measure of length (Tso). f. is Yin bone (A 7: 24,1), g. is Yin bone (A 2: 11,6), h. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325). In g. there is a wrapping round the arrow, see 夷 551 a. above.
- i—j. *\$iən / \$iën / s h e n T, L base of tooth (Li); loan for id. how much more, a fortiori (Shi).
- k—l. *śiwən / śiučn / s h u n L, K to blink, wink (Kungyang). l. is Yin bone (I 47: 8, sense here uncertain).
- m. *t'i = r / t'i = 1, L, and *d'i = r / d'i / c h = T, L, and *dzi = r / zi / s = T clear off weeds (Li).

559師時開保界560矢 \$ 〉屍屎鳥502履563尼 c d 弌 弄 c d 1 比 9 庇秕粃仳紕毗鉳鍁 芘 x t S 腮脫鴉 9'

- 561 a—b. *\$iər / \$i / s h ī T corpse (Tso); lie as a corpse (Lunyü); the *corpse*, i. e. the representative of the dead at a sacrifice (Shī); to preside (Shī); expose a corpse (Tso); to array (an army) in formation (Tso). b. is Chou I (inser. 54, sense of 夷). The archaic graph is practically identical with that of 人.
- **c.** $*\dot{s}i \rightarrow r / \dot{s}i / s h \bar{i} \bar{T}$ corpse (Chouli).
- *siər / si / s h i T, L dung (Chuang); ? / χji / h i T, L to groan (Shi).
- e. *siər / si / s h ī T, L name of a bird (Shī).
- **562 a.** *ligr / lii / li T sandal (Chuang); to tread (Shī); loan for id. emoluments (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 563 a. *niər / ńi / n i T near, close (Shī-tsī); (tight against:) to stop, obstruct (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *niər / ńi / n i T, L ashamed (Meng).
 c. *niər / ńi / n i T, L a stopper for carriages (Yi).
- d. *niər / niei / n i T, L mud, mire (Shu); obstruct (Lunyü); moistened by dew (Shī); fresh and glossy (sc. leaves) (Shī).
- e. *njar / nie / n i T flutter (as a flag) (Ch'uts'i).
- f. *niət / niĕt / n i T, L close-standing, familiar, intimate (Tso); (closest relative:) dead father (Shu); (close-sticking:) glue (Chouli). Of the above, a. *njer 'close' and f. *njet 'close-standing are cognate words.
- **564 a...d.** *njər / ńźi / e r ... T two (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 16,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 12), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph is a symbol.
- e-f. variant of the preceding. f. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- g—h. *ńiər / ńźi / e r T double (Shī); repeat (Lunyü); in two minds, doubtful (Shī); double-hearted, divided in allegiance (Tso); second, assistant (Li). h. is Chou II (inscr. 150).

- i. *ńier / ńźi / er T a sour date-tree (Meng).
- j. *nior / ni / ni fat, slippery (Ch'uts'i).
- 565 a. *piər / pii / pi T, L ladle, spoon (Shī); head of arrow (Tso). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- b. variant of the preceding (L, K) (Yili).
- 566 a—f. *piər / pji / p i (primary form of n. below, hence the reading) deceased mother (inscr. 12 and 461, inscr. Yin bone A 1: 36,2 etc.). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 36,2), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 38,4), d. is Yin (inscr. 12), e. is pre-Han (inscr. 461), f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 301, enlarged by rad. 113). The archaic form is practically identical with that of 人, though mostly turned to the right.
- g—h. *piər | pji | pi T compare (Shī); combine, unite (Shī); *b'iər | b'ji | pi T, L, and *piər | pji | pi T assemble (Shī), go together with (Shī), follow (Lunyü), sympatize (Shī); partizan, be a partizan (Lunyü); aid (Yi); accord with (Li); equal, similar (Li); several together, successive (Li); come to (Shī); close, dense, tight (Shī); back end of an arrow (Chouli); *b'iər | b'ji | p'i (even tone) L kao-p'i tigerskin (Tso); shī-p'i (probably transcr. of a foreign word) dress-hook (Kuots'ê); loan for k. below (Chouli). h. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of name if this is not 从 = 從).
- i—j. *b'iən / b'iēn / p' i n T, L, and *b'iər / b'ji / p i T, L female of animals (Shi). j. is Yin bone (F 4: 2; in the oracle inscriptions there is often rad. 123 or rad. 152 inst. of rad. 93).
- k. *p'iər / p'ji / p ' i T, L, and *p'iăr / p'jiɛ̯ / p ' i T, L prepare (Tso); regulate (Kuoyü).
- 1. *p'jar/p'ji/p' i L, K, and * $p'j\bar{a}r/p'jig/p$ ' ī T, L sore on the head (Chouli). m. variant of 565 a—b. above (Li).
- n-o. *piər / pji / p i T, L deceased mother (Shī), same word as a above. o. is Chou III/IV (inser. 308).
- p. *piər / pji / p i T, L cover (Chouli), protect (Tso).
- q. *piər / pii / p i T, L unripe grain, chaff (Tso); petty (Chuang).
- r. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- s. $p'i = r / p'ji / p^{-i}i$ T, L, and $b'i = r / b'ji / p^{-i}i$ (oblique tone) T, L to be separated (Shī); $b'i = r / b'ji / p^{-i}i$ (even tone) T ugly (Huainan).
- t. *p'iər / p'ji / p' i T, L inferior silk stuff (Chou shu ap. comm. to Hanshu); p'iər / p'ji / p' i T, L, and *p'iər / p'iei / p' i T, L error (Li); *b'iar / b'jie / p' i T, L, and *b'iər / b'ji / p i L fringe, silk band in border (Shī); border (Li).
- u. *b'iər / b'ji / p'i (even tone) T, L to strengthen (Shī), to support, aid (Chuang); to compliment (Shī).
- **v—x.** *b'iar / b'ji / p'i K a kind of vessel (inscr. 367). x. is Chou (inscr. 367).
- y. *b'iər / b'ji / p i (oblique tone) K terraces one above the other, as a stair (only Han time text ex.), cf. c'. below.
- z. *b'i = r / b'ji / pi T, L a kind of herb (no pre-Han text ex.); loan for p. above (Chuang).
- a'. *p'iər / p'iei / p'i T, L to beat, slap (Tso); *b'iət / b'iet / pie L to knock against (Chuang).
- **b**'. *b'iər / b'iei / p i T, L fence, railing (Chouli).
- c'. *b'iər / b'iei / p i T palace staircase (Kuots'ê).
- d'. *p'iar / p'jie / p'i L, K to blame, speak bad of (Chuang).
- e'. *b'iər / b'ji / p'i K Shuowen says: navel, thus taking it to be the primary form of f'. below in this sense; but there are no text examples in support of this.

- **T**'—g'. *b'iər | b'ji | p 'i T, L ox's stomach (Chuang); loan for id. abundant, large (Shī); *b'iər | b'iei | p 'i T navel (only Han time text examples).
- h'. *b'iər / b'ji / p'i T, L a wild animal, possibly some kind of panther or leopard (Shī).
- 567 a—c. *miər / mjwi / m e i T eyebrow (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 25: 7, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of g. below). The graph is a drawing.
- d—e. *miər / mjwi / m e i T, L love (Shī); please (Shī); flatter (Lunyu). e. is Yin bone (A 6: 28,6, sense of name).
- 1. *miər / mjwi / m e i T, L lintel of door or window (Yili); front beam (Li).
- g—h. *miər / mjwi / m e i T, L margin of a stream (Shī). h. is Yin bone (B shang 14:9).
- **568 a—c.** *miər / miwi / m e i T beautiful, fine (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 18,2), c. is pre-Han (inscr. 450, sense of name). The graph has 'big' and 'sheep'.
- 569 a—c. *kiwər / kjwçi / k u e i T spirit, ghost, demon (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 18,3), c. is Chou IV (inscr. 287, enlarged by rad. 113). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *kwər / kuāi / k u e i T, L great (Sün), remarkable, extraordinary (Chouli).
- e. *kwər / kuâi / k u e i L, K a kind of precious stone (Shī).
- f. *k'wər | k'udi | k' u e i T, L (only Han time text examples); (spoon-shaped, used as spoon:) a kind of mussel or oyster (Yili); loan for id. great (Sün), principal, chief (Li); mound (Kuoyü).
- g. *k'wər | k'uḥi | k' u e i T, L, and *k'wer | k'wǎi | k' u a i L clod (Tso), lump, piece (Chuang); loan for id. alone (Ch'uts'ī).
- h. *g'wər / yuai / h u e i T, L deformed (sc. tree) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- i. *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i T, L, and *g'wer / γwāi / h u a i T, L Sophora (Tso).
- j. *ngwər / nguải / w e i T, L high and rocky (Shi,
- k. *ngiwər / ngjwei / wei T, L high (Chouli).
- 1-m. *kiwer / kjwi / k u e i T, L ashamed (Shī). m. is Chou IV (inscr. 287).
- n—p. variant of the preceding (Sün). o. is Chou II/III (inser. 265, sense of name), p. is Chou II/III (inser. 272, sense of name).
- q. *kiwer / kjwi / k u e i T chrysalis of the silkworm (Hanfei).
- r. *g'iwer / g'jwi / k u e i T, L to present (Meng).
- 3. *ngiwər | ngjwei | w e i T, L high, majestic (Lunyü).
 - Of the above, d. *kwər 'great' and f. *k'wər 'great' are cognate words; and j. *ngwər 'high' and k, s. *ngiwər 'high' are cognate.

- 570 a-f. *kiwər / kiwei / k u e i T return (Shī); go to (Shī); to bring to (Shī); go as a bride to the new home (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 6,8), c. is Yin bone (B shang 30: 5), d. is Chou I (inser. 54), e. is Chou I (inser. 57), f. is Chou II (inser. 172). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *k'iwer / k'jwi / k' u e i T, L isolated, alone (as a lone peak) (Chuang).
- 571 a—c. *giwər / jwei / w e i T. Shuo wen says: go in opposite directions, thus taking it be the primary form of d. below; but there are no text examples in support. of this; loan for id. dressed hides, leather (Tso). b. is Yin bone (E 77: 4, sense of 342 a. above), c. is Chou (inscr. 334, sense of name). The graph shows two feet walking in opposite directions on either side of a circle (wall?).
- d-e. *giwər / jwei / wei T go against, contravene, oppose (Tso); go away, leave (Shī); deviate from (Li), err, fault (Tso). e. is pre-Han (inscr. 447).
- 1. *giwar / jwei / wei T, L extraordinary, great (Chuang).
- g. *giwər / jwgi / wei T encircle (Shī).
- h—i. *giwər / jwei / w e i T toilet bag for carrying perfumes (Ch'uts'ī). i. is Chou II (inscr. 159).
- *giwər / jwei / wei T, L blaze, bright (Shī).
- k. *giwər / jwei / wei T remarkable (Chuang).
- *giwər / jwei / wei T, and ? / ie / yi T beautiful (Kuots'ê).
- m. *giwər / jwgi / wei T, L woof (Tso), weave (Chuang); bind (Ta Tai li).
- n. *giwər / jwei / wei T, L reed, rush (Shī).
- o. *qiwər | jwei | wei T. L small gate in the interior of the palace or mansion (Li).
- p. *giwər / jwgi / w e i T, L right, correct (Tso).
 q. *giwər / jwgi / w e i T, L brilliant (sc. flowers) (Shī).
- r. *xiwər / xjwei / h u e i T, L queen's ritual robe (Li); kuee covers (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- s. *χiwər / χjwei / h u e i T avoid, taboo (Tso).
- 572 a. *χίωστ / χίμως i / h u e i T, L snake (Shī); loan for id. sound of thunder (Shī); loan for *\gamma\nu\text{vv\text{i}} / \text{ru\text{i}} i / \text{h u e i — T, L, and *\gamma\nu\text{vv\text{i}} / \text{h u a i — T, L exhausted,} weary (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 578 a—c. *'iwər / 'jwei / wei T fear (Shī). b. is Yin bone (F 1: 2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph shows a demon (see 569 a-c. above) holding an object, the interpretation of which is uncertain.
- d. *'iwər / 'iwei / wei T, L, and *'wər / 'uāi / wei T, L sinuous, contorted mountain (Chuang).
- *wər / uâi / wei T to fondle (Lie).
- f. *wər / uci / wei T glowing coals in brazier (Kuots'ê).
 g. *wər / uci / wei T, L many, much (Kuan).
- **h.** * $w = r / u \hat{a} i / w = i T$, L a bend, a nook (Tso).
- 574 a—c. * iwar / jwei / wei T terrifying (Shī), terrified (Shī); majesty, dignity (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 174), c. is Chou II (inser. 146). The graph has 'woman' and some kind of weapon.
- d. *wer / wai / wai T cliffy, high (Ch'uts'i).
- 575 a—d. *tiwər / tświ / c h u e i T, L a kind of dove (Shī, one version ap. L.); loan for d'. below (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 46,2, sense of i. below, particle,), c. is Yin (inscr. 10, sense of i.), d. is Chou I (inscr. 57, sense of i.). The graph is a drawing.

- e—f. *liwer / tświ / chuei T, L name of a bird (Shī).
- g. *tiwər / tświ / chuei T, Lawl (Tso).
- h. *tiwar / tświ / c h u e i T, L horse of mixed grey and white colour (Shī).
- i—l. *diwər / iwi / wei T, L only (Shī); say yes (Tso); a particle (Shī); loan for id. freely (Shī); cf. n. below. j. is Yin bone (A 5: 39,8), k. is Yin (inscr. 25), l. is Chou I (inscr. 54).
- m. *diwər / jwi / wei T, L (Anc. Chin. jwi is irregular, we should expect a jwi) curtain (Shī).
- n. *diwər / iwi / wei T think (Shī); namely, it is (copula) (Shu); only (Meng), cf. i. above.
- o—p. *diwor / iwi / wei T to tie, bind together (Shī); guiding rope of a net (Tso); guiding principle, rule (Kuan); loan for id. but, only (Shī), a particle (Shī), cf. i. and n. above. p. is Chou II (inscr. 157, enlarged by rad. 29).
- q. *diwər / iwi / wei T, L, and *liwər / ljwi / lei T, L, and ? / izu / yu T a kind of monkey-like animal (Chouli).
- r. *d'iwər / d'wi / c h 'u e i T, L hammer, to hammer (Kuots'ê).
- s—t. *d'iwər | d'wi | c h 'u e i T Shuowen says: protruding forehead; but there are no text examples in support of this; in the famous inscr. 180 it is a verb, but the sense is difficult to define. t. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- u. *diwər / źwi / shuei T who (Shi).
- v—x. *siwər | swi | s u e i T Shuowen says: a kind of lizard, but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. although (Shī). x. is Chou III (inscr. 229).
- y. $*d'i \rightarrow r / d'i / ch i T$, L young (Kuliang).
- z. *twər | tuâi | t u e i T, L mound (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. throw away (Kuots'ê).
- a'. *t'wər / t'u@i / t'uei T, and *t'iwər / tś'wi / ch'uei T push (Tso), push away (Shī); extend (Meng); change, succeed (Yi).
- b'—c'. *d'wər / d'uāi / tu e i T Shuowen says: high, precipitous; but there are no text examples of this. c'. is Yin bone (O 1034, sense of name).
- d'. *dz'wər | dz'uāi | t s ' u e i T, L high, rocky (Shī).
- e'—'. *ts'iwər / ts'wi / t s' u e i T move, run (only Han time text. ex.); place name (Tso). f'. is pre-Han (inscr. 454, sense of name).
- g'. *diwor | iwi | wei (this is the reading given by L after Tsī-lin, and certainly the correct one, as shown by the composition of the character; but in the scholastic literature the fan-ts'ie spelling character k świ has been corrupted into the similar siūu, and so the word is now generally read y ao, which is obviously wrong) note of the female pheasant (Shī).

- h'. *diwər / iwi / w e i T gadfly (Kuoyü).
- i'. *t'wər / t'uâi / t' u e i T, L, and * \hat{t} 'iwər / tś'wi / c h' u e i T Leonurus (Shī).
- j'. *ts'wər / ts'uāi / ts' uei T urge (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- k'. *ts'wər / ts'uāi / ts'uei T, L deep (Shī).
- 1'. *dz'wər / dz'uâi / t s' u e i T, L to thrust at (Shī); loan for id. to come (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for id. to grieve (so acc. to Wang Pi); *ts'wâr / ts'uâ / t s' o — L cut fodder (Shī).
- **576 a—c.** *\$iwər | \$\sin \text{wi} | s \text{h u e i T water (Shi)}. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 13,5), c. is Chou II (inser. 169). The graph is a drawing of running water.
- 577 a—c. *liwər / ljwi / l e i (Tsiyün and cf. d. below), *lwər / luâi / l e i T small entrenchment or raised path between fields, primary form of d. below (T says: the interstice between fields). Shuowen gives this as the archaic graph for n. below 'thunder', but this is obviously a loan application, since the fields and paths are clearly drawn. b. is Chou I (inscr. 56, sense of name), c. is Chou III (inscr. 234, sense of name).
- *liwar | liwi | lei T, L entrenchments (Tso); loan for r. below (Sün).
- *liwar / liwi / lei T creepers, lianas (Kuan).
- *liwar | ljwi | lei T, L to wind around, be attached to (Shī); bind, in bonds (Tso); continuous (Li); loan for id. despondent (Li).
- g. *liwər / liwi / lei T, L a creeping plant (Shī), cf. e. above.
- h-i. *liwar / liwi / lei T, L eulogy (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).
- *lwər | luâi | lei T damage, exhaust (Huainan); wooden image (Lie).
- **k.** *lwər / luāi / l e i L small cave, hole (Chuang).
- 1-m. *lwər / luậi / le i T, L vase, jar (Shī). m. is Chou (inscr. 360, rad. 167 instead of 121).
- n-o. *lwər | luāi | l e i T, L thunder (Shī). o. is an abbreviated form of n.
- p. *liwər / liwi / lei T, L, and *lwər / luâi / lei T exhausted, despondent, tired
- *lwâr / luâ / l o L (after Shen) basket (Meng).
- *liwar | ljwi | le i T bind (Meng), abbreviation (cf. o.) of f. above; loan for *ljwăr | liwie / lei - T, L augment, accumulate (Kuliang); embarras, implicate (Tso); for *lwâr / luâ / lo — L naked (Li).
- s. *liwər / liwi / lei T, L rope, bonds (Lunyü).
- t. *lwâr / luâ / l o T mule (Lü).
- 578 a. *liwər / liwi / lei T, L, and *lwər / luâi / lei T, L a plough (Li). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *liwər / liwi / lei T eulogy (Lunyü), prayer (Lunyü), cf. 577 h. above.
- 579 a—b. *piwər / pjwei / fei T it is not (Shī), not (Shī), without (Tso); (not so:) wrong (Shi). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *piwər | pjwçi | fe i T square basket (Meng); loan for id. not (Shī); loan for i. below (Shi); for k. below (Li), for 分 (*piwən) (Chouli).
- t. *piwər / pjwçi / f e i T, L wooden door, door-leaf (Tso).
 e. *piwər / pjwçi / f e i T, L strengthen, assist, help (Shu).
- *piwər | pjwei | fei T, L round basket (Shu).
- *piwər | pjwei | f e i T, L slander (Chuang).
- *p'iwər | pj'wei | fei T, L make efforts to explain oneself (Lunyü).

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- *p'iwər / p'jwei / fei T, L decorated(Shī), elegant (Li).
- *p'iwər / p'jwei / f e i T, L heavy snow-fall (Shī).
- k. *p'iwər | p'jwei | fei T, L outer horse of a team (Tso, only as N. Pr.); to run without stopping (sc. horses) (Shī).
- *p'iwər | p'jwei | fei T, L, and *b'iwər | b'jwei | fei T, L name of a plant (radish?) (Shī); fragrant (Ch'uts'ī); straw sandal (Li); of little value, insignificant (Li).
- m. *b'iwər | b'jwgi | f e i L cut the feet (Shu).

 n. *b'iwər | b'jwgi | f e i L hidden, obscure (Li).
- o. *b'iwər / b'jwçi / fei T, L straw sandal (Tso), cf. l. above.
- *b'iwər / b'jwei / f e i T kingfisher (Ch'uts'ī). p.
- *b'iwər / b'iwei / fe i T, L calf of leg (Yi); loan for id. weaken, decay (Shī); protect, be protected by (Shi).
- r. *b'iwər | b'jwgi | fei T, L, and *piwər | pjwgi | fei T an evil-smelling insect which damages crops (Tso); loan for R (Mo).
- *b'iwər / b'jwei / f e i K conceal (Ch'uts'ī), cf. n. above.
- *b'wər / b'uai / p'ei T go to and fro (Chuang).
- u. *pjər / pjwi / p e i T grieve, sad (Shī).
- v. *b'er / b'ai / p'ai T dwarf (Sün).
- *b'er / b'ai / p'ai T, L push (Li), push away (Chuang); arrange (Meng).
- 580 a. *piwar / pjwei / f e i T to fly (Shī). The original graph may have been a drawing.
- 581 a—c. *p'iwər / p'iwei / f e i T, L, and *p'wər / p'u@i / p ' e i T, L consort, wife (Tso); match, opponent (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 4:24,1), c. is Chou IV (inser. 284). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 582 a. *b'iwar / b'jwei / fei T fat (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 583 a—b. *miwər | mjwei | wei T tail (Shī); copulate (Shu). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 犀 (Chou, inscr. 359). The graph is a drawing of a tail at the back-side of a man.
- c. *miwar / mjwei / wei K fine, nice (Shī, Han version ap. L).
- d. *miwər / miwei / w e i T, L flowing water (Shī, Han version ap. L).
- e. *χmiwər / χjwgi / h u e i T burn (Shī ap. Shuowen).

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- 584 a—c. *miwər | mjwçi | wei K Shuowen says: minute, small, thus taking it to be the primary form of d. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name), Chou II/III (inscr. 278, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d—e. *miwər / mjwgi / wei T minute, small (Shī), reduced (Shī); hide (Tso), hidden, obscure, mysterious (Yi); (eliminating:) it is not that . . . (Shī), but for (Tso); loan for id. ulcer on leg (Shī). e. is Chou III/IV (inser. 328).
- f. *miwər / mjwgi / w e i T, L an edible plant (Shī).
- g. variant of 美 (Chouli).
- h. *χmiwər / χjwgi / h u e i Τ, L rope (Yi); loan for id. good, admirable (Shī); a flag (Li).
- 585 a. *miwər | mjwçi | w e i T, L vigorous (Shī); *mwən | muən | m e n T, L river-gorge (Shī). Possibly this character is a violent corruption of the archaic forms of 景, group 446 above, and perhaps we have to read, in the inscriptions there quoted, 東 *miwər diôg | w e i s h o u 'vigorous old age', analogous to the 眉 壽 *miər diôg | m e i s h o u of the classics.
- 586 a. *kiər / kiei / k i T, L hair-pin (Shī). The graph has 'bamboo' and a drawing of two hair-pins.
- 587 a. *kiər / kiei / k i T to divine by tortoise-shell (Shu ap. Shuowen). The graph has 'mouth' and 'divination'.
- 588. a—b. *k'iər / k'iei / k'i (primary form of c. below, hence the reading) to open (Shu ap. Yüp'ien). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 21,3, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'door' and 'mouth'.
- c—g. *k'iər / k'iei / k'i T to open (Shī); begin, lead the way (Shī); enlarge (Shī); uncover (Lunyü); loan for id. kneel (Shī); horse with white forefoot (Tso). d. is Yin bone (B hia 12: 4), e. is Yin bone (A 1: 43,5), f. is Chou II (inser. 146), g. is Chou III/IV (inser. 318).
- h—i. *k'iər / k'iei / k'i L, and ? / k'ieng / k'ing L joint (in body) (Chuang). i. is Chou I/II (inscr. 213, sense of name).
- j—k. *k'iər / k'iei / k'i T rain ceasing, clearing sky (inscr. Yin bone A 6: 9,1). k. is Yin bone (A 6: 9,1).

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- 589 a. *'iər / 'iei / y i T a quiver (Kuoyü ap. Shuowen). The graph has 'box' and 'arrow'.
- b—d. 'iər / 'iei / y i T a particle (inscr. 324). c. is Chou I (inscr. 97, sense of name), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- e. *'iər / 'iei / y i L, K brown (Chouli, one version); loan for id. alas (Tso); to be (Tso).
- f. **iər / 'iei / y i T, L screen, shade, cover (Kuoyü); fallen trees (covering the soil) (Shī).
- g. *iər / iei / y i T, L some kind of goose (Shī); phoenix (Ch'uts'ī); loan for e. above (Chouli).
- 590 a—b. *tiər / tiei / t i T, L root, foundation (Shī); loan for id. Western tribes (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *tiər / tiei / t i T, L bottom (Lie); stop, obstruct (Tso); *tiər / tśi / c h ī L come to (Shī); stop, cease (Shī); regulate (Tso); loan for o. below (Meng).
- d. *tiər / tiei / t i T, L root, base (Lao).
- e. *tiər / tiei / t i T to lower (Chuang).
- f. *tier / tiei / ti T ornated bow (Meng).
- g. *tier / tiei / ti T, L push away (Ta Tai li).
- h. *tier / tiei / ti T, L ram (Shī).
- i. *tiər / tiei / t i T, L lodge (Ch'uts'i); loan for id. a kind of screen (Chouli); a weight (Chouli); for d. above (Chouli).
- j. *d'iər / d'iei / t ' i T, and *tiər / tiei / t i T scold (Mo).
- k. *tier / îi / c h i T hard and horny skin (on hands and feet) (Chuang).
- 1. * $d'i \rightarrow r / d'i / c h'i T$, L islet (Shi).
- m. * $d'i \rightarrow r / d'i / ch'i T$, L ant egg (Li).
- n. *tiər / tśi / c h ī L, K whetstone (Shanhaiking); smoothe (Shu); loan for id. come to (Ch'uts'ī); bring about (Tso), settle (Shu).
- o. *fiər / tśi / c h ī T, L whetstone (Shī).
- p. $*\hat{t}_{ij}$ $r / t \leq i / c h i T$, L to reverence (Shi); often erroneously confused with \vec{m} .
- q—r. *diər / ż i / s h ī L, K to see (Chouli). The form r., though common, is really erroneous, for the phonetic K belongs to the archaic -g class.
- s. * \hat{t} ' \hat{i} ? \hat{i} / ch' \hat{i} T, L ch' \hat{i} -hiu owl (Chuang); ch' \hat{i} -yao a bird of unknown species (Sh \hat{i} ; later comm. take this also to mean 'owl', but that goes against the earliest comm.).
- 591 a—c. *d'iər / d'iei / t i (oblique tone) T, L younger brother (Shī); junior (Meng); respectful towards elder brothers, fraternal (Meng); loan for id. easy, good-humoured (Shī). b. is Chou I (inser. 58), c. is Chou II/III (inser. 278). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *d'iər / d'iei / t i T, L younger secondary wife (Shī).
- **e.** $*d'i \Rightarrow r \mid d'i \neq i \mid t \mid i T \text{ order, sequel (Tso)}.$
- f. *d'iər / d'iei / t ' i T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) respectful towards elder brothers, fraternal (Meng).
- g. *d'iər / d'iei / t'i (even tone) T, L a shoot, sprout (Yi); a kind of panic grass (Chuang).
- h. *d'iər / d'iei / t'i T, L thick silk (Lie).
- i. *d'iər / d'iei / t'i L spurious grain (Chuang, one version ap. L).
- j. *d'iər / d'iei / t ' i T, L pelican (Shī).
- k. *d'iər / d'iei / t i (oblique tone) T, L, and *t'iər / t'iei / t' i T look at from the side, look askance, glance at (Li).

- l. *t'iər / t'iei / t'i T, L wooden steps, staircase (Kuoyü); slippery (Ch'uts'ī).
- m. *t'iər / t'iei / t 'i T, L weep, tears (Shī).
- n. *d'iət / d'iĕt / c h ī T order, series, arrange (Shu ap. Shuowen).

 Of the above, e. *d'iər 'order, sequel', l. *t'iər 'steps' and n. *d'iət 'order, series' are cognate words.
- 592 a—d. *ts'iər / ts'iei / ts'i T consort, wife (Shī). b. is Yin bone (D 3), c. is pre-Han (inscr. 458). d. is pre-Han (inscr. 448), The upper part in the character c. is 齊. But this is not simply phonetic, for 齊 *dz'iər 'equal' and 妻 *ts'iər 'consort' are cognate words, the consort being the one wife who is socially the equal (the *mate*) of the husband. The element at the top (in b., c. and d. and k. below, which recurs in *dziər 'equal' in next group, is a drawing of the hair-pins characteristic of the married woman.
- e. *ts'iər / ts'iei / ts'i T, L sad, grieved (Li).
- f. *ts'iər / ts'iei / ts'i T, L cold, chilly (Shī); dense, luxuriant (Shī).
- g—h. *ts'iər / ts'iei / ts'i T, L luxuriant (foliage), dense (Shī). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327; this is really a combination of f. and g. which both mean 'dense').
- i. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- j—k. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i (variant of 593 r. below, hence the reading, Tsiyün) ascend (inscr. 325). k. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 325).
- 1. *siar / siei / si T, L to roost, to rest (Shī); couch (Meng); loan for id. hurried, bustling (Shī).
- 593 a—e. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s'i (even tone) T uniform, equal, be equal with (Lunyü); of equal length (Shī); regulate (Yi), determine (Lie); well-regulated, decorous, correct (Shī); respectful (Li); loan for *tsiər / tsi / t s ï L hemmed lower edge of garment (Lunyü); loan for f. below (Tso), for h. (Chouli), for l. (Li). for p. (Li), for v. (Shī), for y. (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 15,3, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 182 sense of name), d. is Chou III (inscr. 220, sense of name), e. is Chou IV (inscr. 285, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of the hair-pins of the married woman 妻, the 'equal', the 'match' of the husband, see group 592 a—d. above.
- **f.** $*dz'i\partial r / dz'iei / ts'i$ T navel (Tso).
- g. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s ' i T, L tree-grub (Shī).
- h. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s i (oblique tone) T to cut (Chu Ch'u wen); tsiǎr / tsiɛ̯ / t s ī T, L (cut in halves:) bond, deed, consisting of two halves (Chouli).

- i. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s i T, L to taste (Shu).
- j. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s i T, L angry (Shï).
- k. *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s i T, L disease (Li).
- *dz'iər / dz'iei / t s i T, L Capsella bursa pastoris (Shī); loan for 英 (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- m. *dz'iər | dz'iei | t s i T, L, and *tsiər | tsiei | t s i L, K, and ? | tsiäi | t s i T sheaf, bundle (Shī).
- n. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T push (Tso).
- o. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L to ford, cross a stream (Shī); (to help over:) to help, save (Yi); to benefit (Tso); contribute to (Tso); achieve (Tso); loan for id. to stop (Shī); fine-looking (Shī), dignified (Shī); loan for n. above (Kuoyü).
- p—q. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L ascend (Shī). q. is Chou III (inscr. 234, rad. 162 inst. of 157).
- r. *tsiər | tsiei | t s i T, L ascend (Shu); rising vapours, rainbow (Shī); overthrow, collapse (Shu).
- s. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L clearing sky (Shu).
- t. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L pickled food (Li, one version ap. L).
- u. *tsiər / tsiei / t s i T, L, and tsiər / tsi / t s ī T, L property, means (Chouli); furnish, give, bestow (Yili); loan for id. to sigh (Yi); loan for f. above (Lie), for h. (Chouli).
- v—x. *tsiər / tsi / tsī T, L sacrificial grain (Chouli). x. is Chou III (inscr. Mengwei, sü 7).
- y. *tser / tṣāi / c h a i T, L purify oneself, purified (Yi).
- **z—a'.** * $dz'\varepsilon r / dz'\check{a}i / c$ h' a i T, L class, category, equals (Tso). a'. is Chou (inscr. 395). Of the above, a. * $dz'i\vartheta r$ 'equal' and z. * $dz'\varepsilon r$ 'class, equals' are cognate words.
- 594 a—e. *siər / siei / s i T West (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 48,5), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 6,1), d. is Yin (inscr. 27), e. is Chou I (inscr. 108). The graph is possibly the primary form of f. below, being a drawing of a bird's nest.
- f. *siər / siei / s i T to roost (Shī); loan for id. eager, assiduous (Lunyü).
- g—h. *siər / siei / s i T, L, and *siən / sien / s i e n T, L wash (Tso); loan for id. respectful (Li); frightened (Chuang); *sɛr / ṣai / s h a i sprinkle, cleanse, (Shī); loan for *ts'wər / ts'uḍi / t s ' u e i L high, majestic (sc. tower) (Shī). h. is Yin bone (K 109, sense of name).
- i. *śin / śičn / s h e n T, L smile (Lunyü).
- 595 a—c. *siər / siei / s i K Shuowen says: to tarry; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 23,1, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 78, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-f. *d'iər / d'i / c h ' ī (even tone) T to tarry (inscr. 145), same word as 596 d. below. e. is Chou I (inscr. 80, sense of name), e. is Chou II (inscr. 145).
- g. * $d'i\sigma r / d'i / c h i$ (oblique tone) T, L to sow late (Shi), young grain (Shi), young (Shi).
- **h**—i. *d'i = d'i = K to sew, embroider (inscr. 180). i. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- **596 a—b.** *siər / siei / s i T, L rhinoceros (Tso); loan for id. melon seeds (Shī). b. is Chou (inscr. 359, sense of name). The graph has 'ox' and 'tail'.
- c. *d'i = r/d'i / c h'i T raised path from the gate to the hall of a palace (Hanfei).
- d. *d'iər | d'i | c h' i (even tone) T, L to tarry (Shī), walk slowly (Shī); slow, long, tedious (Shī); *d'iər | d'i | c h i (oblique tone) T, L wait (Sūn).
- e. variant of 595 g. above (Chuang).

- 597 a—c. *liər / liei / li T ritual vase (inscr. 392). b. is Yin bone (An-yang fa küe pao kao 4, p. 666, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou (inscr. 392). The graph is a drawing of a vase containing some object of uncertain interpretation.
- d. *lier / liei / li T propriety (Shī); ceremony, rite (Shī), ritual (Shī).
- e-g. *lier / liei / li T, L spirits which have fermented only over night, new sweet spirits (Shī). f. is Chou II (inser. 176), g. is Chou II (inser. 193).
- h. *liər / liei / li T, L name of a fish (tench? mullet?) (Shī).
- i. *t'liər / t'iei / t ' i T body (Tso); limb (Shī); embody (Yi); form, shape (Shī); category, class (Li); indication in divination (Shī).
- 598 a—c. *miər / miei / m i T rice (Tso). b. is Yin bone (B shang 25: 7), c. is Chou (inscr. 394). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *mier / miei / m i T, L get something in the eye, troubled sight (Chuang).
- e. *miər / miei / m i T go astray (Shī); delude (Shu).
- f—g. *miər | mjwi | mi T, L a kind of deer (Tso); loan for id. margin of a river, wet land, marsh (Shī); loan for 眉 (Sün), for m. below (Ch'uts'ī). g. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325).
- h. *mjär / mjig / m i T, L acquiesce in (Shu).
- i—j. *miǎr / mjig / m i K variant of the preceding (inscr. 286). j. is Chou IV (inscr. 286).
- k—l. *miar / mjie / mi T, L reckless (Shī; Mao's interpr. 'deep' shows that his version had the similar 666 b. below).
- m. *mjər / mjwi / m i T a fragrant plant (Kuan).
- **599 a.** * $ker / k \ddot{a} i / k i e$ T all (Shī); always, everywhere (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *ker / kāi / kie T, L (a Pek. alt. reading hie is irregular) together (Shī); of many kinds (Shī); loan for id. vigorous (Shī).
- c. *ker / kāi / k i e T, L to resound (bird's cry, wind, bell) (Shī).
- d. *ker / kāi / k i e T steps, stairs (Shī).
- e. $*k'\varepsilon r / k'\check{a}i / k' i e T$, L model (Li).
- f. *g'er / yăi / h i e T, L voluminous flow (of a river) (Shi).
- g. * $g' \in r / \gamma \check{a}i / h$ i e T, L (one of the T mss. has γai , but its placing in rime shows that this is a slip) in harmony (Shu).
- h. ? / kat / k i a wooden box, beaten to mark time in music (Li).

- **600 a—b.** *g'wεr / γwāi / h u a i T bosom, to cherish (inser. 58). b. is Chou I (inser. 58). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *g'wer | γwāi | h u a i T breast, bosom (Tso); carry on the breast (Lunyü); embrace (Shu); keep in the bosom (Tso); to cherish in the mind, think of (Shī), be anxious about (Shī).
- d. *g'wer / γwāi / h u a i T, L, and *kwer / kwāi / k u a i T, L, and *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i L destroy (Tso), ruin, be ruined (Shī).
- e. *kwər / kuâi / k u e i T, L remarkable (Chuang).
- 601 a—c. *g'wer / γwăi / h u a i T, L name of a river (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 16,3), c. is Chou I (inser. 84). The graph has 'water' and 'bird'.
- d. *g'wər / γuậi / h u e i T, L Shuowen says: vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. whirling waters (Shu).
- 602 a—b. *kiɛr / kji / k i T stool, small table (Shī); loan for id. self-composed, grave (Shī). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 崴 (Chou II, inscr. 132). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *kier / kii / ki T, L small table (Li), stool (Tso).
- d. *kier / kji / k i T, L flesh (Li).
- e. variant of the preceding (Lie).
- f. *kier / kji / k i T famine (Shu), be hungry (Shī).
- 603 a—b. *kiɛr / kji / k i T, L hope (Tso); place name (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain; 異 (-q class) is not phonetic, for the word rimes in the -r class in Ch'uts'ī.
- c. *kier / kji / k i T, L fine horse (Chuang).
- 604 a—c. *'iɛr / 'i / y i T this (Shī); a particle (Shī); N. Pr. (Meng); sow bug (Shī). b. is Yin bone (I 9: 2, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 144, sense of name). The graph has 'man' and 'govern', explanation uncertain.
- **d.** * $i \in r / i / y i$ T forced laugh (Ch'uts'i).
- 605 a—d. *kiwer / kjwi / k u e i T cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 19,1), c. is Yin (inser. 2), d. is Chou I (inser. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- e. *g'iwɛr / g'jwi / k ' u e i (oblique tone) T to measure, examine (Shī); (controller:) governor (Shu); rule (Meng). The Pek. aspirate is irregular.
- f. *g'iwer / g'jwi / k' u e i (even tone) T, L a kind of lance (Shu).
- g. *g'iwer | g'jwi | k'uei T, L an edible plant, probably a Malva (Shī); loan for e. above (Shī).
- h. *g'iwer | g'jwi | k' u e i T, L sturdy and imposing march (of horses) (Shī).
- i—j. *k'iwər | k'iwei | k' u e i T, L diverging, extraordinary (Yi). j. is Chou II (inscr. 175, sense of name).
- k. *k'iwət / k'iwet / k' ü e T, L (to shut up:) finish, end (Li); to be at rest (Shī).
- 606 a—b. *kâm / kâm / k a n T sweet (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 52,5, sense of name). The graph has 'mouth' with something in it.
- c. *kâm / kâm / k a n T cook, prepare (food) (Sün).
- d-f. *kâm / kâm / kan T harmony, loyalty (inscr. 54). e. is Yin (inscr. 10), f. is Chou I (inscr. 54).
- g. * $g'\hat{a}n / \gamma \hat{a}n / h$ a n T elated through wine, tipsy (Shu).
- h. *g'iam / g'iam / k'ien T pinch (Kuots'ê).
- i. *g'iam / g'iäm / k'ien L, K pinched together (Chuang).
- j. *g'iam / g'iam / k' i e n L a wooden gag (sc. in horse's mouth (Kungyang).
- k. *kəm / kām / k a n T, L purple (Lunyü).
- 1. *g'iam / g'iam / k' i e n gag (Sün), cf. j. above.
- 607 a—c. *kâm / kâm / k a n T dare (Shī). b. is Chou I (inser. 58), c. is Chou I (inser. 58). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *k'âm / k'âm / k'an Τ, L place name (Tso); loan for *χăm / χăm / h i e n Τ roaring, enraged (sc. tiger) (Shī).
- e. $*k'\hat{a}m / k'\hat{a}m / k'$ an T to watch (Meng).
- 1—g. *k'âm / k'âm / k'an K, and *ngiəm / ngiəm / yin T, and t'âm / t'âm t'an T Shuowen says: precipitious; but there are no text examples in support of this. g. is Chou II (inser. 157, sense of m. below).
- h—j. *ngiām / ngivm / y e n T stern, majestic (Shī); severe, strictly (Tso); respect (Meng); urgent (Meng). i. is Chou II inscr. 146), j. is Chou II (inscr. 184).
- k. *ngiām / ngipm / y e n T stern, dignified, respectful (Shī).
- 1. *ngam / ngam / y e n T, L rocky (Shī); precipitious, dangerous (Tso); cavern in rocks (Ch'uts'ī).
- m. *xiam / xiām / hien L, K hien y ün name of a Northern tribe (Shī).
- 608 a. *g'am / γam / h i e n T a bit (Chuang); carry in the mouth, carry (Shī). The graph has 'metal' and 'walk'.
- 609 a—b. *klam / kam / kien T, L see, look at (Shī); inspect. (Shī), observe (Kuoyü); superintend (Tso); to mirror (Shu). b. is Chou II (inser. 164). The graph has 'man', 'eye' and 'vessel' = to look at oneself, to mirror oneself in a bowl with water.
- c. *klam / kam / k i e n T, L to mirror (Shī); *g'âm / γâm / h a n L big bowl, basin (Chouli).
- d. *klam | kam | k i e n T a kind of whetstone (Kuots'ê).
- e. *g'lam / yam / h i e n T hard soil (Kuan).
- f. variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- g. *g'lam / γam / h i e n T, L (after Sü), and *g'lâm / γâm / h a n L railing (Ch'uts'ī); cage (Chuang); loan for id. rumble of carriages (Shī); bubble up (sc. water (Shī).

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- h. *glâm / lâm / la n T excess, licentious (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).
- i. *glâm / lâm / lan T, L pick, take (Ch'uts'ī).
- j. *glâm / lâm / lan T, L overflow (Meng); go to excess (Shī); err (Tso); put something into water (Kuoyü); juicy (Li); loan for id. join, unite (Li); *g'lâm / γâm / h an L bath tub (Chuang), cf. c. above; loan for c. (mirror) (Lü).
- k. *glâm / lâm / lan T, L indigo (Shī); loan for id. tattered (Tso).
- 1. *glâm / lâm / lan T see (Kuots'ê).
- m. * $\chi l\hat{a}m / \chi \hat{a}m / h a n K shout (Kuots'ê)$.
- n. ? / jäm / y e n T salt (Shu); loan for 藍 (Li).
- o. *glâm / lâm / lan T, L take (Chuang).
 - Of the above, a—c. *klam 'see, inspect, mirror' and l. *glâm 'see' are cognate words.
- 610 a. *sam / sam / s h a n T to mow (Shī); sickle (Kuoyü). The graph has 'grass, herbs' and 'baton, beat'.
- 611 a. *tsăm / tṣăm / c h a n T cut off, cut down (Shī). The graph has 'axe' and 'carriage'.
- b. *sam / sam / s h a n T, L cut off (Li); cognate to the preceding.
- c. $*dz'\hat{a}m / dz'\hat{a}m / ts' a n$ T ashamed (Tso).
- d. *dz'âm / dz'âm / chan T (the Pek. chan is irregular, we should expect a tsan) a short while (Shu); suddenly (Tso).
- e. variant of the preceding (Lie).
- 1. *tsiam / tsiäm / c h i e n T, L moisten (Shī); flow to (said of a river) (Shu); *dz'iam / dz'iām / t s i e n T, L (drop-wise:) gradually, increasingly (Yi); *dz'am / dz'am / c h 'a n L high and craggy (Shī).
- g. *ts'iam / ts'iam / ts'ien T moat (Tso); dig out (Chuang).
- h. *dz'iam | dz'iam | t s i e n T entwine (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- 612 a. *dz'ăm / dz'ăm / c h ' a n T, L, and *dz'am / dz'am / c h ' a n T crafty (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** $*dz'\check{a}m / dz'\check{a}m / c h ' a n K Magnolia (Lie).$
- c. *dz'am / dz'am / c h 'a n (even tone) T, L, and *dz'ăm / dz'ăm / c h a n (oblique tone) T, L uneven, unequal, disorder (Tso); *ts'am / ts'am / c h 'a n T, and *dz'ăm / dz'ăm / c h a n T, L mixed, disparate (Li).

- d. $*dz'\check{a}m / dz'\check{a}m / ch' an$ T, L, and *dz'am / d'zam / ch' an (even tone) T, and *dz'am / dz'am / ch an (oblique tone) T slander (Tso).
- e. *dz'am / dz'am / ch' an T sharp (Mo).
- 613 a. *k'siam ? / ts'iam / ts'ien T, L all (Shu). Explanation of graph (cf. j. below) uncertain.
- b. *k'siam ! / ts'iäm / ts'ien T, L, and *gsiam! / siäm / sien L insincere, glib-tongued (Shu).
- c. variant of the preceding (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- d. *kliam / kiām / kien T, L, and *kliām / kivm / kien T a measure, a control (Sün); to control, restrict (Meng).
- e. *g'liam | g'iäm | k i e n T, L restrict, frugal (Tso); restricted, moderate, small (Meng).
- *χliam / χiäm / h i e n T, and *χliam / χivm / h i e n T precipitous, a perilous defile (Shi).
- g. variant of the preceding (Lie).
- h. *ngliam / ngiām / y e n T verify (Kuots'ê).
- i-j. *kliam / kivm / k i e n T sword (Tso). j. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 307).
- k. *gliam / liam / lien T, L long-muzzled dog (Shī).
- 1. *gliam / liam / lien T, L gather (Shī), accumulate (Shī); to exact, levy (Meng); dress a corpse, enshroud (Tso).
- m. *gliam / liam / lien T, L a creeping-plant (Shī).
 - Of the above, d. *kliam, kliam 'control, restrict', e. *g'liam 'restrict' and h. *ngliam 'verify' are cognate words.
- 614a. *'iam / 'iam / yen T, L cover, spreading out over, extensively (Shī); by and by (Shī); loan for id. eunuch (Li). Shuowen says: from 'great' and 申 'stretch out'.
- b. *'iam / 'iam / y e n T, and *'iam / 'ivm / y e n T to cover (Meng); take by surprise (Tso).
- c. * iam / iam / y e n T, L, and * iam / ivm / y e n T, L, to submerge, to soak (Li); loan for id. to tarry, delay (Tso).
- d. * iam / iam / y e n T, and * iam / y e n T palace door-keeper, eunuch (Meng), cf. a. above.
- e. *'əm / 'âm / a n T dark (Sün).
- 615 a. * iam / iam / y e n T, L, and *kəm / kām / k a n T cover (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); (covered way with but little opening above:) narrow pass (Tso); with narrow opening (sc. vessel) (Chouli). The graph has 'join' and 'two hands'.
- b. *'iam / 'iäm / y e n L, K to cover, shut (Li); seize by surprise (Li), cf. 614 b. above.
- c. * iam / iam / y e n T, L, and * iam / ivm / y e n T, L thickening, gathering (sc. clouds) (Shī).
- d. * m / âm / a n T (out of the dark:) brusquely, suddenly (Sün).
- 616 a—b. *'iam / iäm / y e n T satiate, satisfy (Kuoyü). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph has 'dog', 'meat' and 'mouth'.
- c. $\dot{i}\ddot{a}m/\dot{i}am/y$ e n T, L satiate (Shu); fed up, tired of (Shī); abundant (Shī); contented, tranquil (Shī); (satisfied with:) to accord with (Kuoyū); * $\ddot{a}m/\ddot{a}m/y$ e n L cover (Li); * $\dot{i}\ddot{a}p/\dot{i}\ddot{a}p/y$ e T, L to press (Chouli); suppress, pacify (Tso); pressed-down, flat (Li); loan for h. below (Li).

优肤凝厭餍愿糜壓的炎 盐酸剡 掞琰 d f 惔談從啖 l k m n 刮點 抬帖帖的詹 j k m 1 j k

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d. * iam / iam / y e n — T, L satiated (Tso).
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617 a-b. *diam / jiäm / y e n - T, L (Anc. Chin. jiän is irregular, we should expect a iām) blaze, blazing (Shī); brilliant, magnificent (Chuang). b. is Chou I (inscr. 69, sense of name). The graph has 'fire' doubled.

c. *diam / jäm / y e n — T, L to flame up (Shu).

d. *diam / jam / yen — T, L sharp, pierce, cut (Sun); to pare (Yi); loan for id. rising high (Li); brilliant (Ch'uts'i).

e. variant of the preceding (Yi ap. L).

- *diam / jäm / y e n T a kind of jade insignium (Shu).
- g. *t'iam / tś'iam / ch' an T, L carriage curtain, fringe, flounce (Li).
- *dziam / ziām / s i e n T, L (after Liu) to heat, to warm (Yili).
- *siam / siam / s h a n K the time of a short glance, a moment (Kungyang ap. Shuowen).
- *t'âm / t'âm / t'an T, L a kind of rush (Shī).
- *d'âm / d'âm / t' a n T aflame (Shī), burning with grief (Shī).
- * $d'\hat{a}m / d'\hat{a}m / t'$ an T speak (Shī).
- m. * $d'\hat{a}m / d'\hat{a}m / t$ an (oblique tone) T, and * $d'\hat{a}m / d'\hat{a}m / t'$ an (even tone) K tranquil (Sün).
- * $d'\hat{a}m / d'\hat{a}m / tan$ L, K devour (Sün).
- *d'âm / d'âm / tan T, L insipid (Li).
- p. $d^2\hat{a}m/d^2\hat{a}m/t^2$ an L, K, and $d^2\hat{a}m/d^2$ y e n T, L (after Sü Miao) bring forward (Shī).
 - Of the above a—c. *diam 'flame', h. *dziam 'to heat' ant k. *d'âm 'aflame with anger or grief' are cognate words.
- 618 a—b. * i am / tśi m / c h a n T prognosticate (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 25,1). The graph has 'mouth' (speak) and 'divination'.
- c. *tiam / tiām / c h a n T, L to moisten (Ch'uts'ī); loan for g. below (Li).

e. * iam / iam / y e n — T peaceful (Shī ap. Shuowen).

f. * iam / iam / y e n — T wild mulberry tree (Shī).

g. *iam / iam / yen — T, L, and *iap / iap / ye — T put the finger on, grasp (Chuang, one version).

h. *ap/ap/ya — T, L press down, press upon (Tsi). Of the above, c. * iap 'to press' and h. * ap 'press down' are cognate words.

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*tiam / \hat{t}iam / chan — T, L to moisten, soak through (Shi).
    *diam / jäm / y e n — T to collapse (sc. a wall) (Ch'uts'i).
    *t'iam / \hat{t}'i\ddot{a}m / ch' an - L look, observe (Li).
   *\hat{t}'iam / \hat{t}'iäm / c h ' a n — T, L to spy (Tso).
h. *t'iam / ts'iam / c h 'a n — T, L discordant (notes) (Li); *t'iap / t'iep / t'ie — T,
  L submit, peaceful (Kungyang).
   *siam / siam / chan — T, L (the Pek. chan is irregular, we should expect a
  shan) thatch (Tso).
   *sjam / sjäm / shan — T, L, and *tiam / tiem / tien — T ague (Tso).
k. *tiam / tiem / tien — T, L earthen stand for cups (Lunyü), corner of the room,
  depository (Li).
   *tiam / tiem / tien — T flaw (in a gem), defect (Shī).
1.
m. variant of the preceding (Shi ap. Shuowen).
    *tiam / tiem / tien — T black spot, blot (Ch'uts'ī).
    *niam / niem / nien — T to take in the fingers, pick up (Lie, one version).
0.
    *t'iap / t'iep / t'ie — T, L to taste (Kuliang ap. Yüp'ien).
p.
    *t'iap / t'iep / t'ie — T submit (Kungyang).
        *tiam / tsiam / c h a n — T, L garrulous (Chuang); loan for id. arrive, come
  (Shī, so the Mao comm. and Erya); loan for c. below (Shī), for f. below (Lü), for 618 a.
  above (Ch'uts'i). Explanation of graph uncertain.
b. *tiam / tśiäm / c h a n — K speak, chat (Sün).
   *tiam / tsiäm / c h a n — T see, look at (Shi).
d. *t'iam / ts'iam / ch'an — T, L overcoat (Kuan); loan for id. cut out, cut loose
  (Chouli).
   *î'iam | tś'iam | c h 'a n — T, L apron (Shī); comfortable, well adjusted (dress)
  (Lunyü).
    *diam / źiäm / s h a n — T to supply (Li); sufficient (Meng).
   *diam / jäm / y e n — L, K eaves (Li); loan for id. temple gate (Kuoyü).
h. *tâm / tâm / tan — T, L carry on the shoulder (Kuoyü).
i—j. t\hat{a}m / t\hat{a}n — T jar (Lie). j. is Chou III (inser. 228).
   *tâm / tâm / tan — T, L carry on the shoulder (Kuots'è), burden (Tso), s. w. as
  h. above; *diam / źiäm / s h a n — L to function as (Yili).
   *tâm / tâm / tan — T, L gall (Sün).
m. *d'\hat{a}m / d'\hat{a}m / t a n — T calm (Ch'uts'ī).
   *d'âm / d'âm / t a n — T, L calm (Lao); loan for f. above (Sün).
620 a—b. *tsiam / tsiām / tsiēn — K Shuowen says: to cut; but there are no text
  examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 10,3, sense here uncertain). The
  graph has two 'men' and 'dagger-axe'.
   *siam | siām | siā n — K Shuowen says: wild onion; but there are no text examples
  of this.
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d. *siam / siām / s i e n — T small (Ta Tai li).
e. *siam / siām / s i e n — T, L fine, thin silk (Shu); thin, slender, sharp-pointed (Chouli); *tiəm / tsiam / c h e n — L (after Cheng Hüan), and *tsiam / tsiām / t s i e n — L (after Sü Miao) to prick, incise (Li).
f. *tsiam / tsiām / t s i e n — T, L destroy (Shī).

g. *tsiam / tsiām / tsien — T, L moisten, enrich, benefit (Lü); loan for f. above (Kungyang).

h. *săm / săm / s h a n — T delicate hands (Shī ap. Shuowen).

- 621 a. *siam / siäm / sien T sharp (Mo). Explanation of graph uncertain.
 b. *d'iam / d'iem / t'ien T, L calm, tranquillity (Shu). a. is abbreviated phonetic.
- 622 a—d. *ńjam / ńżjäm / j a n T, L advance, go, gradually (Ch'uts'ī). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 14,2, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inser. 182, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *niam / nziam / j a n T to chew (Sün).
- 1—g. *niam / niam / ja n T, and *niam / niem / nien T slender, graceful (only Han time text ex.). b. is Yin bone (D 2, sense here uncertain).
- h—i. *njam / nziām / j a n T, L broad hem on robe (Yili); lady's nuptial robe (Li).
- j. *ńiam / ńziäm / j a n L beard, whiskers (Chuang).
- k. variant of the preceding (T, L) (Chuang).
- 1. *nəm / nām / n a n a kind of tree (Chuang).
- m—n. *t'nâm / t'âm / t'an T, L, and *nâm / nâm / nan T long-drawn and hanging ears (Li, used as N. Pr.).
- 623 a. *njam / nźjäm / j a n T, L to dye (Chouli), to dip (Tso); loan for id. soft, flexible (Shī). The modern graph has 'water', 'nine' and 'wood', explanation uncertain.
- 624 a—b. *k'iām / k'iom / k'i e n T, L (open the mouth:) yawn (Li). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 301 b. above (Chou I, inscr. 88). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. $*\bar{g}'iam/g'i\bar{a}m/k$ ien T, L, and $*g'i\bar{a}m/g'ivm/k$ ien T Euryale ferox (Chouli).
- d. *k'əm / k'ām / k 'an T, L pit (Yi); loan for id. sound of beating (Shī).
- 625 a—c. *b'iwām / b'iwom / f a n T every, all (Shī); common (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 43,6, sense of h. below 'wind'), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph was probably a drawing of a sail, thus the primary form of d. below. It could be used (as in Yin bone A 1: 43,6) for 風 *pium 'wind', because *b'iwām 'sail' and *pium 'wind' are cognate words, variations of the same stem. Character then loaned for the homophonous *b'iwām 'every'.
- d. *b'iwam / b'iwom / f a n T sail (only Han time text examples).
- e. *b'iwām / b'iwom / f a n T, L horizontal wooden cross-piece in front of carriage (Chouli).

- f. *p'iwām / p'iwom / f a n T, L, and *b'ium / b'iung / f e n g T float about (Shī); widely, universally (Lunyü).
- g. * $b'um / b'ung / p' e n g ext{ T, L, and *}b'ium / b'iung / f e n g ext{ T luxuriant, bushy, (Shī).}$
- h. *pium / piung / f e n g T wind (Shī); influence (Shī), manners, customs (Tso); to be on heat (Shī); loan for id. criticize (Shī); loan for o. below (Chouli).
- i. variant of the preceding ('wind') (Chouli).
- j—m. *b'ium / b'iung / f e n g T phoenix (Shī). k. is Yin bone (G 7:9), l. is Yin bone (A 6:51,6), m. is Yin bone (A 8:14,1), all in the sense of h. 'wind'; in m. there is an element of uncertain analysis substituted to our phonetic a. of the series.
- n. *pjum / pjung / f e n g T a kind of tree (Liquidambar?) (Ch'uts'ī).
- o. *pium / piung / f e n g T, L to recite (Chouli).
- p. *b'jum / b'jung / f e n g L, K easy-flowing (sc. sound) (Tso).
- 626 a. *b'iwām / b'iwvm / f a n T offend against, oppose (Lunyü); to pass over (Chouli); encounter (Tso); interfere with (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *b'iwām / b'iwvm / f a n (variant of 625 e-above, hence the reading) horizontal wooden cross-piece in front of carriage (Chouli, one version).
- c. *p'iwām / p'iwom / f a n T overflow, inundate (Meng); sprinkle (Li); *b'iwām / b'iwām / f a n L disperse (Tso), be thrown about, float about (Ch'uts'i).
- d. *b'iwam / b'iwom / f a n T a mould (Yi); rule, law (Shu).
- e. *b'iwām / b'iwom / f a n T, L Shuowen says: name of a plant; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. bee (Li); for b. above (Li), for d. (Li).
- 627 a. *kliam / kiem / k i e n T combine (Yi), together, double (Meng). The graph (see h. below) shows two arrows grasped in one hand.
- b. *kliam / kiem / kien T, L rush, sedge (Shī).
- c. *k'liam / k'iem / k'ien T, L hold in the mouth (Ta Tai li); loan for d. below (Sün), for e. (Kuliang).
- d. *k'liam / k'iem / k 'ien T, L dissatisfied (Li); *k'liap / k'iep / k 'ie L satisfied (Meng).
- e. *k'liam / k'iem / k'ien T deficient, modest (Sün).
- f. *k'liam / k'iem / k'ien T modest (Yi).
- g—h. *gliam / liem / lien T, L Shuowen says: thin ice; but there are no text examples in support of this; *gniam(?) / niam / nien L to glue, stick to (Chouli). h. is Chou I (inscr. 94, sense of name).
- i. *gliam / liem / lie n T, and *gliam / lie n T break, snap (by overheating) (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- j. *g'liam / yiem / lien T, L doubt, doubtful (Li).
- k. *g'liam / yiem / h i e n T some kind of rodent (Mo).
- 1. *gliam / liām / lien T angle, angular (Li); loan for id. discriminating (Shu); integrity, modest (Lunyü); loan for i. above (Chouli).
- m. *gliam / liam / lien T (whetstone:) sharp, keen (sc. soldier) (Hanfei).
- n. *gliam / liam / lien T sickle (Mo).
- 628 a. *t'âp / t'âp / t'a T Shuowen says: to fly; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. $*d'\hat{a}p / d'\hat{a}p / t'a$ T (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) trample, kick (Kuots'ê); very often the right part is erroneously written \hat{a} .

- 629 a—d. *kap / kap / k i a T cyclical character (Shu); shell (Yi), buffcoat (Shī); loan for g. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 4,3), c. is Yin (inscr. 3), d. is Chou I (inscr. 55). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. $*g'ap/\gamma ap/h$ i a T box (Kuots'ê).
- f. $*g'ap / \gamma ap / h$ i a T, L cage (Lunyü); box (Chuang).
- g. *g'ap / γap / h i a T be familiar with (Lunyü); be disrespectful, treat contemptuously (Lunyü); loan for id. exchange, alternate (Tso).
- h. *ap/ap/ya seal, stamp (Hanfei).
- 630 a—c. * $k\check{a}p / k\check{a}p / k$ i a T, L be on both sides of (Shī); support (Tso); side-building (Shu); press between (Tso), tweezers (Chouli); *kiap / kiep / k i e L sword handle (Chuang). b. is Yin (inscr. 7, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph shows one man in the middle and two men on his sides.
- d. *kāp / kāp / k i a T, L place name (Tso); room at side of gate (Ta Tai li).
- e. $*g'\check{a}p / \gamma\check{a}p / h$ i a T, L narrow (Li).
- 1. *kiap | kiep | kie T, L, and *kap | kap | kia L chop-sticks (Li).
- g. *kiap / kiep / k i a T, L (Pek. k i a is irregular, we should expect a k i e) pod of leguminous plants (Chouli).
- h. *kiap / kiep / k i a T, L (Pek. irregular like g.) cheek, jowl (Tso).
- i. *kiap / kiep / k i e T sword (Kuots'ê).
- j. *k'iap / k'iep / k' i e K Shuowen says: to store, a box; but there are no text examples of this.
- k. *g'iap / \gammaiep / k i e T, L (Pek. k i e is irregular, we should expect a h i e) a brave (only Han time text ex.); N. Pr. (Kungyang); loan for a. above (Li).
- 1. *g'iap / yiep / h i e, k i a T, L, and ? / tsiep / t s i e L grasp, hold (Shī); clasp under arm (Meng), hold on to, by strength of (Meng); ? / tsiep / t s i e L reach everywhere (Shī), all round (Chouli). The Pek. k i a is probably due to confusion with a. above.
- m. ? / tsiep / tsie T a complete cycle, all round (Tso).
- **n.** *k'iap / k'iep / k'ie T contented (Kuots'ê).

- o. *k'iap / k'iep / k'ie T, L box (Li), basket (Tso), cf. j. above. Of the above, a. *kăp 'press between', f. *kiap 'chopsticks' (pincers), and l. *g'iap 'to clasp' are cognate words.
- 631 a. *ts'ăp / ts'ăp / ch' a T pestle (only Han time text ex.). The original graph probably showed a pestle inserted in a mortar.
- *ts'ăp / tṣ'ăp / c h 'a T, L insert (Kuots'ê).
- c. *săp/săp/s ha T, L, and siap/siap/s hê T smear mouth with victim's blood (at covenant) (Tso).
- **632 a.** * $t_{iap} / t_{iap} / c$ hê T hanging ears (Tso ap. Shuowen, used as N. Pr.). The graph has 'ear' and a stroke of uncertain meaning.
- *tiap | tiap | chê T Shuowen says: sides of a carriage box; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for *tiap / tiep / tie — L paralysed, unable to move (Chuang).
- *njap (tnjap?) / njäp / n i e L, K legs sticking together, unable to walk (Kuliang).
- 633 a—c. *diap / jäp / ye T (foliage:) generation (inscr. 220), primary form of next. b. is Chou I (inscr. 77), c. is Chou III (inscr. 220). c. is a drawing of a tree with foliage; in b. the latter is more summarily drawn and separated from the tree; cf. 339 a—c. above.
- * $diap / i\ddot{a}p / y e$ T leaf, foliage (Shī); generation, epoch (Shī). * $diap / i\ddot{a}p / y e$ T to plate with metal (Mo).
- *d'iap | d'iep | tie T, L parapet (Tso). f.
- *d'iap / d'iep / tie T tablet (Tso).
- *d'iap / d'iep / t i e T, L butterfly (Chuang).
- *d'iap | d'iep | tie K unlined garment (Ch'uts'ī).
- *d'iap / d'iep / tie T, L spy (Tso).
- *d'iap / d'iep / t i e T trample, stamp (Lie).
- * $diap / i\ddot{a}p / ye = T$, and *siap / siep / sie = T, L (T also has * $d'iat / dz'i\ddot{a}t / dz'i\ddot{a}$ s hê and *śiat / śiät / s hê, through confusion with series 339 above) take and measure (Yi).
- m—n. $*diap / i\ddot{a}p / ye$ T, and $? / \chi i\ddot{a}p / hie$ L, and $? / \chi iap / hie$ T small, insignificaut (Li).
- *śiap / śiäp / s h ê L, K archer's thimble (Shī).
- *siap | siep | sie T bottom inlay in shoe, shoe (Lü).
- 634 a—e. *diap / źiäp / s h ê T to wade (Shī), cross a stream (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1:53,3), c. is Yin bone (M 235), d. is Chou I (inser. 97), e. is Chou II (inser. 147). The graph has two 'feet' and 'water'.
- 635 a—c. *ts' įap / ts' įäp / ts' i e T secondary wife, concubine (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 25,7), c. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph has 'woman' and an upper element of uncertain explanation.
- *ts'iap / ts'iäp / ts'ie K go to and fro (Ch'uts'i).
- e. *tsiap / tsiap / tsia T connect, come in contact (Yi); close to (Yili); receive (Li); loan for 扱 (Chouli), for g. below (Chouli).
- *tsiap / tsiäp / tsie T peg, tenon (Chuang).
- g. *sap / sap / s h a T, L plume-fan (Tso).

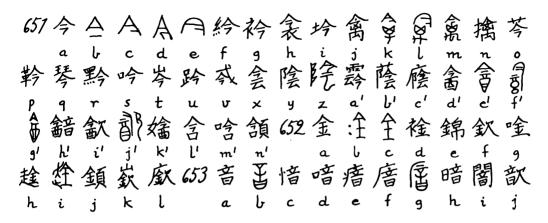
- 636 a. *dz'iap / dz'iap / tsie T Shuowen says: quick, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *dz'iap / dz'iap / t sie T, L victory (Shī); booty (Shī); quick, mobile, nimble (Shī); short-cut (Tso); loan for id. nourish (Lü); loan for 插 (Yili).
- c. *dz'iap / dz'iap / tsie T, and ? / tsan T abrupt (Shī).
- d. *tsiap / tsiap / tsie T, L eye-lashes (Chuang).
- 637 a—b. *liap / liap / lie T Shuowen says: bristling hair; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 182, sense of j. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *liap / liap / lie T tall (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- d. *liap / liap / lie T, L hold (several things) together, grasp (Yili).
- e. *liap | liap | li e T hunt (Shī); maltreat (Yili); loan for id. a kind of turtle (Chouli).
- f. *lîap / lîap / li e T, L tread, trample (Li).
- g-h. *liap / liap / lie T to move (inscr. 323). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323).
- i. *liap / liap / lie T, L mane (Li); long beard (Tso); broom (Li).
- j. *lâp / lâp / la T winter sacrifice (Tso); loan for id. part of sword blade (from ridge to edge) (Chouli).
- 638 a. *niap / niap / nie T, L promise (Chuang); loan for *tiap (thiap?) / tsiap / chê L slice of meat (Li); loan for e. below (Kuan). The graph has 'ear' tripled.
- b. *njap / njäp / n i e T trample (Kuots'ê).
- c. *niap / ńźiäp / j ê T garrulous (Hanfei).
- d. *tiap (tniap?) / tsiap / c h ê T, L despondent, to fear (Li).
- e. *śńiap / śiäp / s h ê T catch (Kuoyü), grasp, gather up (as skirts) (Lunyü); to hand things to, assist (Shī); act for another (Meng); combine (two offices) (Lunyü); borrow (Tso); scare (Tso); pinch between (Lunyü); loan for 635 g. above (Kuoyü).
- 639 a. *g'iap / γiep / h i e T with united forces (only Han time text examples). The graph has 'strength' tripled.

- b. *g'iap / yiep / h i e T in harmony, together, conform (Shu).
- c. variant of the preceding (T, L) (Chouli). The graph has 'mouth' and 'ten'.
- d. *γiăp / χiνp / h i e K to break (Kungyang, one version).
- e. *\(\tilde{\chi}\)i\(\tilde{p}\)/\(\chi\)i\(\chi\) h i e T, L sides (of body) (Sh\(\tilde{s}\)); ribs (Tso); to throng, constrain (Tso).
- f. *χį αρ / χį νρ / h i e L, K shut (sc. mouth) (Chuang).
- 640 a. *ngiāp / ngivp / ye T toothed face-board of a bell stand or frame (Shī); loan for id. initiate (Kuoyü), work (Meng), action (Yi), deed (Shu); profession (Tso); fortune, inheritance (Tso); strong (Shī); big, high (Shī); to fear (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 641 a. *b'iwap / b'iwop / f a T to lack (Tso), exhaust (Meng); neglect (Chuang); loan for id. a shelter (at bow-shooting) (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *p'iwam / p'iwvm / f a n T to float (Chuang, one version).
- c. *piam / piām / pien T, L, and *pəm / pəng / peng T, L to lower a coffin into the grave (Chouli).
- d. *piam / piām / pien T, L, and *piām / pivm / pien T diminish (Shī) (cognate to a.?).
- 642 a—b. *k'iab / k'iwo / k' ü T go away, leave (Shī); put away, eliminate (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 37,3). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *k'iab / k'iwo / k ' ü T, L breathe with open mouth (Chuang).
- d. $*k'iab / k'iwo / k' \ddot{u}$ L strong, robust (Shī).
- e. *k'iab / k'iwo / k ' ü T, L sleeve (Shī).
- t. *k'jab / k'jwo / k' ü T wheat gruel (Sün).
- g. *k'iab / k'iwo / k' ü T, L, and *k'iap / k'ivp / k' i e L, K to open the side (Chuang); right wing of an army (Tso).
- h—i. *kiāp/kivp/kie— T, L rob, plunder (Tso); to force (Sün). i. is a vulgar variant.
- j. $*k'i\check{a}p / k'ipp / k'$ i e T, L afraid (Tso).
- k. *piwap / piwop / f a law (Shu); model, imitate (Li); style, fashion (Tso).
- 1—m. variant of the preceding (Chouli). m. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The meaning of the additional upper element is doubtful, but a. as phonetic is clear.
- n—o. *g'âp / γâp / h o T, L join, unite (Yi); (a *closer*:) door leaf (Sün); loan for id. why (Chuang); why not (Lunyü). In the form z. below we can see that 去 a. is really the phonetic, and hence that o. is a corrupted variant.
- p. $*g'\hat{a}p / \gamma\hat{a}p / h$ o T, L to shut (Yi); $*\chi ap / \chi ap / h$ i a L laugh (Chuang).
- **q.-r.** * $g'\hat{a}p / \gamma\hat{a}p / h$ o T, L to thatch, to cover (Tso); * $k\hat{a}b$ (> $k\hat{a}d$ >) / $k\hat{a}i / k$ a i T to cover, conceal (Tso); a cover (of a car) (Chouli); loan for id. namely, for, because (Shī); loan for n. (why not) (Li).
- s. *g'âp / γâp / h o T, L wooden leaf of door (Tso); to shut (Yi); loan for n. above (why not) (Kuan), for q. (namely) (Chouli).
- t. $*k'\hat{a}p / k'\hat{a}p / k$ o T, L cup, bowl (Tso).
- **u.** $*k'\hat{a}p/k'\hat{a}p/k'$ o T, and $*k'\hat{a}p/k'$ o T promptly, suddenly (Ch'uts'ī).
- v. * $k'\hat{ap}/k'\hat{ap}/k$ o T, and * $k'\hat{ab}$ (> $k\hat{ad}$ >) / $k'\hat{ai}/k$ a i T, and ? / $k'\hat{at}/k$ o T a beating or knocking sound (Ch'uts'i).
- **z.** *giap / jiäp / y e T, L carry food to (sc. labourers in the fields) (Shī).
- y—z. sense and reading unknown, occurs inscr. 229; adduced here in order to show the archaic form of n. above. z. is Chou III (inscr. 229).



- 643 a—1. *g'əm / γâm / h a n T, L envelop, contain (Shī); cuirass (Meng); *g'εm / yām / hien — T, L (part of) place name (Tso). a. and b. are alternative modern graphs; c. is Yin bone (A 2: 32,2, sense of name), d. is Yin bone (B hia 22: 5, sense of name), e. is Chou II (inscr. 172, sense of 陷), f. is Chou (inscr. 360, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of some kind of *container* (a quiver?).
- g. *g'əm / γậm / h a n T, L contain, hold, receive (Shī).
- h. *g'am / yam / han T, L han-tan lotus flower (Shī).
- 644 a. *ngəm / ng@m / a n T stupid, hesitating (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 645 a. *t'əm / t'âm / t'an T to covet (Shī). $\Leftrightarrow k_i \ni m$ can handly be phonetic, so this is probably a compound ideogram.
- **b.** *t'>m / t' $\hat{a}m$ / t' a n T, L sound of eating (Shī).
- 646 a. *d'əm / d'âm / t'an T, L extend, spread (Shī); *diem / jām / yen L pointed, sharp (Shī). Explanation of graph (cf. k. below) uncertain.
- b. *d' > m / d' | am / t' | an T | deep, abyss (Ch'uts'i).
- c. *d'am / d'âm / t'an T, L speak (Chuang); loan for id. great, comfortable (Ta Tai li).
- d. $*d' \rightarrow m/d' + m/t' + m T$, L, and $*dz' + i \in m/dz' + i \in m/t + s' + i \in m L$, K to heat (Li); to roast or boil soft (Chouli).
- e. *d'əm / d'am / t'an T, L, and *dziəm / ziəm / sin T, L, and *ziəm / iəm / yin — T, L knob or ring on sword handle (Chuang).
- *d'əm / d'âm / t a n (oblique tone) T keep in the mouth (Chuang ap. T).
- g. *d'əm / d'âm / t a n T, L sacrifice at end of mourning (Li). h. *t'əm / t'âm / t 'a n T, L hold (Chouli).
- i. *diəm / iəm / y i n T, and *dziəm / ziəm / s i n T name of a fish (Sün).
- i-k. *d'iem / d'iem / tien T, L bamboo mat (Shī). k. is Chou II (inscr. 194).
- *d'iom | d'iem | tien T, L black horse with yellow mane (so Shuowen and Erya), or: horse with hairy legs (so the Mao comm.) (Shī).
- 647 a—b. *ts'am / ts'am / ts'an T three, a triad (Yi); (combine, compare:) examine (Sün); *siəm / siəm / s h e n — T, L name of a constellation (part of Orion, the *triad star*) (Shī); *tṣ'iəm / tṣ'iəm / t s' e n — L, K uneven, irregular (Shī). b. is Chou II (inser. 132). The original graph may have been a drawing of Orion.
- c-d. *ts'm / ts'am / ts'an T three horses in a team (Shī); outside horses of a team (Shī); the 3rd man on a war chariot (Tso). d. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325).

- *ts'am / ts'âm / ts'an T, L grieved, afficted (Shi).
- *səm / sām / san T, L rice gruel with meat (Chouli). f.
- *siam / siam / s h e n T long, tall (sc. tree) (Ch'uts'i).
- *sem | sam | shan T, L grasp (Shi); delicate, tender (sc. fingers) (Shi).
- 648 a—c. *səm | sâm | sa n T three (Shī). The Anc. Chin. reading sâm is irregular; we should expect a sam, since the Shi rimes clearly indicate Arch. *sam. b. is Yin bone (A 1: 7,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56). The graph is a symbol.
- 649 a-c. *nəm / nām / n a n T man, male (Shī); baron (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 7,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph has 'strength' and 'field'.
- 650 a—c. *nəm / nâm / n a n T South (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 13,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 651 a—e. *kiəm / kiəm / ki n T now, present (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1:11,4), c. is Chou I (inser. 56), d. is Chou I (inser. 65), e. is Chou II (inser. 151). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *kiəm / kiəm / ki n T, L, and *g'iəm / g'iəm / ki n T, L single shroud (Yili).
- g. *kiəm / kiəm / ki n T, L collar or lapel of coat (Shi); *g'iəm / g'iəm / ki n— L, K sash string, string for fastening garments (Li); loan for f. above (Li), for h. below (Li).
- **h.** $*k'i \ni m / k'i \ni m / k'i = T$, L coverlet (Shī).
- i. *k'iəm / k'iəm / k'i n T, and *ngiəm / ngiəm / y i n L pit (Yili).
- j-m. *q'iəm / q'iəm / k' i n T bird (Tso), animal (Yi); catch, capture (Tso). k. is Chou I (inser. 60, sense of name), l. is Chou II (inser. 172), m. is Chou III/IV (inser. 326); in k. and l. the radical is 'bird net' (see 407 b. above), in m. this is corrupted into some animal-like shape.
- *g'iəm / g'iəm / k' i n T, L catch (Kuoyü), same word as the preceding.
 *g'iəm / g'iəm / k' i n T, L a marsh plant (Shī).
- *g'iəm / g'iəm / k'in T strap (Yili).
- q. $*g'i \ni m / g'i \ni m / k' i n$ T lute (Shi).
- r. *g'iəm | g'iəm | k'in T, L (after Sü Miao), and *g'iem | g'iam | k'ien L, K black (Tso).
- *ngiəm / ngiəm / y i n T, L sigh, moan (Kuots'ê); drawn-out and sad song
- *ngjəm / ngjəm / y i n L, and ? / ts'jəm / t s' i n L high river bank (Chuang); ? / dz'iəm / ts'en — T, L small and high hill (Meng).
- * $t'i\partial m / \hat{t}'i\partial m / ch' en L$ walk hesitatingly (Chuang).
- v. *k'əm / k'âm / k 'an T to kill (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- * i m / i m / y i n (primary form of a'., hence the reading). Shuowen says: cloudy; but there are no text examples of this. The radical is Z'cloud'. Etymologically same word as next.
- y-z. * jəm / jəm / y i n Northern slope of a height (Meng); shade, darkness (Shī), cloudy (Shī); dark cosmogonic principle (Tso); conceal (Shī); shadow (Shī). z. is Chou III/IV (inser. 326).
- *'iəm / 'iəm / y i n T cloudy (Ta Tai li).
 *'iəm / 'iəm / y i n T, L shade (Tso). a'.
- c'. * i m / i m / y i n T, L shade (Tso).



- d'—g'. *'iɛm / 'i̞ām / y e n T Shuowen says: bitter wine; but there are no text examples in support of this. e'. is Yin bone (O 1316, sense of i'?), f'. is Chou IV (inscr. 289, sense of name), g'. is pre-Han (inscr. 407, sense of i'.?).
- h'. * m / âm / a n T, L low voice (Chouli).
- i'—j'. * jəm / jəm / y i n to drink, variant of 飲 (inser. 224). j'. is Chou III (inser. 224).
- k. *ngəm / ngām / a n T angry (Shī, Han version ap. Shuowen).
- 1'. *g'əm / yam / h a n T hold in the mouth, put in the mouth (Tso); contain (Yi).
- m'. *g'əm / $\gamma \hat{a}m$ / h a n T, L hold in the mouth (Sün).
- n'. *g'əm / γâm / h a n T, L jaw (Kungyang); emaciated, pale (sc. face) (Ch'uts'ī); *ngəm / ngâm / a n L nod the head (Tso).
- 652 a—c. *kiəm / kiəm / ki n T metal (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 59), c. is Chou I (inscr. 60). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *kiəm / kiəm / ki n K collar or lapel of coat (Shī ap. Han stone classics).
- e. *kiəm / kiəm / ki n T silk woven in coloured pattern, brocade (Shī).
- 1. *k'iəm / k'iəm / k'i n T intense feelings (Shī); respectfully attentive (Shu); loan for id. sound of bells (Shī).
- g. *g'iəm / g'iəm / k i n K obstruct, shut (Lü); loan for *ngiəm / ngiəm / y i n T, L precipitous (Kuliang).
- h—i. *ngiəm / ngiəm / y i n T Shuowen says: to walk rapidly with bent head; but there are no text examples in support of this. i. is Chou II (inscr. 142, sense of name).
- j. *ngəm / ngâm / a n T nod the head (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- k. *k'iəm / k'iəm / k'i n T, L precipitous (Kungyang).
- 1. *χiəm / χiəm / h i n T, L set forth, display (Chouli).
- 653 a—b. *'iəm / jəm / y i n T sound, tone (Shī); loan for 蔭 (Tso). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 275, sense of name). The graph may be a drawing of a mouth blowing a flute, cf. 言.
- c. * im / im / y i n T, L mild, peaceful (Tso).
- d. *'iəm / 'iəm / y i n T, L, and *'əm / 'ām / a n T, L mute (Kuan), silent (Mo); pent up (Chuang).
- e. * iəm / iəm / y i n T, L dumb (Li).
- f-g. *'iəm / 'iəm / y i n (Yüp'ien, not in T or K, hence the reading some what unsafe) place name (Yüp'ien, no text ex.). g. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of name).

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        戡雌
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- h. * m / âm / a n T dark (Kuoyü).
- *' m / an T, L dark (Li).
- *xiom / xiom / h i n T, L smell and enjoy the fragrance of sacrifices (Shi); enjoy, desire (Shī); to be moved (Shī).
- 654 a. *'jəm / 'jəm / y i n T drink (Shī), give to drink (Shī). The graph has 'eat' and 'open the mouth'.
- **655 a.-d.** *qliom / liom / lin T forest, grove (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,1), c. is Yin (inscr. 11, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 169). The graph has 'tree' doubled. e. *gliəm / lin — T to pour (Kuots'ê).
- f-g. *gliem / liem / lin T, L long rain (3 days or more) (Tso). g. is Yin bone (A 4: 9,8).
- *gliem / liem / liem T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu).
- *gləm / lām / lan T covetous (Ch'uts'ī).
- *gləm / lam / lan L, K covetous, rapacious (Tso).
- *klipm / kipm / kin T prohibit (Tso); loan for id. a support for a ritual vessel (Li); loan for 651 f. above (Sün).
- *klipm / kipm / kin T, L overlap of a robe (Ch'uts'ī).
- m. *g'liəm / g'iəm / k i n T, L shut the mouth (Ch'uts'i).
- 656 a. *dism / ism / yin T walk (only Han time text ex.). The graph (see c—d. below) is a drawing of a man carrying something.
- **b—d.** *d'iəm | d'iəm | c h 'e n T, L to sink (Shī), submerged (Kuots'ê); deep (Chuang): put poison (cf. e. below) in a liquid (Chouli); *d'iom / d'iom / ch' en — (even tone) T, L, and *d'iəm / d'iəm / c h e n — (oblique tone) T, L sacrifice in which the gifts are sunk in water (Chouli); *sipm / sipm / s h e n — T, L name of a state (Tso); *î'ipm / ts' iom / c h' e n — L juice (Li). c. is Yin bone (N 4: 61, p. 149, sense of name), d. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense of name).
- e. *d'inm / d'inm / chen T, L poisoned wine (Tso).
- *d'iəm / d'iəm / c h e n T, L (bird with poisonous wings, which were soaked in wine:) to poison (Kuoyü).
- g. *tiəm / tsiəm / c h e n T, L pillow (Shī), to use as a pillow (Lunyü). h. *diəm / ziəm / s h e n T, L rely on, trustworthy (Shī).
- *təm / tâm / tan T to beat, pierce (Lie); loan for 🛱 (Chouli).

- j. *təm / tâm / tan T, L look downwards (Yi).
- k. *tom / tâm / tan T, L (Anc. Chin. tâm is irregular, we should expect a tâm) silk pendants on ceremonial cap (Tso).
- 1. *tom / tam / tan T, L addicted to music and pleasure generally (Shī).
- m. *təm / tâm / tan T, L hanging hair (Shī).
- n. *təm / tâm / tan T dregs (Ch'uts'ī).
- o. *t'am / t'am / t' an T, L minced meat and blood pickled with brine (Shī).
- 657 a. *diəm / iəm / y i n T Shuowen says: to covet; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diom / jom / y in T to soak (Chouli); loan for id. excess (Shu), licentious (Tso); to liberate, let loose (Shu); great (Shī).
- 658 a. *diəm / źiəm / s h e n T excessive, very (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diem | źiem | shen T, L a small furnace (Shī).
- c-d. *diem/shen T, L reliable, to trust (Shī). d. is Chou (inscr. 344, sense of name).
- e. *tiəm / \hat{t} iəm / chen T to strike (Kuots'ê).
- f. *tiem / tiem / chen T, L chopping-block (Chouli).
- g. *t'iəm / t'iəm / ch'en T walk hesitatingly (Chuang).
- h. *tiəm / tsiəm / chen T, L to ladle out, serve (Ch'uts'i); to deliberate (Kuoyü).
- i. $*\hat{d}$ 'iəm / \hat{d} z'iəm / shen K, and $*\hat{d}$ iəm / shen L mulberry (Shī).
- j—k. *təm / tâm / t a n T Shuowen says: pleasure (cf. next); but there are no text examples in support of this. k. is Chou I/II (inscr. 212, sense of name).
- l—m. *təm / tām / tan L, K sunk in, steeped in (sc. pleasure) (Shī); *d'ām / d'ām / c h a n T, L abundant, thick (sc. dew) (Shī); deep (Ch'uts'ī); *tsiem / tsien L to soak (Chouli). m. is Chou II (inser. 180).
- n. *t'əm / t'ām / t'an T, L, and *d'əm / d'âm / tan T dark (Chuang); loan for i. above (Shī).
- o. *səm / sâm / san T rice gruel with meat (Sün).
- **p.** $*k' \rightarrow m / k' + m / k' + n T$ able to bear, equal to (Shi).
- q. *k'əm / k'âm / k'an T to vanquish, kill (Shu, sü).
- r. *k'əm / k'âm / k'an T, and *ngəm / ngâm / an T rocky (Chuang).
- **659 a.** * $t'i \not o m / \hat{t}'i \not o m / c h' e n$ T, L protrude suddenly (Kungyang). The graph has 'gate' and 'horse'.
- 660 a—b. *tsiəm / tsiəm / tsin T Shuowen says: sharp; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of c. below). Explanation of graph uncertain (is it the primary form of g. below?).
- c—d. *ts'am / ts'am / ts'an T particle denoting perfect tense (Shī ap. Shuowen).
 d. is Chou II (inscr. 194, sense of l. below).
- *ts'əm / ts'âm / ts' a n T, L grieved (Shī); loan for id. particle denoting perfect tense (Shī).
- 1. *ts'əm / ts'am / ts'an T have in mouth (Huainan); *tsəp / tsap / tsa L, K bite (Chuang).
- g. *tsəm / tsam / tsam T, L, and *tṣiəm / tṣiəm / chen T, L hair pin (Sün); loan for id. quick, rapid (Yi).
- h. *teom / tsûm / t s a n T, L nail without head, fastening pin (Li).

- i. *dz'əm / dz'âm / ts' an T, L silkworm (Shī).
- j. *tṣjəm / tṣjəm / c h e n T, L accuse, calumniate (Shī).
- k. *dziom / ziom / sin T, L, and *dz'iɛm / dz'iam / ts'ien T large boiler (Shī).
- 1. *tsiəm / tsiem / tsiem T, L err, error (Shī), usurp (Li); loan for *ts'iəm / ts'i n L disorder (Shī); loan for j. above (Shī).
- m. *tsiem / tsiem / tsien T, L extinguish (Tso).
- n. *dz'iɛm / dz'iām / t s' i e n T, L go in water, wade (Kuoyü); to lie at then bottom of water (Shī); brush-heap lying in water, to catch fish (Shī); to hide (Tso) (the alt. read *dz'iɛm / dz'iām / t s i e n oblique tone T).
- o. * $tsap / ts\hat{a}p / ts a$ K sting and suck (as a mosquito) (Lie).
- 661 a—b. *ts'iəm / ts'iəm / ts'i n (primary form of c. below, hence the reading) (to sweep over:) invade (inscr. Yin bone I 39: 11). b. is Yin bone (I 39: 11). The graph has 'hand' and 'broom'.
- c—d. *ts'iəm / ts'iəm / ts'i n T (sweep over:) invade (Shī); encroach upon, usurp (Chouli). d. is Chou (inscr. 343, sense of name).
- e. *ts'im / ts'im / ts'in T, L thread (Shi).
- 1—j. *ts'iəm / ts'iəm / ts'i n T lie down to sleep (Shī); living apartments in a palace (Li); back apartment of an ancestral temple (Shī). g. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), h. is Yin bone (I 23: 13), i. is Yin (inscr. 4), j. is Chou II (inscr. 193); in all these the phonetic is reduced to the 'broom' only.
- k. *ts'iəm / ts'iəm / ts'i n T, L, and *tsiem / tsiem / tsie n T incise, engrave (Kungyang).
- 1. *ts'iəm / ts'iəm / ts'i n T, L, and *tṣ'iəm / ts'iəm / ch' en L, K gallop (Shī).
- m. *tsiom / tsiom / tsiom / tsion T, L overflow (Shī); to soak (Shī); gradually, step by step (Yi); lake (Chouli).
- n. *tsiəm / tsiəm / tsin T, L a halo, vapour as prognostic (Tso).
- o. variant of m. above (Lü).
- 662 a. *dziəm / ziəm / s i n, s ü n T a measure (8 c h ' i) (Shi); loan for id. to warm up (sc. food) (Kuoyü); renew, resume, continue (Tso); employ (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 663 a-b. *siəm / siəm / s i n T heart (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph is a drawing.
- 664 a—b. *siəm / siəm / s h e n T dense trees, thicket, grove (only Han time text ex.). b. is Yin bone (B hia 3: 2, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'tree' tripled.
- 665 a. *śiəm / śiəm / s h e n T examine, discriminate (Lunyü); loan for id. a bundle (of feathers) (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain. **b.** \hat{t} 'iəm / ts'iəm / c h' e n — T a liquid (Tso).
- 666 a—b. *siəm / siəm / s h e n T deep (Shī, ode Yin wu, where the current edition has 598 k. above, but where Mao's version evidently had a., very similar to 598 k, since he defines it as c. below). The graph (see d. below) had 'hole', 'hand' and 'fire'.
- c-d. *sigm / sigm / s h e n T deep (Shī). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327).
- e. *t'iəm / \hat{t} 'iəm / ch' en T, L precious object (Shī).
- f. *t'am / t'am / t' a n T, L to put the hand into and test (Lunyü), explore (Yi).
- 667 a—e. *ńiem / ńźiem / j e n T cyclical character (Tso); great (Shī); artful, flattering (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,1), c. is Yin (inscr. 30), d. is Chou I (inscr. 59), e. is Chou I (inscr. 79). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- i-h. *niəm / niiəm / j e n T carry (Shī); support, sustain, endure (Tso); strong, reliable (Shī); burden (Meng); charge, office (Tso); entrust (Tso); have confidence in (Lunyü). g. is Chou I (inser. 79), h. is Chou I (inser. 131 b).
- i—j. *niəm / niziəm / j e n T Shuowen says: pregnant. j. is Chou I (inscr. 97, sense of name).
- k. variant of the preceding (Han time text examples).
- * \hat{n}_{ijm} / \hat{n}_{ijm} / j e n T, L, and * n_{ijm} / \hat{n}_{ijm} / n i n T, L weave (Tso).
- m. variant of the preceding (Mo).
- n-o. *niom / niom / jen T, L skirts of robe, flaps (Tso); bed mat (Li); hooks connecting on top of coffin (Li).
- p. *niəm / niziəm / j e n T, L thoroughly cooked, overdone (Lunyü).
- q—r. niem / niem / j e n T think (inser. 306). r. is Chou III/IV (inser. 306). s. *niem / niem / j e n T, L a kind of big beans (Shī); loan for id. soft (Shī).
- t. *niəm / niəm / lin T, L (Pek. lin is irregular, we should expect a nin) to rent (Tso).
- 668 a—b. *pliəm / pi m / pi n g T, L, and *bliəm / li n L rations (Li); *pliem / piem / ping — T receive (Tso); ask for instructions (Tso). a. is the correct form, b. is vulgar. Pek ping is irregular, we should expect a pin. The graph has a drawing of double walls with roof (=granary) and 'grain'.
- c. *bliəm / lim / lin T, L granary (Shī); loan for id. shake (Tso); for a above (Kuan).
- d. *blipm / lipm / lin T full of fear, respectful (Sün).
- 669 a—d. *p'liom / p'iom / p' i n T sort, kind, class (Shu); degree (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 35,3), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 35,4), d. is Chou I (inser. 63). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- eg. *blipm / lim / lin T approach, go to (Shī); look down on, oversee (Shī). f. is Chou I (inser. 65), g. is Chou II (inser. 180).



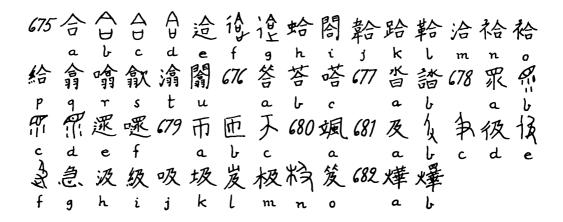
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- 670 a—c. *niem / niem / nien T think of (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58), c. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph has 'present' and 'heart'.
- *ńim / ńżim / j e n T, L harvest, year (Tso).
- *niem / nziem / j e n T, L cooked (Li).
- *śńiam / śiam / s h e n T, L to flee, escape (Li).
- *śńiam / śiam / s h e n T, L remonstrate (Tso); think of (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- *niap / niep / nie T, L fill, stop up, obstruct (Shu).
- 671 a—d. *g'em / yam / h i e n T all (Shī); unite (Shī); everywhere (Kuoyü); name of a hexagram (Yi); loan for i. below (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1:43,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 12), d. is Chou I (inscr. 67). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *g'ɛm / yām / h i e n T, L harmony (Shu).
- f. *g'em / yam / h i e n T, L salt, salty (Shu).
- g-h. *kem / kam / kien T, L, and *g'em / yam / hien T, L abridge, moderate (Li). h. is Chou III (inscr. 230, sense of name).
- i—j. *kem / kam / k i e n T, L rope (Chuang); to tie (Chuang). j. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- k. *kem / kam / kien T, and *'em / am / yen L, K a black blot (Chuang).
- *kəm / kâm / k a n T to move (Yi); to touch (Shī); loan for p. below (Tso).
- m. $*\chi \ni m / \chi \triangleq m / h$ an T, and $*k \ni m / k \triangleq m / k \Rightarrow n$ K emaciated (Ch'uts'ī). n. $*l \ni m / t \le m / c$ h e n T needle (Li); (to prick:) criticize (Tso).
- * \hat{t}_{ijm} / $t \leq ijm$ / c h e n L, K needle (Tso).
- *g'am / yam / h a n T dissatisfied (Li), resent (Tso).
- 672 a—b. *g'em / γăm / h i e n T Shuowen says: small pit; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 184, sense of c. below). The graph shows a man falling into a pitfall.
- c. *g'εm / γăm / h i e n T (fall into a pitfall:) fall down, fall into (Tso); throw down (Meng).
- d. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- *k'əm / k'ām / k'an L, K pit (Chuang), cognate to the preceding.
- *k'əm | k'am | k'an T, L despondent, self-effacing, modest (Meng); loan for e. above (Tso).
- g-h. *g'am / yâm / h a n T Shuowen says: turbid water; but there are no text examples of this. h. is pre-Han (inscr. 432, sense of name).

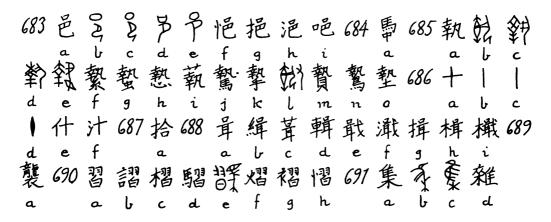
- i. *d'om / d'am / t'an T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) recess or smaller pit in bottom of cave or cellar (Yi). This is a compound ideogram: 'hole' and 'pit'; but a. helps also, to a certain extent, in the sound. This i. is abbreviated phonetic (cf. 肘 abbrev. phonetic in 討) in:
- j. $*d'am/d'\hat{a}m/\tan T$, L han-tan lotus flower (Shī). k. $*d'\hat{a}m/d'\hat{a}m/\tan T$, L eat, swallow (Kuoyü).
- 1. * \hat{t} 'iɛm / \hat{t} 'iäm / c h ' a n T, L flatter (Lunyü).
- m. *diem / jäm / y e n T, L gate over street or lane (Sün).
- n. *diem / jäm / y e n T eaves (Ch'uts'i).

 o. *diem / jäm / y e n T brightness (only Han time text ex.). *dz'iem / dz'iem / dz'iem / ts'ien — L, K to boil (sc. meat) (Li); *dziem / ziem / sin — L sacrifice of boiled meat (Li).
- p. variant of l. above (Li).
- 678 a. *ngem / ngām / y e n T, L, and *ngim / ngim / y i n T, L precipitous, dangerous (Shu). The graph has 'stone', for the rest explanation uncertain.
- 674 a—b. *qium / jiung / h i u n g T, L (Mand. h i u n g is irregular, we should expect a jung or yung) a bear. b. is Chou III (inscr. 239). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- 675 a—d. *g'əp / γάp / h o T join, unite (Shī); collect (Lunyü); harmony (Shī); a mate (Shī); answer (Tso); agree with (Meng); to close, shut (Kuots'ê). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 36,1), c. is Yin (inscr. 53, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 150). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e-g. $*g' > p / \gamma \stackrel{?}{u} p / h$ o T reach, attain, go to (inser. 27). f. is Yin bone (H 2: 25,6), g. is Yin (inscr. 27).

- j. $*k\varepsilon p / k\tilde{a}p / k$ i a T, L, and $*k\partial p / k\hat{a}p / k$ o L, K knee-cover (Shī). k. $*k\varepsilon p / k\tilde{a}p / k$ i a T, and $*k\dot{a}p / k\dot{i}vp / k$ i e L, K, and $*g'\dot{a}p / g'\dot{i}vp / k$ i e L, K stumble (Li).
- 1. *kep / kap / kia T leather jerkin worn under clothes and serving as a cuirass (Kuan); resistant, firm (Sün).
- m. $*q' \in p / \gamma \tilde{a} p / h$ i a T, L permeate, imbue (Meng); loan for id. accord with (Shī), unite, assemble (Shī).
- *g'ep / yăp / h i a T, L sacrifice to ancestors unitedly, collectively (Li).
- o. *kiap / kipp / kie L, K rectangular collar (of court robe) (Li).
- *kipp / kipp / k i (vulg. k e i) T, L furnish, supply, give (Tso); sufficient (Meng).
- *xiəp / xiəp / h i T united, harmonious (Shī); close, bring close (Shī).
- * $\chi i \ni p \mid \chi i \ni p \mid h$ i K draw together (Lao, one version).
- *xiəp / xiəp / h i L to contract (Chuang); loan for id. scared (Lao).
- *xiəp / xiəp / h i T Shuowen says: sound of rushing water; but there are no text examples of this; loan for id. incompetent (sc. officers) (Shī, so acc. to certain comm.; L here reads it *kipp / kipp / ki).
- u. *χίθρ / χίθρ / h i K to stop and stand still (Kuan). Of the above, a. *g'sp 'join, shut', i. *ksp (shutter:) 'gate', m. *g'\varepp p 'unite', n. *g'\varepp p 'united sacrifice' and q. *xipp 'united' are cognate words.
- **676 a.** * $t ext{top} / t ext{dip} / t ext{ a}$ T respond to (Shi), answer (Lunyü). The graph has' bamboo' and 'join'.



- b. variant of the preceding (Shu); loan for c. below (Chuang).
- c. t'ap/t'ap/t'a L, and t'ap/t'ap/t'a T detached, distracted (Chuang).
- 677 a. *d'ap / d'ap / t a T, L to babble, long-drawn talk (Shī); dilatory (Meng); loan for id. join, unite (Ch'uts'ī); gluttonous (Kuoyü). The graph has 'speak' and 'water' (sc. to flow).
- **b.** $*d' \partial p / d' \partial p / t a$ T garrulous (Sün).
- 678 a—d. *d'ap / d'ap / t a K (reach to, be with:) together with, and (inscr. 54 etc.), same word as e. below. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,7), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 45,2), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *d'ap / d'ap / t a T reach to (Li ap. Han stone classics).
- **f.** $t \partial p / t \partial p / t = T$ to drink (Li).
- 679 a—c. *tsəp / tsập / tsa T, L a round, a circle (Chuang). c. is Chou II (inscr. 182, possibly in the sense of 節). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 680 a. *səp / sap / sa T the whistling or soughing of the wind (Ch'uts'i). The graph has 'raise' and 'wind'.
- 681 a—c. *g'iəp / g'iəp / k i T come to, reach (Shī); and (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 19,2), c. is Chou III (inscr. 226). The graph shows a 'hand' grasping a 'man'.
- d—f. *kiəp / kiəp / ki K Shuowen says: walk rapidly, hasten; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Chou I (inser. 97, sense of a. above), f. is Chou II/III (inser. 253, sense of a.).
- g. *kiəp / kiəp / k i T urgent, urgency (Shī), hasty (Tso); distress (Tso). The phonetic is slightly deformed in the modern graph.
- h. *kiəp / kiəp / ki T draw water (Yi); pull towards oneself (Chouli); loan for id. eagerly (Li).
- i. *kiəp / kiəp / ki T, L degree, grade of quality (Li); steps of staircase (Li).
- j *xiôp / xiôp / h i T, L inhale (Chuang); loan for id. move (Ch'uts'i).
- k. *ngiəp | ngiəp | y i L dangerous (Chuang).
- 1. *ngiəp | ngiəp | y i T high (Ch'uts'ī); dangerous (Meng).



- m—n. *g'iɛp / g'iäp / k i e T Shuowen says: packing frame carried on the back; there are no text examples of this, but cf. o. below. n. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327, sense here uncertain).
- o. *g'iɛp / g'iäp / k i e T box carried on the back (Han time text examples).
- 682 a—b. *giəp / jiəp / y i T, and giep / jiäp / y e T, L shine, gleam (Shī). The graph has 'fire' and 'flower', b. also 'sun'.
- 683 a—e. *'iəp / 'iəp / yi T city, town (Shī); loan for id. to sob (Ch'uts'ī); loan for f. below (Sün). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 13,2), c. is Yin (inser. 52), d. is Chou I (inser. 126), e. is Chou II (inser. 132). The graph has 'wall' and a kneeling (sitting) 'man'.
- f. *'ipp/'ipp/yi T, L working the soil, forceful (Chuang; various readings); troubled, grieved (Ta Tai li).
- g. *'iəp / 'iəp / y i T, L to ladle out (Shī); loan for id. suppress (Sün); loan for 揖 (Sün).
- h. * ipp / ipp / y i T, L moist, to moisten (Shī).
- i. * $\partial p / \partial p / o L$, K short of breath (Sün).
- **684 a.** *tipp / tipp / ch i T, L to hobble, bind the front feet of a horse (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 685 a—e. *tipp / tsipp / chi T seize, hold, grasp, take (Shī); loan for id. shut, obstruct (Tso); intimate (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 36,4), c. is Yin (inser. 28), d. is Chou II (inser. 147), e. is Chou II (inser. 172). The graph shows a man with manacles.
- **f.** $ti \ni p / \hat{t} \ni p / c h = T$, L rope, tether (Shi), bind (Tso).
- g. *d'iəp | d'iəp | c h ī T, L hibernate (as snakes or insects) (Yi); to cluster (as insects) (Shī).
- h. *tiep / tśiäp / c h ê T, L, and *niep / niep / nie T, L, and *tiep / tśiep / c h ī T scared stiff, stupefied (Chuang).
- i. *tsiəp / tsiəp / t s i K growing vegetation (Kuoyü).
- j. *tiəb / $\hat{t}i$ / c h i T, L slow and heavy, unwilling to go (sc. horse) (Chuang).
- **k—l.** * $\hat{t}_{ij}b$ / tsi / c h ī T, L catch, seize (Li), hold, to present (Li). The word has early passed over into the -d class (> $\hat{t}_{ij}d$), for it occurs as loan for 至 (Shu), for 致 (Chouli), for 輊 (Chouli). l. is Yin bone (A 6: 29,5).

- m. *\hat{t}i\text{\pi} / t\xi / c h \text{\ti} T, L ceremonial gift (Tso).
- n. *tijab / tśi / c h i T bird of prey (Ch'uts'i), seize a prey (Li).
- o. *tiom / tiem / tien T, L throw down (Chuang); merge in water (Shu); overwhelm (Tso).
 - Of the above, a. * $\hat{t}i \ni p$ 'seize', k. * $\hat{t}i \ni b$ 'seize' and n. * $\hat{t}i \ni b$ 'bird of prey' are cognate words.
- 686 a—d. *diəp / żiəp / s h ī T ten (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 5,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 10), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Whereas denotes 'one', the first of the singulars, denotes 'ten', the first of the decades.
- e. *dip / zip / shi T troup of ten men (Tso); ten objects (Meng).
- f. *tipp / tsipp / chī T, L juice, sap (Li); melting snow (Li); loan for 協 (Chouli, one version).
- 687 a. *diəp / ziəp / s h ī T, L pick, gather (Tso); archer's armlet (Shī); *g'iap / g'ipp / k i e L alternate (Li); loan for the (Li).
- 688 a. *ts'ipp/ts'ipp/ts'i T, and *tsipp/tsipp/tsi T whisper (Shī ap. Shuowen). The graph has 'mouth' and 'ear'.
- b. *ts'iəp / ts'iəp / ts'i T, L to hem (a garment) (Yili); (connect:) a sequel, a connected row of (Shī); loan for id. bright, brilliant (Shī); loan for *ts'iəp / ts'iəp / ts'i L, and *tsiəp / tsiəp / ts i L to babble (Shī).
- c. *ts'ipp / ts'ipp / ts'i T, L to thatch a roof (Chouli); cover, repair (Tso).
- d. *dz'iəp / dz'iəp / t s i T, L bring together, hold together (Shī); harmonius (Shī); *tṣiəp / tṣiəp / c h ī L gather up (Li).
- e. *tṣiəp / tṣiəp / c h ī T, L to collect, to store (Shī); to fold up (as wings) (Shī); to stop (Tso).
- i. *tsiəp / tsiəp / c h i T, L harmonious, friendly (Shi).
- g. *tsiəp / tsiəp / t s i L, and *tsiəp / tsiəp / c h i L to cluster together, to crowd (Shī); 'iəp / 'iəp / y i T to bow, salute (Shī).
- h. *tsiep / tsiäp / tsie T, L oar (Shī); dense grove (Lü).
- i. variant of the preceding ('oar') (Kuan).
 - Of the above, b. *ts'ipp 'connect, sequel', d. *dz'ipp 'bring together' and e. *tsipp 'collect' are cognate words.
- 689 a. *dziəp / ziəp / s i T additional robe over another (Li); to cover (Li); repeat (Tso); follow, accord with (Li); loan for id. surprise attack (Tso); receive (Tso). The graph has 'garment' and 'dragon'.
- 690 a. *dziəp / ziəp / si T to practise flying (Li); to practise, excercise (Lunyü); loan for id. soughing of the wind (Shī). The graph (cf. e. below) has 'wing' above, for the rest explanation uncertain.
- b. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- c. *dzi p / zi p / si T, L peg, pin (Chuang).
- d—e. *dziəp / ziəp / si T Shuowen says: horse with hairy legs; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Yin bone (A 4: 47.5, sense here uncertain).
- f. *ziəp / iəp / yi L, K, and ? / jiəp / yi T gleaming (Shī).
- g. *d'iəp / d'iep / t i e L, K double, lined (garment) (Li).
- h. $\hat{t}_{i\varepsilon p}/t\dot{s}_{i\ddot{a}p}/ch\hat{e}$ T, L to fear (Chuang).
- 691 a—c. *dz'iəp / dz'iəp / t s i T come together and settle (sc. birds) (Shī); assemble (Tso), collect (Shī); united, harmonious (Tso); accomplish (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 37,7), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'bird' and 'tree'.

- d. *dz'əp / dz'āp / t s a T, L various kinds brought together, mixed (Shī); variegated (Li). Loan for [1] (Lü). The word is cognate to the preceding.
- 692 a. *śipp / śipp / s h ī T, L, and *tṣ'ipp / tṣ'ipp / c h ' ī L to flap (sc. the ears) (Shī). Vulg. loan for 693 a. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *dziəp / ziəp / si T, L low, wet ground (Shī); river side (Tso); newly broken fields (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan).
- 693 a—e. *\$\fint_{i\partial p} | \fint_{i\partial p} | \shall_i = T \text{ damp, wet (sc. soil) (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B shang 13: 6), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 3,4), d. is Chou I/II (inscr. 205), e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 326). Explanation of graph uncertain. The word is cognate to 692 b. above.
- 694 a—d. *gliəp / liəp / li T to stand (Shī); set up, raise (Shī); ascend (throne) (Tso); loan for f. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 16,1), c. is Yin (inscr. 46, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 134, sense of 位). The graph is a drawing of a standing man.
- e. *glipp / lipp / li T, L splint hat (Shī).
- f. *gliəp / liəp / li T grains of rice (Meng); live on grain (Shu).
- g. *glipp / lipp / li T, and *g'lipp / g'ipp / ki T pen for animals (Meng).
- h. $*k'li\partial p / k'i\partial p / k'i$ T weep (Shi).
- i. *k'lipp / k'ipp / k'i T, L juice (Yili).
- j—k. *gləp / lap / la K Shuowen says: rumble of stones; but there are no text examples in support of this. k. is Chou I (inscr. 96, sense here uncertain).
- 1. *glap / lap / la T, L to break (Kungyang, one version).
- 695 a—d. *niəp / niiəp / ju T enter (Shī); bring in to present (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 9,7), c. is Yin (inser. 48), d. is Chou I (inser. 59). Explanation of graph uncertain (a wedge? an arrow-point?).
- e—g. *nəp / nāp / na (same as h. below, hence the reading) to bring in (Meng); *nwəb > nwəd / nuāi / n e i T interior, inside, inner, in (Shī). f. is Chou I (inscr. 56), g. is Chou I (inscr. 63).
- **h.** *nap / nap / na T to bring in, convey to, to present (Shi).
- i. *nəp / nap / na T, L inner reins of the outside horses in a team of four horses (Shī).

In the following words it is uncertain whether there was originally a final -p, which became -t by dissimilation at an early date: j. *nwəp > *nwət etc. (just as a time when its *nwab had already passed over to *nwad. In the latter case the dental finals in j. *nwət etc. is original. We must leave this question open.

- *nwət / nuət / n o T, L slow of speech (Lunyü).
- k-m. *niwat / niwat / ? T, L, and *niwat / niwat / ? T, L, and *nwat / nwat / ? T, and *nwat / nuat / n o - K slow of speech (Li). m. is Yin bone (A 1:36,6, sense here uncertain).
- *niwad / nizwäi / j u e i T, L peg, pin, tenon (Chuang).
- *nįwad / nžiwäi / j u e i T, L bend of river, or juncture of two rivers (Shu).
- variant of s. below (Meng).
- *ńiwad / ńżiwäi / j u e i T, L Shuowen says: plants sprouting; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for o. above (Shi), for s. below (Chuang).
- *ńįwad / ńźiwäi / j u e i L, and *ńiwat / ńźiwät / j o K hot, burn (Li).
 *ńiwad / ńźiwäi / j u e i T, and *ńiwat / ńźiwät / j o T mosquito, gnat (Sün). Of the above, a. *niəp 'enter', e., h. *nəp 'bring in' and e. *nwəb 'inside' are cognate words.
- **696 a—d.** $niep / ni\ddot{a}p / nie$ T Shuowen says: that by which you frighten people; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. In the bone inscriptions the primary graph is used as a synonym of 685 a. above and probably depicts the manacles of a prisoner. c. is Yin bone (A 4: 17,3), d. is Yin bone (A 5: 13,6).
- *kâng / kâng / k a n g T hill, ridge (Shī). The modern graph has 'mountain' and 'net', but the archaic forms in the compounds below (c, d, g.) do not confirm this; the explanation of the graph is therefore uncertain.
- **b—d.** *kâng | kâng | kang T hard, strong (Shī); odd (number) (Li); loan for f. below (Shi). c. is Yin bone (I 48: 4), d. is Chou II (inscr. 147).
- *kâng / kâng / kang T guiding rope of a net (Shu); regulator, regulate (Shī); rule, law (Tso).
- f-g. *kâng / kâng / k a n g T, L bull (Kungyang). g. is Yin bone (A 2:17,8, sense of name).
- *kâng / kâng / k a n g T steel (Lie).
- 698 a. *kâng / kâng / k a n g T, L neck, throat (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. lift high (Chuang); *k'âng / k'âng / k 'a n g — T, L overbearing (Yi); excessive (Tso); defend (Tso); loan for b. below (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *k'âng / k'âng / k' a n g T, L to set up (Shī); lift (Li); to obstruct, oppose (Lao); protect (Kuoyü).
- *k'âng | k'âng | k'ang T, L equal, companion (Tso); loan for id. high (sc. gate) (Shī); for b. above (Chouli).
- *k'âng / k'âng / k' a n g K grieved (Kuots'ê).
- *g'âng | yâng | h a n g T, L to go over water, to sail over (Shī).
- *g'âng | yâng | hang Thang hie moisture of the dew (Ch'uts'ī).
- *g'âng / yâng / h a n g T, L downward flight of a bird (Shī).
- *k'ăng / k'vng / k' e n g T pit (Ch'uts'ī).
- *k'ăng / k'vng / k' e n g T pit, hole (Chuang).
- 699 a. *ngâng | ngâng | a n g T, L high (Sün), majestic (Shī); loan for id. I, me (Shī); *ngiang / ngiang / yang — L, K look up (Shī); loan for d. below (Kuoyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- **b.** *ngâng | ngâng | a n g T lift high (Ch'uts'ī).
- *ngiang / ngiang / y a n g T lift the face, look up (Shī).
- d. *ngiăng / ngivng / y i n g T, L go to meet, receive (Shī). Of the above, a, b. *ngâng 'high, lift high' and a, c. *ngiang 'lift the face' are cognate words.
- 700 a—b. *d'âng / d'âng / t' a n g T exaggerate (Chuang); great (Chouli); loan for id. path in the temple (Shī); Cuscuta (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 29,5, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *d'âng | d'âng | t'ang T dam, dyke (Kuoyü).
 d. *d'âng | d'âng | t'ang T cup (Sün).
 e. *d'âng | d'âng | t'ang T, L cicada (Shī).

- 701 a—c. *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g (oblique tone) T cave-dwelling (no pre-Han text ex.); loan for id. surpass (Kuliang). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,7), c. is Chou II (inser. 150). The graph has 'roof' and 'stone'.
- 702 a. *tsâng / tsâng / t s a n g T to bury, inter (Lunyü). The graph has 'die, dead' and 'grass' (doubled).
- 703 a-b. *ts'âng / ts'âng / ts' a n g T granary (Shī); loan for e. below (Li), for m. (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 184). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *ts'âng | ts'âng | ts' a n g K cold (Yi Chou shu).
 d. *ts'âng | ts'âng | ts' a n g T, L name of a river (Shu); *ts'jang | ts'jang | c h' u a n g - T cold (Lie), cognate to the preceding.
- e. *ts'âng / ts'âng / ts' a n g T green (Shī), azure (Shī).
- f. *ts'ang / ts'ang / ts' ang T, L crane (Ch'uts'i); loan for ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang — L to tinkle (Shī); well-regulated (Shī, so the Mao comm.; Cheng Hüan: adorned with precious metal).
- g. *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' iang seize upon (Chuang); to rush (Chuang); *ts'iang / tṣ'iang / c h' u a n g — T to beat (Kuots'ê). (The T ms. really has tṣiang, but the context shows that this is a mere lapsus for ts'iang).
- h. *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' iang T, L to tinkle (Shī) (cf. f. above).
 i. *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' iang T sharp-pointed stick (Kuoyü).
- *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' iang T, L move, moving, agile (Shī).

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- k. variant of the preceding (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- *ts'iang / ts'iang / c h ' u a n g T, L to wound (Li); loan for id. commence, create (Meng); repress (Shu); loan for n. (Li).
- m. *tṣ'ṣang | tṣ'ṣang | c h ' u a n g T, L grieved (Li).

 n. *tṣ'ṣang | tṣ'ṣang | c h ' u a n g T boil, tumour (Kuots'ê).
- 704 a. *sâng | sâng | sang T mulberry tree (Shī). The graph has 'tree' and three 'hands'.
- b. *sâng / sâng / s a n g T, L forehead (Tso).
- 705 a—d. *sâng / sâng / s a n g T mourning, burial (Shī); to lose (Tso); destroy (Tso). b. is Chou I (inser. 65), c. is Chou II (inser. 180), d. is Chou III (inser. 234). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 706 a—e. *kwâng / kwâng / k u a n g T light, bright (Shī); brilliant, glory (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 32,7, sense of name?), c. is Yin (inscr. 10, sense here uncertain), d. is Chou I (inscr. 64), e. is. Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph has a kneeling 'man' and 'fire'.
- *kwâng / kwâng / k u a n g T, L rushing water (Sün); impetuous, fierce (Shī); martial (Shī).
- *k'wâng / k'wâng / k' u a n g T, L fine floss silk (Chuang).
- h. *kwang | kwong | k u n g T ample (Kuoyü; there is a divergence in the old sources as to the meaning, but later philologists have proved that 'ample' is the true sense).
- i *kwang / kwnng / k u a n g T, L (Mand. k u a n g is irregular, we should expect a k u n g) drinking horn, a kind of ritual vessel (Shī).
- variant of 慌 (Li).
- 707 a—b. *g'wâng / ywâng / h u a n g T yellow (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 79). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c_d. *q'wang | ywang | h u a n g T, L half-circle shaped jade insignium (Chouli). d. is Chou II (inser. 150).
- e—f. *g'wâng / ywâng / h u a n g T, L lake, pool (Tso); great, vast (Sün). f. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,7, sense of name).
- g. *g'wâng / ywâng / h u a n g T, L tongue in a flute, flute (Shī).
- h-k. *kwâng / kwâng / k u a n g T wide, broad, large (Shī); enlarge (Shī); a cohort (Tso), a group of chariots (Tso). i. is Chou II (inser. 172), j. is Chou II (inser. 174), k. is Chou II (inser. 197).
- 1. *kwăng | kwong | k u a n g T, L (Mand. k u a n g is irregular, we should expect a k u n g) drinking horn, a kind of ritual vessel (Chouli) (variant of 706 i. above).
- m. *g'wăng | ywong | hung, heng T, L (Mand. heng is irregular) crosswise (Tso), transversal, latitudinal (Ch'uts'ī); perverse, unjust (Meng); *kwâng / kwâng / kuang — L, K intense, full (sc. sound) (Li).
- n. *k'wang | k'wang | k' u a n g T, L grave pit (Li); wilds, uncultivated tracts (Meng).
- *k'wâng / k'wâng / k' u a n g T bright (Chuang); desolate, waste (Shī); vacant (Shu); omit, neglect (Li); wide (Lao).
- p-q. *k'wâng / k'wâng / k ' u a n g T, L fine floss silk (Shu), same as 706 g. above. q. is Chou I/II (inscr. 213, sense of name).
- *k'wâng | k'wâng | k'uang T, L, and *k'âng | k'âng | k'ang T wide (Shī ap. Shuowen).

- *kwăng | kwong | k u n g T rustic, rude (Kuanyin).
- t. *k'wûk / k'wûk / k' u o (Tsi yün) extend (Meng) (this char. in this sense is not recorded in T or K).

Of the above, k. *kwâng 'wide', o. r. *k'wâng 'wide' and t. *k'wâk 'extend' are cognate words.

- 708 a—c. *g'wâng / γwâng / h u a n g T august, sovereign (Shī), magnificent, brilliant (Shī); to regulate (Shī); ceremonial cap (Li); loan for id. anxious (Meng); loan for i. below (Tso), for l. (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 69), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86). Explanation of graph uncertain).
- d. *g'wang / wang / h u a n g T, L walk irresolutely, hesitate (Chuang).
- e. variant of the preceding (Kuoyü).
- i. *g'wang / wang / h u a n g T stagnant water (Ta Tai li).
- g. *g'wâng / γwâng / h u a n g T, L brilliant (Shī).
- h. *g'wâng / ywâng / h u a n g T bamboo thicket (Ch'uts'i).
- i. *g'wâng / γwâng / h u a n g T, L leisure (Shī).
- j. *g'wang / ywang / h u a n g T, L moat (Yi).
- k. *g'wang / ywang / h u a n g T cake (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1. *g'wâng / γwâng / h u a n g K female phoenix (Shī).
- m. *g'wang / \gammawang / huang T, L, and *g'wang / \gammawong / hung T, L locust (Li).
- n. *g'wăng / \gammuvvng / h u n g T, L, and *\chiwang / \chiwvng / h u n g T, L to resound (as weeping, or bells) (Shī).
- 709 a. *mwâng / mwâng / m a n g T, L grass, weeds (Meng); luxuriant (growth) (Ch'uts'ī). The small seal graph of Shuowen has 'dog' and 'grass' (doubled); explanation uncertain.
- 710 a. *kiang / kiang L, K boundary (Chouli). The graph shows two 'fields' delimited by three boundary lines.
- b. variant of the preceding (Ta Tai li).
- c. *kiang / kiang T, and *g'iang / k'iang T prostrate, fall (Lü); overthrow (Chuang).
- d. *kiang / kiang / kiang T ginger (Lunyü).

- e—g. *g'iang | g'iang | k' i a n g (even tone) T strong, violent (Shī); *g'iang | g'iang | ki a n g (oblique tone) K make an effort (Meng); compel (Meng); *kiang | ki a n g T, L ki a n g ki a n g two keeping faithfully together (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan). f. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of a. above), g. is Chou II (inscr. 139).
- h—i. *kiang | kiang | kiang T boundary, limit (Shī), s. w. as a. above; loan for *g'iang | g'iang | kiang L hard (Chouli). i. is Chou III (inser. 229).
- 711 a—b. *kiang | kiang T, L family name (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 69). The graph has 'woman' and 'sheep'.
- 712 a—d. *k'iang | k'iang | k'iang | T Western tribes (Shī); loan for id. a particle (Ch'uts'ī). b. is Yin bone (P 154; the identification of the char., which has been doubted by some authors, is certain in this instance; the phrase runs: k'iang shī jen ten k'iang men), c. is Yin bone (A 1:9,6), d. is Chou III (inscr. 220, sense of name). The graph has 'man' and 'sheep', sometimes (c.) also a third element of uncertain interpretation.
- e. *k'iang / k'iang / k'iang T, L beetle (Chuang).
- 713 a—b. *g'iang | g'iang | k' i a n g T Shuowen says: a kind of insect; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this; loan for id. strong (Meng); *g'iang | g'iang | k i a n g T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) make an effort (Kuots'ê), compel (Li). Shuowen gives an archaic variant with 710 e. above as phonetic, and considers a—b. as an abbreviated form; but all this is very uncertain.

 c. *kiang | kiang | kiang T, L string, cord (Li).
- d. *kiang / kiang / kiang T, L bands by which infants are wrapped and carried on the back (Lunyü).
- 714 a—b. *χiang / χiang / h i a n g K Shuowen says: fragrance of grain. There are no text examples of this; but since it occurs in the sense of * 'feast' in inscr. 270, and since it recurs as a drawing of a vessel in d.—h. below, it is obviously etymologically the same word: fragrant food, feast. b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 270, sense of j. below). The graph is, as just stated, a drawing of a food vessel.
- c—h. *\(\chi\)iang / \(\chi\)iang / h i a n g T to face, turn towards (Li); (face side:) window (Li); (the time *\text{turning towards}* the speaker:) a little while ago (Luny\(\chi\)); loan for id. village (Sh\(\chi\)). d. is Yin bone (A 4: 22,6, sense of j.), e. is Yin bone (A 4: 22,3, sense of j.). f. is Yin (inscr. 20, sense of j.), g. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense of j.), h. is Chou II (inscr. 134, sense of 'turn towards'). Thus the graph, which shows two men sitting turned towards one another at a food vessel, serves both for *\(\chi\)iang 'feast' and *\(\chi\)iang 'to face'.
- i. * \(\gamma \) i ang / \(\gamma \) i ang T to face, approach (Shu); loan for n. below (Yi).
- j. *xiang / xiang / h i a n g T feast (Li), enjoy a feast (Shī); to present food or drink at a feast or a sacrifice (Shī); receive and enjoy such an offering (Li).
- k. *χiang / χiang / h i a n g T, L, and ? / śiang / s h a n g T a short time (Tso ap. Shuowen), recently (Lü); loan for i. above (Chuang).
- 1. *\gammaiang / \gammaiang / h i a n g T, L beef soup (Li).
- m. *xiang / xiang / h i a n g T, L smell of grain (Li).
- n. *χiang / χiang / h i a n g T echo (Lie).
- o—p. *k'iang / k'inng / k'ing T minister (Shī). p. is Chou I (inser. 70, sense of 'minister'). Thus one and the same Archaic graph serves for 鄉 hiang and 卿 k'ing.

鄉親媳鄉鄉鄉 餐曏腳鄰 9

- 715 a—d. *xiang / xiang / h i a n g T window facing North (Shī); turn towards (Shu); formerly (Chuang), cf. the preceding group. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 20,5, sense of name), c. is Yin (inscr. 5, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 174, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a house with a window.
- e. ? / siang / s h a n g T, L carry food to field labourers (Meng).
- 716 a-d. *xiang / xiang / h i a n g T sacrificial offering (Shī); feast (Tso); enjoy (Tso); *γăng / γνης / h e n g — T penetrate (Yi); loan for 🛣 (Shī). a. and b. are primarily identical, two variants of the same char.; the usage to write a. for hiang and b. for heng is modern; in T'ang time the two forms were still used promiscue. c. is Yin bone (A 6: 63,5), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph shows a building, possibly a temple.
- 717 a. *\gammaiang / \gammaiang / h i a n g T fragrance (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 718 a—b. * iang / iang / y a n g T centre, middle (Shī); loan for id. brilliant (Shī); tinkling of bells (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 157). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- * iang / iang / y a n g T bend the body (Chuang).
- d. * iang / iang / y a n g T discontented (Kuots'ê).
 e. * iang / iang / y a n g T, L calamity (Tso); damage, destroy (Meng).
- i. * iang / iang / y a n g T, L strap on breast of horse or ox (Tso); loan for id. burdened, despondent (Shi).
- g. * iang / iang / y ang T, L, and * ang / ang / ang T to flow, a great and deep flow (Shi).
- * iang / iang / y ang T, L, and * ang / ang / ang T, L female of mandarin
- *'ang / ang T, L a kind of liquor (Li); overflowing, abundant (Meng).
- *'ang / 'ang / ang L swollen (Chuang).
- k. *iǎng / iǎng / y i ng T flower, blossom (Shī); loan for id. a kind of precious stone (Shī); brilliant (Shī).
- 719 a—d. *'iang / t'iang / ch' ang T aromatic spirits (Shī); loan for 721 m. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 9,7), c. is Yin bone (I 43: 5), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). The graph is a drawing of a bowl.
- 720 a—d. *diang / jang / yang T South side (inscr. Yin bone A 4: 10,2). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 10,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 59, possibly sense of m'. below), d. is Chou I (inscr. 98, sense of j. below). The graph has 'sun', for the rest explanation uncertain.

9 根 722 k

- e—g. *diang | iang | yang T South slope of a height (Shī), North bank of a river (Shī); light, brightness (Shī), the sun (Shī); the light cosmogonic principle (Tso). f. is Chou I (inscr. 100, sense of j.), g. is Chou II (inscr. 157).
- h. *diang / jang / y a n g T, L sunshine, bright (Shu).
- i. *diang / jang / y a n g T, L to roast, to heat (Chuang).
- i—o. *diang / iang / y ang T lift, raise (Shī); (throw up:) to winnow (Shī); to display (Shī); distinguished (Li); battle-axe (Shī). k. is Chou I (inscr. 59), l. is Chou I (inscr. 69), m. is Chou I (inscr. 78), n. is Chou I (inscr. 91), o. is Chou I (inscr. 105); the radical in these latter is 786 below inst. of rad. 64.
- *diang | iang | yang T, L tossed up by the wind (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. lift the voice (Shu), proclaim (Shu), illustrious (Shu).
- q-r. *diang / jang / y a n g T poplar (Shī). r. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324).
- *diang / iang / y a n g T, L sore, ulcer (Tso).
 *diang / iang / y a n g T, L metal frontlet of a horse (Shī); ornament on shield
- u. *t'iang / \hat{t} 'iang / ch' ang K kill the sprouting grass by turning the soil with plough (Ta Tai li).
- v. *t'iang | \hat{t} 'iang | ch'ang T, L penetrate everywhere, spread out (Yi); full (Li); long (Shī); ample, luxuriant (Meng); loan for 719 a. above (Li).
- **x.** *d'iang / d'iang / ch' ang L, K arena (Shī).
- y. *d'iang | d'iang | c h ' a n g T intestines (Shī).

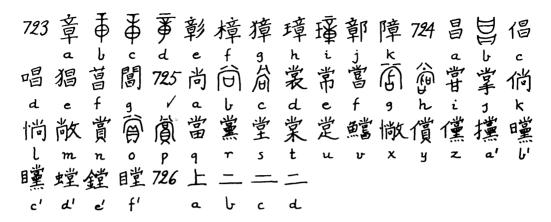
 z—b'. *t'ang | t'ang | t ' a n g T hot liquid (Meng); *siang | siang | s h a n g T, L to flow (as a river) (Shī); loan for p'. below (Shī). a'. is Chou I (inscr. 88, sense of name), b'. is Chou II/III (inscr. 258, sense of name).
- c'—d'. d'âng / d'âng / t' a n g (even tone) (Tsiyün; not in T or K, so the reading is somewhat uncertain) sweets, cake (only Han time text ex.). d. is Chou I (inscr. 105 sense here uncertain).
- e'. *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g (oblique tone) T carefree, extravagant (Sün); siang / signg / s h a n g — L (to move:) straight and rapidly, directly (Li).
- f. *d'ang | d'ang | tang T, L veined stone (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. exceed (Chuang).
- g'—h'. *\$iang | \$iang | s h a n g T, L expel evil spirits (Li).
- i'. *siang / siang / shang T, and *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang T Shuowen says: to wound, hurt; but there are no text examples in support of this.

- *siang | siang | s h a n g T to wound, hurt, damage (Tso); afflict (Shī). The right part of the char. is said to be an abbreviated form of the preceding.
- *siang / siang / s h a n g T to die in childhood (Tso).
- *siang / siang / s h a n g T goblet (Tso).
- m'. *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g T a kind of precious stone (Li ap. Shuowen).

 n'. *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g T, L rinse, purify (Li); loan for id. push (Yi), shake (Tso).
- *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g T, L big bamboo (Shu).
- p'. *d'âng / d'âng / t a n g T, L great, immense (Lunyü); loan for id. even, smooth (Shī); move (Li); disperse (Shu); shake (Tso); throw out, purify from (Li); license, reckless (Lunyü).
- *d'iang | d'iang | ch'ang (even tone) T long, tall (Shī), a long time (Shī), always (Lunyu); *d'iang / d'iang / c h a n g — (oblique tone) L length, measure of length (Li); *tiang / tiang / c h a n g — T, L grow tall (Meng), increase (Shī); grownup, elder, senior (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,3, sense of name), c. is Yin bone (B shang 19: 6), d. is Chou III (inscr. 220, enlarged by rad. 117), e. is pre-Han (inscr. 423, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *d'iang | d'iang | ch' ang T, L a kind of tree (uncertain which) (Shī).
- g. *tiang / tiang / c h a n g T curtain (Ch'uts'ī).

 h. *tiang / tiang / c h a n g T give tension to a bow, string the bow (Shī); to string an instrument (Kuots'ê); stretch, extend (Lao); display (Meng); spread out (a tent) (Chouli); (a spread out thing:) a tent (Tso), a hunting net (Chouli); arrange, dispose (Chuang); to swell, conceited (Tso); wanting to go to stool (Tso); (extended:) large (Shī), boast (Shu).
- *tiang / tiang / c h a n g T, L provisions (Shī).
- *tiang / tiang / chang T cake (Ch'uts'i).
- * $\hat{t'}i$ ang $/\hat{t'}i$ ang
- 1. *t'iang | \hat{t} 'iang | c h' a n g T, L disappointed (Li). m. *t'iang | \hat{t} 'iang | c h' a n g T, L, and *t'iang | \hat{d} 'iang | c h' a n g T, L bowcase, put in a bow-case (Shi).
- n. $*d'\bar{a}ng / d'ong / ch' eng$ T, L door-posts (Li).
- 722 a. *d'iang / d'iang / c h a n g T a measure of 10 c h'ī (Tso); loan for id. old man (Lunyü); loan for b. below (Li). The small seal of Shuowen has 'ten' and 'hand'. b. *d'iang | d'iang | c h a n g — T, L staff, stick (Lunyü); lean on, rely on (Tso).
- 723 a—d. *ijang / tsjang / c h a n g T brilliant, illustrious (Shu); ornament, décor (Shī); pattern (Shī); rule, statute (Shī); distinctive mark (Tso), signal (Kuoyü); to display, manifest (Tso); (patterned words:) stanza (Tso). b. is Yin (inscr. 44), c. is Chou I (inscr. 78), d. is Chou II (inscr. 163, sense of h. below). Explanation of graph uncer-
- *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g T, L to display (Shu).
- i. *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g T camphor tree (Kuots'ê).

 *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g K fallow-deer (Lü).
- h—i. *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g T, L a kind of jade insignium (Shī); jade handle of a libation cup (Shi). i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 310, sense of name).
- *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g T, L place name (Tso); loan for id. to dam up, to stop (sc. inundation) (Li).
- k. *tiang / tsiang / chang T, L dyke, dam up (Tso), obstacle (Li).



- * \hat{t} 'iang / ts'iang / c h ' a n g T bright, splendid (Shī); fine words (Shu); to flourish, prosper (Shī); abundant (Li); loan for f. below (Yili). b. is pre-Han (inser. 426, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *t'iang | ts'iang | ch' ang T, L to lead in singing, intone (Li), to lead, commence (Shī); loan for e. below (Chuang).
- *tiang / tsiang / ch' ang T take the lead (Kuoyü).
 *tiang / tsiang / ch' ang T to rush (Chuang); rash, extravagant (Ch'utsi).
- Î.
- *t̂'iang / tś'iang / c h ' a n g T Acorus calamus (Lü). *t̂'iang / tś'iang / c h ' a n g T palace gate (Ch'uts'ī).
- 725 a—c. *diang / ziang / s h a n g T high, admirable (Tso); to place over, above (Li), exalt (Meng), approve (Shī); esteem higher, prefer (Li); ascend (Meng); surpass (Meng); add to (Shī); (consider high and desirable:) wish (Shī), would that (Shī); loan for id. still, yet (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of q. below), c. is Chou (inscr. 367). The graph may have been a drawing of a house with roof ridge?
- d. *diang / ziang / s h a n g T lower garment (Shi); curtain (Li); loan for id. ample, splendid (Shī).
- *diang / ziang / c h 'a n g T a kind of banner (Chouli); loan for id. constant, regular (Shī), regular lot or duty (Shī); always (Shī); a length measure (Yili); cherry tree (Shi).
- f...h. *diang / ziang / ch' ang ... T to taste (Shī), try (Meng); mark of past tense (Lunyü); loan for id. autumnal sacrifice (Shī). g. is Chou II (inscr. 151), h. is Chou IV (inscr. 284).
- variant of the preceding (Kuoyü).
- *tiang / tsiang / c h a n g T palm of the hand (Lunyü); manage (Chouli).
- * \hat{t} ' i ang | ts' i ang | c h' ang | (Chuang).
- * \hat{t} 'iang / ts''iang / c h ' a n g L despondent (Chuang).
- m. * \hat{t} 'iang / t's'iang / ch' ang T high level land, open, spacious (only Han time text ex.).
- n-p. *\$iang | \$iang | s h a n g T to reward (Lunyü). o. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of y. below), p. is Chou III (inscr. 220).
- *tâng / tâng / t a n g T have the value to, be equal of, rank with (Tso); to match, resist (Meng); be capable of (Meng); undertake, sustain (Lunyü); to function as, act as, be (Meng); take charge of, govern (Tso); to shield, protect (Tso); to rest on, be on (Shu),

- in, at, on (Lunyü); actual, at that time (Kuoyü), to face, vis-à-vis (Tso); right, ought (Meng); base, foundation (Hanfei).
- *tâng / tâng / tang T party (Tso), partizan, partizanly (Shu); class, category Lunyū); a group of families, village (Lunyū); place (Tso); loan for id. straight-forward
- *d'âng | d'âng | t'ang T hall, apartment (Shī); open glade in a hill (Shī); loan for id. magnificent (Lunyü).
- *d'âng / d'âng / t' a n g T Pyrus (Shi).
- *d'ang | d'nng | ch' eng T, L serve as a stay or support to (Chouli).
 *d'iang | źiang | ch' ang T, L name of a fish (Shī).
- * \hat{t} 'iang / ts'iang / c h' a n g T scared (Lie).
- *diang | ziang | ch' ang (even tone) L, K, and *diang | ziang | shang (oblique tone) L, K indemnify, pay back, fulfil (Tso).

 *t'ang | t'ang | t'ang — T, L easy-going, careless, negligent (Chuang); accidental,
- sudden (Chuang).
- a'. $t'\hat{a}ng / t'\hat{a}ng / t$ a n g K beat (Lie).
- b'. *t'âng / t'âng / t' a n g T dark, veiled (sc. sun) (Ch'uts'ī).
 c'. *t'âng / t'âng / t ' a n g K bad eye-sight (Ch'uts'ī).
- d'. *d'âng / d'âng / t' a n g T, L mantis (Chuang).
- e'. *t'ang / t'ang / t' ang T, L sound of drum (Shī).
- f. *t'ăng | \hat{t} 'vng | ch' eng T, L look straight at, stare (Chuang).
- 726 a—d. *diang / ziang / s h a n g T up, above, top, rise (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 14.3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63), d. is Chou II (inscr. 139). The graph is a symbol.
- 727 a—c. *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang T an ancient personal name (T). The primary sense of the graph is not known through any text examples, and Shuowen does not register it. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 45,3, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 3,1, sense uncertain). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-e. *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' i ang T, L a kind of axe (Shī). e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 310, sense of name).
- L. *tsiang / tsiang / tsiang T bring (Shī), to offer (Shī); take (Tso), employ (Tso); perform (Shī), arrange (Shī); attend to, nurse (Shī); take upon oneself (Lunyü); push forward (Shī), advance (Shī), march (Shī); go, pass (sc. time) (Sün); to lead (sc. an army) (Meng); escort (Shī); (undertake:) be on the point of, about to (Shī); intend to (Tso); perhaps (Lunyü); or else (Ch'uts'ī); loan for id. great (Shī), strong (Shī); side (Shī); loan for *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts' iang — L beg, ask (Shī); majestic (Shī); tinkle (Shī).
- g—i. *dz'iang / dz'iang / t s' i a n g T, L kill (Ch'unts'iu); injure (Shī). h. is Yin bone (O 1219, sense of name?), i. is Chou I (inser. 67, sense of f'. below).
- j-k. *dz'iang | dz'iang | t s' i a n g T wall (Shī). The radical to the right is a store house for grain. k. is Chou II (inscr. 182, sense of 嗇).
- variant of the preceding (Chuang); the phonetic is replaced by rad 32.
- m. variant of the same word (Kuots'ê); the phonetic replaced by rad. 53.
- n. *tsiang / tsiang / c h u a n g T strong, robust, great (Shī).
- **0—p.** *tsiang / tsiang / c h u a n g T Shuowen says: adorn (no early text examples); p. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 294, sense of name).
- *tsiang / tsiang / c h u a n g T dignified, grave (Lunyu); meeting-place of six roads (Tso).
- *d'ziang / dz'iang / c h ' u a n g (even tone) T couch, bed (Shī).

折货将找出货糟糕墙店出妆 d h

- *dz'iang / dz'iang / c h u a n g T form, shape (Kuoyü); appearance (Tso); depict, describe (Chuang); record of merits (Tso); conditions, circumstances (Kuots'ê).
- *tsang / tsang / tsang T, L ewe (Shī); loan for id. luxuriant (sc. foliage) (Shī).
- u. *tsiang / tsiang / tsiang L help (Tso); encourage (Tso).

- *tsiang | tsiang | tsiang T, L rice-water, drink (Shī).

 *tsiang | tsiang | tsiang T, L mat (Hanfei).

 *tsiang | tsiang | tsiang T, L minced food in brine (Lunyü).
- *ts'iang / ts'iang / ts'iang T tinkle, as horse's bells (Shi), cf. f. above.
- a'-e'. *siang | siang | s h a n g T cook, boil (inser. 28 and 85). b'. is Yin (inser. 28), c'. is Chou I (inscr. 85), d'. is Chou I (inscr. 88), e'. is Chou I (inscr. 107).
- f'. *tsâng / tsâng / tsang T, L good (Shī).
- g'. *dz'âng / dz'âng / ts' a n g (even tone) T conceal (Yi); to store (Yi); dz'âng / dz'ang / t s a n g — (oblique tone) T, L a store, treasure (Shī); intestines (Chouli).
- h'. *tsâng | tsâng | t s a n g T stolen goods (Lie), cognate to the preceding.
- i'. *tṣiang / tṣiang / c h u a n g T, L pack, load, baggage (Kuots'ê).
- j'. *dz'iang | dz'iang | ts' i a n g T female court official (Tso); the phonetic is j. above abbreviated.
- 728 a—d. *dziang / ziang / s i a n g T elephant (Shī); ivory (Shī); (cut figure:) figure (Li), to represent (Tso); imitate (Li); image, shape (Yi); depict (Shu); pictured (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 5:11), c. is Chou I (inscr. 88), d. is Chou II (inscr. 188). The graph is a drawing.
- *dziang / ziang / s i a n g T image, resemble, depict (Yi).
- *dziang / ziang / siang T, L acorn (Chuang).
- 729 a. *dz'iang / dz'iang / tsiang T carpenter (Chouli). The graph has 'box' and 'axe'.
- 730 a. *sniang / siang / s i a n g T, L (strip off:) remove (Shī); loan for id. aid (Shu); to yoke (Shī); achieve (Tso); rise above (Shu). The graph confains 'garment' for the rest explanation uncertain.
- b. *snįang | siang | s i a n g T belt, sash (Ch'uts'ī); horse's belly-band (Kuoyü).
- c. śniang / śiang / s h a n g T, L bring food to (sc. workers in the field) (Shī).
- d. *njang / nzjang / j a n g T mould, cultivated soil (Shu); territory (Meng); mound, heap (Li); abundant, rich (Lie).

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- e. *ńiang / ńżiang / j a n g T, L take (Shī), steal (Lunyü); pull away (sc. trees) (Shī); pull up sleeves (from arm) (Meng); expel (Li); withdraw (Li); oppose (Chuang).

- *niang | niziang | j a n g T, L heavy with dew (Shī).

 *niang | niziang | j a n g T, L sacrifice to expel evil influences (Tso).

 *niang | niziang | j a n g T, L rich growth (of grain) (Shī); abundant (Shī).
- *niang / niang / j a n g T reprimand (Tso); cede (Lunyu) yield, give way (Shī). ì.
- *njang / njang / n i a n g T mince and mix (Li). j.
- *nâng / nâng / n a n g T in past time, formerly (Tso).
 *nâng / nâng / n a n g T sack, bag (Shī).
- 781 a—c. *siang | siang | siang T look at, see (Shī); appearance, quality, substance (Shī); (look to:) assist (Shī); mutually (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 17,4, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou (inscr. 396, sense of name). The graph has 'eye' and 'tree'.
- *siang / siang / s i a n g T think, imagine (Chouli).
 *siang / siang / s i a n g T, L to boil (Shī).
- *siang / siang / siang T box (of a carriage) (Shi); side room (Yili). Ī.
- *siang / siang / s h u a n g T hoar-frost (Shī).
- h. *siang / siang / s h u a n g T widow (Lie).
- 732 a—d. *ziang / iang / yang T sheep (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 86:3), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 12,4), d. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph is a drawing.
- *ziang / iang / y a n g L, K feign, deceive (Hanfei).
- *ziang / jang / y a n g T walk irresolutely, hesitate (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. *ziang / jang / y a n g T sickness (Ch'uts'i); defect, shortcoming (Kuots'ê).
- h. *ziang | iang | yang T, L a great expanse of water (Chuang); to flow with much water (Shī); vast (Shī); numerous (Shī).
- *ziang | jang | yang T, L, and *dziang | ziang | siang T disease (Shī); ulcer (Chouli), cf. g. above.
- *ziang / jang / y a n g T nourish, feed (Tso); bring up, develop (Meng); make use of, employ (Shi, so the Mao comm.); loan for id. conceal (Ta Tai li); long (sc. day) (Ta Tai li); anxious, perplexed (Shī); loan for r. below (Sün).
- k-l. *ziang | iang | y a n g T swelling water (Shī, Han version ap. Shuowen). l. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 294, sense of 永).
- m. *dziang / ziang / s i a n g T school (Meng).

- n-o. *dziang / ziang / s i a n g T happy omen, auspicious (Shī). o. is Chou IV (inscr. 291).
- p. *dziang / ziang / siang T, L fly backwards and forwards (Lunyü); (to soar:) walk with elbows kept as outstretched wings (Li).
- q. *dziang / ziang / s i a n g T scrutinize fully, explain details (Shī); loan for n. above (Tso).
- *ziang / iang / y a n g L, K itch (Li).
- s—t. *ziang | jang | y a n g T name of a river (Shu). t. is Chou IV (inscr. 283).
- 733 a-b. *siang / siang / s h u a n g T, L bright (Shu); clever, active (Tso); loan for id. different (Shī); go astray (Tso); defective, faulty (Shī); depraved (Lao). b. is Chou II (inscr. 147). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *\$iang | \$iang | s h a n g T discuss, debate (Li); to trade (Tso); name of a musical note (Li); name of place and dynasty (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 11,2, sense of name), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 2,6, sense of name), d. is Chou I (inscr. 62, sense of to give), e. is Yin (inscr. 10, sense of 'to give'). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- f-i. *siang | siang | s h a n g T Shuowen says: to trade, thus taking it to be the same as the preceding in this sense; but there are no text examples in support of this. In the inscriptions it always means 'to give', cf. the preceding. g. is Yin (inscr. 27), h. is Chou I (inser. 55), i. is Chou I (inser. 67).
- 735 a-d. *liang / liang / liang T good (Shi). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 21,3, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 97), d. is Chou III (inscr. 223). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *liang / liang / liang T, L grain, provisions (Shī ap. L).
- *liang / liang / liang L, and *lâng / lâng / lang L, K skilful (Chuang).
 *lâng / lâng / lang T, L wilderness (Chuang).
- *lâng | lâng | lang T bright (Shī).
- i-j. *lâng | lâng | lang Ta kind of tree (inscr. 147). j. Chou II (inscr. 147).
- *lâng / lâng / lang T name of a river (Shu); excessive, reckless, dissolute (Shī).
- l-m. *lâng / lâng / lang — T wolf (Shī). m. is Yin bone (A 6:48,4, sense here uncertain).
- *lâng | lâng | la n g T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu); to tinkle, as jade (Ch'uts'i); loan for id. licentious (see k. above).
- *lâng | lâng | lang T, L noxious weed in cornfield (Shī).
- *lâng / lâng / lang T, L bamboo shoot (Yi).
- *lâng | lâng | lang T, L mantis (Li).
 *lâng | lâng | lang T place name (Tso); double roof, one roof above the other (Yi Chou shu).
- *lâng | lâng | lang L, K spacious and empty (Chuang).
- *lâng | lâng | la n g T side-building, side-gallery (Kuoyü).
- 736 a—b. *liang / liang / liang T two, pair (Shī); (a two-wheeler:) chariot (Shī); a troup (Tso); loan for id. arrange, decorate (Tso); loan for d. below (Chuang). b. is Chou I (inscr. 59). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *liang / liang / liang variant of the preceding in the sense of 'chariot' (Mo).
- d. *liang / liang / liang T wang-liang a kind of demon (Kuoyü).

- 737 a—c. *liang | liang | liang T measure (Lunyü), to measure (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense of name), c. is Chou (inscr. 368, sense of name). The lower part is chung 'heavy', the upper a drawing of same object of uncertain interpretation.
- d—e. *liang / liang / liang L, K grain, provisions (Shī). e. is Chou (inscr. 376, sense of name).
- 738 a. *liang / liang / liang T beam (Chuang), bridge (Shī), dam (Shī); end of a carriage pole (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b—d. *liang / liang / liang T millet, sorghum, grain (Shī). c. is Chou II (inscr. 158), d. is Chou II/III (inscr. 258).
- 739 a—h. *giwang / jiwang / w a n g T king (Shī); to govern (Shī); loan for k. below (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 9,7), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 40,5), d. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,8), e. is Yin (inscr. 4), f. is Yin (inscr. 27), g. is Chou I (inscr. 54), h. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- i—j. *giwang / jiwang / wang (primary form of k. below, hense the reading) to go to (inscr. Yin bone A 1: 29,2). j. is Yin bone (A 1: 29,2). The radical at the top is rad. 77 'foot'.
- k. *giwang / jiwang / w a n g T to go to (Shī); the past (Yi). The character is enlarged by rad. 60, and the 11 at the top is reduced to a dot, thus making the right and fundamental part coincide, in modern form, with ± c h u.
- *giwang / jiwang / wang T, L to go (Tso); loan for id. frighten (Tso); loan for *kiwang / kiwang / kuang L, K, and *g'iwang / g'iwang / kuang L deceive (Shi).
- m—n. *k'iwang | k'iwang | k' u a n g T square basket or box (Li); (square, regular:) correct (Shī); regulate (Shī); assist, succour (Shu); loan for id. crooked (Chouli); to fear (Li). n. is Chou II (inscr. 158). It is seen that the original phonetic was not a., as in the modern form, but i.
- o—p. *g'iwang | g'iwang | k' u a n g T, L mad (Shī), reckless, rash (Shī); ardent, extravagant (Lunyü). p. is Yin bone (B shang 14: 8, probably sense of i.). Here again the original phonetic was not a. but i. above.
- q. *'iwang / iwang / w a n g T, L bent, crooked (Li); depraved, unjust (Lunyü); (bend down:) condescend (Kuots'ê).
- r—s. *'wâng / wâng / w a n g T, L pool (Tso); vast (Kuoyü). b. is pre-Han (inscr. 425, sense of name). Here again the original phonetic was not a. but i. above.
- t. *wâng / wâng / w a n g T, L emaciated (Tso).
- u. *k'iwang / k'iwang / k' u a n g T eye-socket (Lie).

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- *k'iwang / k'iwang / k' u a n g T, L square basket (Shī) (see m. above); bed (Chuang).
- *kiwang / kiwang / k u a n g T, L deceive (Li).
- *g'iwang | g'iwang | k u a n g T quickly, hasten away (Ch'uts'ī). Of the above m. *k'iwang 'crooked' and q. * iwang 'crooked' are cognate words.
- 740 a-f. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T square (Shī); quarter, region, place (Shī); goal (Shī); take a place, occupy (Shī); sacrifice to the spirits of the four quarters (Shī); side by side (Yili); on the side (Yili); two boats side by side and lashed together, raft (Shī); put side by side, compare (Lunyü); square tablet (Li); loan for id. begin (Shī), just, then (Shī); method (Yi), rule, norm (Li); oppose, violate (Shu); for *b'wâng/b'wâng/ p'ang — L tossed about (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 41,7), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 24,1), d. is Yin (inser. 10), e. is Chou I (inser. 56), f. is Chou I (inser. 86). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g—h. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T, and *pwang / pwang / p a n g T boat (Li ap. Shuowen, also inscr. 327). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327).
- *piwang / piwang / f a n g T loosen, let go (Meng); neglect (Shu); indulge (Lunyü); licentious (Meng); banish (Tso), expel (Li); extend to (Meng); conform to (Chouli).
- j. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T, L just then, at that time (Kungyang).
 k. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T, L a kind of tree (Chuang); *piāng / piwong / p i n g — a handle (Yili).
- *piwang / piwang / f a n g T a kind of strong ox (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- m-n. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T, L pottery (Chouli); 2nd form really a corruption.
- **—р.** *piwang / piwang / f a n g — T, L place name (inscr. 241); loan for t. below (Kuliang). p. is Chou II/III (inscr. 241).
- *p'iwang / p'iwang / f a n g T injure (Tso); oppose (Tso).
- *p'iwang / p'iwang / f a n g T, L twist, spin (Tso); tie (Kuoyü).
- *p'iwang / p'iwang / f a n g T fragrant (Ch'uts'ī).
- *p'iwang | p'iwang | f a n g T enquire (Shī).
- *p'iwang / p'iwang / f a n g T f a n g f u resemble, seem (Ch'uts'ī).
- variant of the preceding (Kuoyü).
- *b'iwang / b'iwang / f a n g L, K dyke (Li).
- *b'iwang | b'iwang | f a n g T side-room, room (Shī).
- *b'iwang | b'iwang | f a n g T, L embankment, dyke (Shī); protect against, guard against (Tso), withstand, be a match for (Shi).
- a'. variant of the preceding (Lü).
- b'. *b'iwang | b'iwang | f a n g T, L bream (Shī).

- c'. *p'wang / p'wang / p' a n g T, L heavy snow-fall (Shī).
- d'. variant of l'. below (Sün).
- 6', *b'wang / b'wang / p' ang T, L irresolute walk, hesitating (Chuang); loan for u. above (Ch'uts'i).
- f'-i'. *b'wâng / b'wâng / p ' a n g T side (Tso); on all sides (Shu); wide (Sün); *păng / ppng / p e n g — L in fine condition, strong (sc. horses) (Shī). g'. is Yin bone (A2: 3,2, sense of name), h'. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 302), i'. is pre-Han (inscr. 430, sense of name).
- j'. *păng / pong / p e n g T, L sacrifice at the side of temple gate (Shī).
- k'. *pwâng | pwâng | p a n g T, L slander (Tso).
- l'. *p'wang / p'wang / p ' a n g T, L voluminous flow (of rain, tears etc.) (Shī).
- m'. *b'wang | b'wang | p' ang (even tone) T, L, and *b'wang | b'wang | p ang (oblique tone) T, L at side of (Chouli); assist (Li); loan for *pwang / pwnng / p e n g — L insistant, without rest (Shī).
- n'. *b'wâng / b'wâng / p' a ng T, and *b'ăng / b'vng / p' e ng T vigorous (sc. horses) (Shī), running vigorously (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- o'. *b'wâng / b'wâng / p a n g L, K walk alongside of (Chouli).
- p'—q'. *păng / pung / p e n g T, L oar (Ch'uts'ī). q'. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- r'-s'. *păng | pong | peng T, L, and *b'wâng | b'wâng | p'ang L name of a plant (Erya, no text ex.). s'. is Chou I (inscr. 74, sense of name).
- 741 a-b. *piwang / piwang / f a n g T Shuowen says: box; but there are no text examples of this. In the oracle inscriptions it is regularly used as name of a sacrifice (gifts offered in a box? or same as 740 j'. above?). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 3,1).
- 742 a-f. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T disappear (Shī); exile (Meng); die (Shu); destroy (Meng); not have, not exist (Shī); not (Kuoyü); loan for i. below (Shī). The usage to read this character wu when meaning ## is modern and has no ancient support. b. is Yin bone (A 1:51,1), c. is Yin bone (A 2:3,5), d. is Yin bone (A 6:48,6), e. is Chou I (inscr. 72), f. is Chou I (inscr. 77). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g-h. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T lawless (Tso); extravagant (Chuang); irregular (Meng); rude Tso, reckless, false (Li). h. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- i—j. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T forget (Shī). j. is Chou III (inscr. 220).

 k. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T, L, and *mwang / mwang / m a n g L, K beard of grain, sharp point (Chouli); loan for *mwang / mwang / m ang — L great, extensive (Shī); for *mwang | mwang | m a n g — L, and *xmwang | xwang | h u a n g — L confused, obscure (Chuang).
- *miwang / miwang / w a n g T, L net (Yi); catch (Meng); to snare, entangle (Meng); embarrassement, calamity (Shī); decive (Shī); disorderly (Lunyü); to tie, interlace (Ch'uts'i); loan for id. not, be without (Shi).
- m-n. *miwang | miwang | wang T moon facing the sun, full moon (Shu); look from afar, look towards (Shī), hope (Meng); name of a sacrifice (to mountains and rivers) (Shu). n. is Chou II (inscr. 179).
- 0. *mång / mång / m a n g T flurried (Lie).
- p. *mång | mång | m a n g L hurried (Chuang).
- q. *măng / mvng / m e n g T, L blind (Lao); loan for m. above (Chouli).

 *măng / mɛng / m e n g T, L population (Chouli). *măng should regularly have given Anc. mong, and the meng is irregular.
- **8—t.** *măng / mong / m e n g T, L gadfly, horsefly (Chuang); loan for id. Fritillaria
- *mang | meng | meng T, L population, people (Shī). This is same w. as r. above.

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- **ν-x.** *γmwâng / γwâng / h u a n g T expanse of water (Yi ap. Shuowen). x. is pre-Han (inscr. 434, sense of name).
- *xmwâng / xwâng / h u a n g T, L diaphragm (Tso).
- *xmwang / xwang / h u a n g T blood (Tso).
- a'. *miwang | miwang | w a n g T net (Shi), s. w. as l.
- b'. *miwang | miwang | w a n g T dejected (Ch'uts'i).
- c'. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T sharp point of a weapon (Lie), cf. k. above.
- d'. *mwâng / mwâng / m a n g T confused (Lie), cf. k. above.
- e'. *\text{rmwang | \text{rwang | h u a n g T weed-covered, incult (Meng); waste, desolate (Shi);} famine (Chouli); to cover (Shi); vast, distant (Kuoyu); excessive (Shi); throw away, neglect (Shu); break incult soil, cultivate (Shī).
- f. *\chimmum mwang | \chimmum mang | h u a n g T words said in the sleep, nonsense, lies (L\u00fc).

 g. *\chimmum mwang | \chimmum mang | h u a n g T confused (Li), cf. k. and d'. above.
- h'—i'. *mwâng / mwâng / m a n g T, L to soak and colour silk (Chouli).
- 743 a—c. *miwang | miwang | wang (same as 望 742 m. above, hence the reading) to face, regard, look to (inser. Yin bone A 5: 20,7, and inser. 10). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 20,7), c. is Yin (inscr. 10). The graph has a standing figure and 'eye'.
- d—f. *miwang | miwang | wang K (variant of 望 742 m. above, as indicated already in Shuowen) moon facing the sun, full moon (inscr. 28 and 74). e. is Yin (inser. 28), f. is Chou I (inser. 74).
- g-h. *miwang / miwang / wang T Shuowen says: to blame, criticize; there are no text examples of this, but in Han texts 望 occurs in this sense, evidently as loan for our present character. h. is Chou I (inscr. 77, sense of 👼).
- 744 a—b. *miwang / miwang / w a n g T Shuowen says: net; there are no text examples of this, but this is because in current praxis the graph has been enlarged into 742 l. or a'. above). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 38,2, sense here uncertain). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *miwang / miwang / wang K wang-liang a kind of demon (Kuoyü).
- 745 a—b. *kăng / kvng / k e n g T change (Tso); again, still more (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kăng / kvng / k e n g T, L choke (Chuang).
- d. *kăng / kmg / k e n g T, L fishbone in the throat (Kuoyü).

- e. *kăng | kung | k e n g T, L a medical plant (Chuang); loan for id. suffering, distress (Shī); exorcise, prevent disaster by magic (Chouli); obstruct (Kuan); strong (Ch'uts'ī); wooden figure, doll (Kuots'ê).
- f. *kăng | k̄nng | k e n g T, L well-rope (Tso); for obscure reasons this character has been loaned for *piĕng | piāng | p i n g L felly on a wheel (Chouli).
- 746 a—1. *kăng | kvng | k e n g T cyclical character (Shī); loan for id. road (Tso); loan for 745 a. above (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 6,1), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 10,3), d. is Yin (inser. 33), e. is Chou I (inser. 73), f. is Chou I (inser. 84). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *kăng / kvng / k e n g L, K continue, succeed (Shu).
- h—j. *k'âng / k'âng / k' a n g T prosperous (Shī); tranquil, at ease (Shī); joyful (Shī); to exalt (Li); loan for id. crossroads (5 roads meeting) (Lie). i. is Yin bone (A 2: 39,2), j. is Chou I (inser. 70).
- k—l. *k'âng / k'âng / k 'ang T empty (only Han time text ex.). l. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense of name).
- m. *k'âng | k'âng | k 'ang T dejected, sorry (Ch'uts'ī).
- n. *k'âng | k'âng | k'ang T husk of grain (Chuang).
- o. variant of the preceding (Chuang, one version).
- 747 a. *kăng / kvng / k e n g T, L soup (Shī). The modern graph consists of k a o 'lamb' and m e i 'fine'.
- 748 a—d. *g'ăng | γong | h i n g T, L streat, road (Shī); walk, go (Shī); be possible, succeed (Tso); act, action (Yi); *g'âng | γâng | h a n g T, L rank, row (Shī); loan for id. strong, vigorous (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 9,7), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 40,5), d. is Chou I (inscr. 57). The graph is said to be a drawing of meeting streets(?).
- e. *g'ăng / γnng / h i n g T, L Limnanthemum nymphoides (Shī).
- 1. *g'ăng / yong / h e n g T, L wooden lid (to vessels) (Yili); *g'âng / yâng / h a n g T, L foot fetters (Chuang).
- g. *g'ăng / yong / h e n g T, L jade piece in girdle pendant (Shī).

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- h-i. *g'ăng / ypng / h e n g T beam of a balance or steelyard (Shu); cross-piece (Shu); yoke of carriage (Shī); crosspiece of cap (Tso); crosswise (Meng); *q'wăng / ywmg / h u n g — L to plow crosswise (Shi). i. is Chou II (inser. 180). Explanation of the element in the middle uncertain.
- j. *g'ăng / yvng / h e n g T tu h e n g a fragrant plant, Asarum (Ch'uts'ī).
- 749 a—c. *g'ăng / ynng / h i n g T, L apricot tree, apricot (Li). b. is Yin bone (H 2: 18,11), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 16,3), in both cases sense uncertain. The graph has 'tree' and either 'mouth' or a circle of doubtful interpretation.
- 750 a—d. *b'ăng / b'nng / p'eng T place name (Shī), N. Pr. (Lunyü); *b'âng / b'âng / p' a n g — L forceful, overbearing (Yi, so the Wang Su comm.); *pâng / pâng / pang — L vigorous, untiring, running without stopping (sc. horses) (Shī); numerous, in crowds (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 7,2, possibly in the sense of e. below), c. is Yin (inscr. 1, sense of name), d. is pre-Han (inscr. 403, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *păng / ppng / p e n g K sacrifice at the side of the temple gate (Shī ap. Shuowen), s. w. as 前.
- 751 a. *p'ang / p'ong / p' e n g T, L to boil (Tso), see group 716 above.
- *kiang | kinng | kinng T boundary, limit, frontier, border (Tso); end, in the end (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kiǎng / king T boundary (Meng).
- *kį ang / kį nng / k i n g T mirror (Ta Tai li).
- d. *g'iang / g'iang / kiang T rice just taken out of washing water (Meng ap. Shuowen).
- 753 a—b. *k'ičng / k'ing / k'ing T happy, rejoice (Shī); felicitate (Shī); reward (Meng); loan for !! (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 151). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 754 a—d. *g'iang / g'ivng / k i n g T, L strong, vigorously (Shī); to contest, strive, quarrelsome (Shī); busy, zealous (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 41,5, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 78, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 184). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 755 a—c. *kliăng / kivng / k i n g T mound, hill (Shī); capital city (Shī); great (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 45,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph shows a high
- d. *kliăng / kinng / king T bright (Shī); splendid, great (Shī); loan for id. a kind of coat (Yili); loan for 影 (Shī).
- *g'liăng | g'ipng | k'ing T, L strong, powerful (Tso).
- *g'liăng | g'inng | k' i n g T, L whale (Tso).
 *g'liăng | g'inng | k' i n g T, L to brand (face of criminal) (Shu).
- *kliwang / kiwng / kiung T, L roaming far away (sc. barbarians) (Shī, so the
- *gliang / liang / liang L search (Li).
- *gliang / liang / liang T enlighten, instruct (Shu); loan for m. below (Meng).
- k. *gliang / liang / liang T, L, and *gliak / lüe K plunder, rob (Tso); beat (Li).

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- *gliang / liang / liang T, L chilly, cold (Shī); loan for id. slight, defective (Tso); assist (Shī).
- m. *gliang / liang / liang T, L sincere (Lunyü), to trust (Shī), truly (Shī); stubborn (Lunyü).
- 756 a. *'iăng | 'iong | y i n g T shadow (Chouli). The graph has 'bright' and three strokes.
- 757 a—f. *piāng / piwong / p i n g T cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 29,2), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 3,7), d. is Yin (inscr. 43), e. is Chou I (inscr. 82), f. is Chou II (inscr. 159). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *piăng / piwong / p i n g T, L grieved (Shī).
- h. *piăng / piwong / ping T, L a handle (Shī).
- i. *piăng / piwong / p i n g T, L bright (Yi).
- j. *pį̃ang / pį̃wong / p i n g T, L place name (Tso); loan for id. happy, bright (Chuang).
- k. *b'iang / b'iwong / p i n g T sickness, disease (Lunyü); suffer, distress (Lunyü); aggrieved, annoyed (Tso); disgrace (Li) (cognate to g. above).
- 758 a—c. *piăng / piwong / p i n g T hold, grasp (Shī); a handful (Shī); a certain quantity of grain (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (B hia 21:13), c. is Chou II (inscr. 146). The graph shows a 'hand' grasping a stalk of 'grain'.
- d. *piang / piwong / ping T, L a handle (Chuang), s. w. as 757 h. above.
- 759 a—b. *piāng / piwong / ping T weapon (Shī); soldier (Chouli). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 307). The graph has 'two hands' and 'axe'.
- 760 a—d. *miăng | miwong | m i n g T light (Shī), bright (Shī); intelligent (Shī); eye-sight (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 32,4), c. is Yin bone (B hia 20: 16), d. is Chou I (inser. 67). The Yin graph has 'sun' and 'moon'. The Chou graph has substituted 'window' to the 'sun'. But curiously enough the modern graph has reverted to the original composition!
- e—i. *miāng / miwong / m e n g T, L covenant (Shī). The Pek. reading is irregular (the char. is used sometimes for in the place name Meng-tsin, and then of course the reading m e n g is correct; but in the sense of 'covenant' we should expect a m i n g). f. is Chou I (inscr. 127).

- g. *măng / meng / m e n g T, L sprout (Li); loan for 民 (Kuots'ê). Anc. Chin. meng is irregular, we should expect a mung.
- 761 a—d. *miāng / miwong / m i n T, L (Pek. m i n is irregular, we should expect a m i n g) vessel, dish, bowl (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 15,2, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin (inser. 53, sense of name), d. is pre-Han (inser. 458). The graph is a drawing.
- e—f. *mang / mong / meng T eldest (of brothers etc.) (Shī), first (of three months) (Li); great (Kuan). f. is Chou II (inscr. 172).
- g. *măng / mong / m e n g T fierce (Lunyü); stern (Tso).
- 762 a—b. *miāng | miwmg | m i n g T, and *miěn (an alternative Archaic reading clearly indicated by several Shī rimes) order, command, charge (Shī); investiture (Tso); name, designation (Tso); Heaven's will (Lunyü); life (Yi). b. is Chou I (inscr. 78). The graph has 'to order' and 'mouth'.
- 763 a—b. *kiwăng | kiwong | kiung T, L a N. Pr. (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 764 a—f. *giwāng / jiwvng / y u n g T long, constant, eternal (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 11,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. K'ia 5: 20), d. is Chou I (inscr. 69), e. is Chou I (inscr. 89), f. is Chou II (inscr. 163). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g—h. *giwang / jiwong / y u n g L, K (draw out long:) to sing (Li). h. is Chou I (inscr. 123, sense of name).
- i. variant of the preceding, T (Li).
- j—k. *giwăng | jiwnng | y u n g T, L go down in water, wade (Shī). k. is Yin bone (A 1: 19,5, sense of name).
- 765 a—e. *\(\chi_i\) iwang / \(\chi_i\) wong / h i u n g T elder brother (Shī); senior (Li); loan for f. below (Shī), for g. (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 39,3), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 13,3), d. is Yin (inser. 45), e. is Chou III (inser. 225). The graph has 'man' and 'mouth'.
- *χiwang / χiwang / h u a n g T, L disappointed (Ch'uts'ī); confused, vague (Lao) (in the latter sense also read *χwâng / χwâng / h u a n g L).
- g. *xiwang / xiwang / h u a n g T increase (Shī); how much the more (Lao); moreover (Tso), thus, then (Shī); to give, bestow (Kuoyü); compare with, be equal to (Sün). In Pek. irregularly read k'uang in the sense 'moreover'. Often written with rad. : I instead of rad 85.
- h. *xiwang / xiwang / h u a n g T, L give, confer on (Shī).
- i. *xiwang / xiwang / h u a n g L a kind of insect (Chuang).
- 766 a—c. *klâk / kâk / k o T each (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 24,6, sense of x. below), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67, sense of x.). The graph has 'foot' and 'mouth', explanation uncertain.
- d. *klâk / kâk / k o T, L armpit (Li ap. L); *klăk / kvk / k o L hind-leg, haunch (Yili).
- e. $*kl\hat{a}k / k\hat{a}k / k$ o T, L armpit-seem (of a coat) (Li).
- *klâk / kâk / k o T, L shelf (Li); (shelf-wise:) one above the other, in strict order or series (sc. building frames) (Shī).
- g. $*k'l\hat{a}k / k'\hat{a}k / k'$ o T, L respect, reverent (Shi).
- h—i. *g'lâk / yâk / h o T, L badger (or marmot?) (Shī); by confusion with 紅 applied to: *māk / mvk / m o L, K a Northern tribe (Meng); *māg / ma / m a L name of a sacrifice (Chouli). i. is Chou I (inscr. 98, sense of name).

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- j. variant of the preceding in its first sense (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- k—m. *glâk / lâk / lo T name of a river (Shī). l. is Yin bone (M 108), m. is Chou II (inscr. 157).
- *glâk / lâk / lo T, L burn (Chuang).
- *glâk / lâk / lo T silk thread (Yi Chou shu); cord, bridle (Chuang).
- **p.** * $gl\hat{a}k / l\hat{a}k / l$ o T, L a kind of acid soy made of rice or millet (Li).
- q. *glâk / lâk / lo T, L Shuowen says: a kind of bird; but there are no text examples of this; loan for o. above (Chuang), for s. below (Shī).
- *glak / lak / lo T raw skin, hide (Lü).
- *glâk / lâk / lo T, L white horse with black mane (Shī).
- *glâk / lâk / lo K an aquatic bird (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- u. *glâk / lâk / lo T, L, and gliak / liek / li L small stones, trifling (Lao).
- *aliak / liak / l ü e T trace out, measure the area of, to plan, regulate (Tso); boundary, frontier (Tso); run over, traverse (Tso); summarily (Kungyang); sketch, summary, outline (Meng); (treat summarily:) neglect (Kuoyü); (passing through:) road, way (Tso); plan, method (Tso); loan for id. sharp (Shī); loan for 掠 (Kuoyü).
- **x**—y. *klāk | kvk | k o T go to (inscr. 58). y. is Chou I (inscr. 58). **z**—a'. *klāk | kvk | k o T, L spread out, reach to (Shu); arrive (Shī); reach the utmost point, exhaust, perfectly penetrate (Li); to correct (Meng); a rule (Li); resist (Kuoyü); *g'lāk / yvk / h o — L obstruct, resist (Li). a'. is Chou I (inscr. 97, sense of name).
- b'. *klāk / kvk / k o T, L deer's horn (Li).
 c'. *klāk / kvk / k o T, L bones (Li); *klāk / kvk / k o L, and *klâk / kâk / k o L, and *k'lag / k'a / k' i a — T, L haunch (of a victim) (Yili).
- **d'**—**f'**. *k'lāk / k'vk / k' o T guest, visitor (Shī), stranger (Yi). e'. is Yin bone (A 4; 30,4), f'. is Chou II (inser. 192).
- g'. $*g'l\check{a}k / \gamma vk / h$ o T water drying off land (Ch'uts'ī).
- h'—i'. *nglāk | ngvk | o T, L insisting, authoritative (Li); dispute, contest (Mo); attack (Chuang). i'. is Chou I/II (inser. 213, sense of name).
- j'. *nglāk / ngvk / o T, L unceasingly (Shu).
- k'. *glâg / luo / lu T, L to contribute, to present (Shi); bribe (Tso).
- l'---m'. *glâg / luo / l u — T road (Shī); loan for t'. below (Sün). m'. is Chou I/II (inscr.
- n'. *glâg / luo / l u T, L big chariot (Lunyü); *g'lăk / \gammu pk / h o wooden cross-piece for attaching strings on pole of small carriage drawn by man (Yili); *nglăg / nga / y a — L go to meat (Tso).

- o'. $*k'l\breve{a}k / k'vk / k$ 'o T spit out, vomit (Lie).
- p'. variant of g. above (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- q'. *glâk | lâk | 1 o T shed the leaves (Shī); drop, fall, perish (Kuoyü); destroy (Chuang); drip sacrificial blood on (Tso); loan for id. begin (Shī); loan for o. (Chuang).
- r'. *glâg | luo | lu T a kind of precious stone (Ch'uts'ī).
- s'. *glâg | luo | lu T a kind of bamboo (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- t. *glâg / luo / l u T dew (Shī); (leak:) disclose, let appear (Tso) in this latter sense read l o u in Pek.
- u'. variant of the preceding (Lü).
- v'. *glâg / luo / l u T, L heron, egret (Shī).
- x'. *glâg | luo | lu T, L a kind of bamboo (see s'. above) (Shu).
- **767 a.** * $\chi \hat{a}k / \chi \hat{a}k / h$ o T, L moat (Shī), canal, ditch (Meng); valley (Tso). The graph has 'deep' and 'earth'.
- 768 a—c. *ngâk / ngâk / o T, L fear (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 171, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 173, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *ngâk | ngâk | o L, and *ngâg | nguo | w u L resist, oppose (Chuang).
- 769 a. *sâk? / ṣâk / s h u o T first day of the moon (Shī); beginning (Li); North (Shī). The phonetic history of this word is obscure; both its rime in Li (Li yün) and its derivates reveal an Arch. *sâk, and it is therefore irregular that Anc. Chin. has ṣâk, we should expect a sâk. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *sâg / suo / s u T, L inform, complain (Shī); ? / sɛk / sê T, L fear (Yi).
- c. variant of 訴 (Kuan).
- d. *sâg / suo / s u L, K against (Shī); be opposite to, vis-à-vis de (Shī); loan for 歌. (Mo).
- 770 a. *såk / såk / s o T, L twist a rope (Shī); loan for id. rule, law (Tso); tremble, fear (Yi); exhaust (Yili); search, demand (Tso); disperse (Li); *såk / spk / s ê T, L select (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 771 a—c. *pâk / pâk / p o T wide, ample (Shī); loan for n. below (Lunyü). b. is Chou II (inscr. 157), c. is Chou II (inscr. 182). The graph has 102 p'. above 'to extend' and another element the sense of which is obscure.

This character is phonetic, slightly abbreviated (cf. 役 phon. in 疫 etc.), in the following:

- d—e. *pâk / pâk / p o T, L beat (Shu); grasp, seize (Shī) (also read *piwo / piu / f u, T, L, then taken to have 102 p'. for phonetic). e. is Chou II (inscr. 172, rad. 62 instead of 64).
- *pâk / pâk / p o K name of a river (K); loan for *p'âg / p'uo / p ' u T, L great, vast (Shī); loan for 敷 (Li).
- g—i. * $p\hat{a}k$ / $p\hat{a}k$ / p o T, L bell (Tso); hoe (Shī). h. is Chou III (inser. 218), i. is Chou III/IV (inser. 301).
- **j**—**k.** * $p\hat{a}k / p\hat{a}k / p$ o K leather strap (inser. 86). k. is Chou I (inser. 86).
- 1. * $p'\hat{a}k / p'\hat{a}k / p$ o L, K dismember (Tso).
- m. *b'iwak / b'iwak / f u T, L bind, wrap, roll (Tso).
- n. * $p\hat{a}k / p\hat{a}k / p$ o T a kind of ancient game (similar to chess) (Ch'uts'i).
- o. *b'âg / b'uo / p u T, L register (Meng).

- p. *b'âk / b'âk / p o T, L trees with interlaced branches (Ch'uts'ī); trellis (Li); loan for id. thin (Shī); initial particle (Shī, so the Mao comm.); to press (Tso); contiguous to (Shu); for *p'âk / p'âk / p o L sound of swiftly driving carriages (Shī); loan for 臺 (Li).
- **q.** * $b'\hat{a}\hat{k}/b'\hat{a}k/p$ o T, L to fill (Chuang); loan for id. sit with legs crossed under body (Chuang).
- r. variant of g. above (Yili).
- 772 a. $p'\hat{a}k/p'\hat{a}k/p'$ o T Shuowen says: hide soaked in rain; T. says: rain; but there are no text examples whatever in support of these meanings. The graph has 'hide' and 'rain'.
- b—d. *p'ŭk / p'vk / p'o (same word as 魄 in this sense, hence the reading) an aspect of the moon (Shu ap. Shuowen, also inscr. 69, 78 etc.); loan for *păg / pa / pa T take the bat, have hegemony (Lunyü). c. is Chou I (inscr. 69), d. is Chou I (inscr. 78):
- 773 a—d. *b'âk / p'ôk / p o T, L place name (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 2,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 29), d. is Chou (inscr. 390). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 774 a—d. *kwâk / kwâk / k u o T outer wall of a city (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 10,7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of name), d. is Chou III (inscr. 228). The graph is a drawing of a wall with gate towers. Rad. 163 at the right in the modern graph is a later addition. In the following derivates, therefore, e. and h. are not abbreviated forms of f. and i. but have adhered more closely to the original form of the phonetic.
- e-1. * $kw\hat{a}k / kw\hat{a}k / k$ u o T, L outer coffin (Tso); loan for id. to measure (Chouli). g. * $k'w\hat{a}k / k'w\hat{a}k / k$ u o — T, L wide, large (Shī).
- h-i. *k'wâk / k'wâk / k' u o T, L leather (Shī).
- 775 a—d. *χwâk / χwâk / h u o T rapid, sudden (Sün). c. is Yin bone (A 2: 15,7, sense of name), d. is Chou (inscr. 341, sense of name). The graph has 'rain' and 'bird' or 'birds'.
- e. *xwâk / xwâk / h u o T, L sprouting leaves of bean plants (Shī).
- L ? / xuok / h u K soup without vegetables (Ch'uts'i).

- 776 a. *g'iak / g'iak / k ü e K Shuowen says: palate, interior of the mouth, thus taking it to be the primary form of 803 h. below; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. The original graph may have been a drawing. In the derivates it is always confused with 谷 k u in its modern form.
- b—c. *k'iak / k'iak / k' ü e T decline, refuse (Meng); expel, eliminate (Lü); turn down (Li); loan for 類 (Chuang). c. is a vulgar variant.
- d. *k'iāk / k'ivk / k' i T, L coarse dolichos cloth (Shī).
- e—f. *k'iǎk / k'ink / k'i T, L place and family name (Tso); loan for 陔 (Li). f. is a corrupted variant.
- g—h. *kiak / kiak / k ü e T leg, foot (Sün). h. is a vulgar variant.
- 777 a—e. *ńiak / ńżiak / j o T agree, conform to, accord with (Shī); like, as (Shī); like this, such (Lunyü); (a case like:) if (Shu); or (Li); loan for id. you (Yili); a kind of ginger (Ch'uts'ī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 11,3), c. is Yin (inser. 42), d. is Chou I (inser. 65), e. is Chou I (inser. 86). The graph is a drawing of a kneeling man with dishevelled hair the traditional attitude of the vanquished and surrendering warrior; in some forms is added a 'mouth'.
- f. *nâk / nâk / no T agree, say yes (Shī). Cognate to the preceding, and hence the same graph used enlarged by rad. 149.
- g—h. *ńiak / ńżiak / j o T cuticle of bamboo (inscr. 328? sense here somewhat obscure). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- i-j. *ńiak / ńżiak / j o T place name (Tso). j. is Chou III (inscr. 222).
- **k.** *t'niak | \hat{t} 'iak | c h 'o \hat{T} , L a N. Pr. (Tso).
- 1-m. *njok / njok / n i T, L conceal (Lunyü). m. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- n. *niək / niək / ni (this reading is indicated both by the phonetic of the graph and by a Shī king rime, ode Yü liu) near, familiar (Shī); T and L both read niët / n i through confusion with the synonomous 昵.
- **o.** $t'n\partial k / t'\partial k / t'\hat{e}$ T evil, wrong (Shī).
- 778 a. *kiwak / kiwak / k ' ü e L, and *xiwak / xiwak / h ü e T, L (after Sü Miao) flurried look, anxious look (Yi). The Pek. aspirate is irregular. The graph has two 'eyes', 'bird' and 'hand'.
- b. *kiwak / kiwak / k ' ü e, k u o T, L seize (Li). (Pek. readings irregular).
- c. *kiwak / kiwak / k ü e T monkey (Lü).
- d. *k'iwak | k'iwak | k'ü e T, and *kiwak | kiwak | k ü e L, K legs bending under (walk in a scared and respectful way) (Lunyü); walk quickly (Chuang).
- e. *χiwak / χiwak / h ü e T, L scared (Chuang, one version ap. L).
- 779 a. *χāk / χνk / h o T, L red, fire-red (Shī); fiery, angry (Shī); awe-inspiring, frighten (Shī); ardent (Shī); brilliant (Shī). The graph has 'red' doubled.
- **b.** $*\chi ak / \chi vk / h$ o T, L, and $*\chi ag / \chi a / h$ i a T, L scare (Chuang).
- **780 a.** * $t\check{a}k/\hat{t}vk/t$ s \hat{e} T Shuowen says: plant leaves; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b—d.** * $d'\check{a}k / \check{d'}nk / t$ s \hat{e} T residence, place for settlement (Shī); inhabit (Shī). c. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), d. is Chou I (inser. 59).
- e. $t'\hat{a}k / t'\hat{a}k / t'$ o T entrust (Lunyü); rely on (Meng).
- f. *tâg | tuo | t u T, L, and *d'ăg | d'a | c h a T, L a certain number of sheaves of grain (Yili).
- g. *tăg / ta / c h a T, L sputter (Li); *tâg / tuo / t u L set down a cup (Shu).

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- **h.** * $t'\check{a}g/\hat{t}'a/ch'a$ T, L tell (Chuang).
- * $t'\check{a}g/\hat{t}'a/ch'a$ T discourage (Ch'uts'i).
- *tôg / tuo / tu T, L to depose a vase with wine (Shu ap. Shuowen, see g. above).
- 781 a—e. *pāk / pvk / p o, p a i T hundred (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 23,3), c. is Yin (inser. 20), d. is Chou I (inser. 69), e. is Chou II (inser. 144). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *māk / mvk / m o T, L a Northern tribe (Shī); loan for id. silent, quiet (Shī).
- *mak / mvk / m o T west-east-going path between fields (Mo).
- 782 a—e. *b'āk / b'vk / po, pai T white (Shī); bare (Li); clearly understand. (Kuots'ê). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 46,3), c. is Yin (inscr. 37, sense of i. below), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of i.), e. is Chou I (inscr. 75). The graph is the primary form for i. below, and is a phallic symbol analogous to 且, see group 46 above.
- 1-h. *b' $\ddot{a}k/b$ 'vk/p o T silk (Shu). g. is Yin bone (A 2: 12,4, sense of name), h. is Chou II (inser. 150).
- *pāk / pvk / p o T eldest brother, eldest (Shī); feudal lord (Tso); lord, chief (Shī); loan for id. one hundred men (Meng); sacrifice to the horse god (Shī).
- *pāk / pvk / p o T cypress (Shī); loan for k. below (Chouli).
 *pāk / pvk / p o T, L to press (Tso).
- *p'ak / p'vk / p' o T passive, quiet (Lao, one version) (the reading p'a / p'a T 'to fear' is a later application of the character).
- **m**—**n.** * $p'\check{a}k/p'vk/p$ ' o T, L to beat (Ch'uts'i); loan for * $p\hat{a}k/p\hat{a}k/p$ o L shoulder (of an animal) (Chouli). n. is Chou III/IV (inser. 319, sense of name).
- *p'āk / p'vk / p' o T, L the animal soul of man (as opp. to h u n) (Tso); loan for id. an aspect of the moon (Shu); loan for p. below (Chuang).
- *p'âk / p'âk / p' o T, L dregs (Chuang, one version ap. L).
 *p'âk / p'âk / p' o L, K shoulder blade (Yili).
- * $b'\hat{a}k/b'\hat{a}k/p$ o T, L calm, still (Lao).
- *piāk / piāk / pi T green or blue precious stone (Lü).
- 783 a-c. *kwāk / kwvk / k u o T, L place name (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 146), c. is Chou II (inscr. 154, sense of i). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- 784. a—c. *g'wāk / ywek / h u o (primary form of d. below, as shown by inscriptions, hence the reading) catch (Yin bone A 2: 34,4); loan for id, to measure (same as f-g. below) (only Han time text ex., Han shu, Lü li chī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 34,4), c. is Chou II (inscr. 168, sense of name). The graph shows a 'hand' catching a 'bird'; the addition at the top ('grass') is from Chou time.
- d. *g'wāk / \gammawek / h u o T catch, get, find (Shī). Anc. Chin. \gammawek is irregular, we should expect a yunk, since both the Shī rimes and the hie sheng connections indicate Arch. *g'wăk. This irregularity recurs in e. and f. below.
- *g'wāk / ywɛk / h u o L, and 'wāk / 'wvk / w o L to bind (Chuang).
- *g'wāk / ywɛk / h u o T, and *'iwak / iwak / y ü e T to measure (Ch'uts'ī ap. Shuowen).
- variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'ī, current version).
- *g'wâk / γwâk / h u o T, L to reap (Shī).
 *g'wâk / γwâk / h u o T, L caldron, cooking pot (Chouli).
- *g'wâk / ywâk / h u o T, L to boil (Shī); g'wâg / yuo / h u T, L name of an ancient dance (Tso).
- *g'wâg / yuo / h u T to guard, protect (Lü).
- *g'wăg / ywa / h u a L, and * wăk / wok / w o T catch, a trap (Shu); cognate to d. above.
- m. *'wâk / 'wâk / w o T, L (after Sü Miao) red pigment, ochre (Shu).
- *'wâk / 'wâk / w o T, L caterpillar (Yi).
- 785 a—b. *kiāk / kivk / ki — T a kind of lance (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *kįčk / kįvk / k i K grasp, hold (inser. 58). b. is Yin bone (B hia 11:2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph shows a man with outstretched hands.
- 787 a—b. *k'iāk / k'ivk / k' i T Shuowen says: light shown through a crevice; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *k'iāk / k'ink / k' i T, L crack, crevice (Tso); space between (Tso), interval (Tso); discord (Kuots'ê).
- d-f. *\(\gamma\)i\(\delta k / \gamma\)i\(\delta k / \hat{h}\) i T, L fear (Yi). e. is Chou II (inser. 180), f. is Chou III (inser. 238).

- 788 a—b. *ngiāk / ngivk / y i T Shuowen says: refractory, disobedient, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (B hia 11: 15, sense here uncertain).
- c-e. *ngiāk / ngivk / y i T go against (Shu), rebellious (Shī); go to meet (Shu); receive (Yili), anticipate (Lunyü). d. is Yin bone (I 11:13), e. is Chou I (inscr. 69).
- *ngâk | ngâk | o T, L beat the drum and make a noise (Shī). In the second modern form (g.) the phonetic is deformed.
- * $ng\hat{a}k / ng\hat{a}k / o \bar{T}$ scared (Kuots'ê).
- *ngâk / ngâk / o K unexpectedly come across (Ch'uts'i).
- *ngâg / nguo / w u L, K unexpectedly come across (Chuang), cognate to the preceding.
- *ngâk | ngâk | o T speak frankly (Lie).
- *ngâk / ngâk / o T, L place name (Tso); loan for id. pitfall (Kuoyü); burst forth (sc. blossom of a tree) (Shī); loan for h. above (Lie).
- *ngâk / ngâk / o T, L edge of a sword (Chuang).
- *ngâk / ngâk / o T osprey (Lie).
- * $\gamma_i \tilde{a}k / \gamma_i \tilde{v}k / h i$ L fear (Chuang). The graph has 'to see' and 'tiger'. 789 a.
- *diāk / jāk / y i T Shuowen says: to spy; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. name of a mountain (Kuots'ê); for o. below (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *diāk / iāk / y i L turn round, deviate, interruption (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- * $d\hat{i}ak/\hat{i}ak/\hat{y}i$ T, L to be pleased (Shī), pleasant (Shī). * $d\hat{i}ak/\hat{i}ak/\hat{y}i$ T, L, and * $d\hat{i}ag/d\hat{i}uo/tu$ T fed up with, tired of (Shī); sound of music (Shī); *tâg / tuo / t u — T, L destroy (Shī) (cf. q. below).
- *diāk / iäk / y i T, L draw out (as a thread), unfold (Lunyü); long-drawn (Lunyü); in a line, successive, continue (Shī); loan for h. below ('relays') (Shī).
- *diāk / jāk / y i T, L to interpret (Li).
- g. $*di\check{a}k / j\check{a}k / yi$ T, L bitter spirits (only Han time text ex.); loan for l. below (Kuots'ê).
- *diāk / jāk / y i T, L post horses, relay horses (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. amply-growing (Shī); for b. above (Shu).
- i-j. *diāk / jāk / y i T Shuowen says: adduce and furnish; but there are no text examples in support of this. j. is Chou III (inscr. 217, sense of n. below).
- k. *śiāk / śiāk / s h ī T wash rice (Shī).
- *śiāk / śiāk / s h ī T unloose (Yili); dissolve (Li); loose, leave, let go (Shī); detach (Tso); put away (Tso); condone (Tso); unravel, explain (Tso); loan for id. to put into water, moisten (Li).
- m. * $d'\check{a}k / d'vk / t s \hat{e}$ L, K, and * $s\check{i}\check{a}k / s\check{i}\check{a}k / s h i$ T a kind of jujube tree (Yili).
- **n.** $*d'\check{a}k / d'vk / t \circ \hat{e}$ T choose (Shī).
- o. *d'āk / d'vk / t s ê T marsh (Shī); pool, pond (Tso); moist, moisten (Li); glossy, polished (Li); enrich, benefit (Meng); (sweat-garments:) underclothes (Shī); *diāk / iak / y i — L pure wine (Chouli); *śjāk / śjāk / s h ī — L pulverize (Shī); loan for l. above (Ta Tai li), for n. (Li), for 宅 (Chuang).
- $*d\hat{a}k / d\hat{a}k / to$ T, L a kind of bell (Lunyü).
- q. *tâg | tuo | t u T destroy (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- r. *t'âk / t'âk / t' o T, L withered and fallen leaves (Shī).
- **791 a.** * $\hat{t}_i \tilde{a} k / t s_i \tilde{a} k / c h i$ T, L, and * $\hat{t}_i \tilde{a} g / t s_i \tilde{a} / c h \hat{e}$ T, L roast, broil (Shi); (warmed by:) close to (Meng). The graph has 'meat' and 'fire'.



- 792 a—c. *î'iăk / tś'iäk / c h ' ī T, L to rebuff (Tso); examine, spy out (Tso); point, indicate (Kuliang); spread, grow numerous (Tso); salty soil (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** $t \cdot \tilde{a}k / \hat{t} \cdot vk / t s \cdot \hat{e}$ T, L split, be rent (Shī); fissure (Chouli).
- e—g. *t'âk / t'âk / t 'o T, L watchman's rattle (Yi). g. is Chou I (inscr. 92, sense here uncertain).
- h—i. *sâg / suo / s u T, L go up, against current (Tso).
- j. *sâg / suo / s u T, L accuse (Tso); inform (Tso).
- 793 a—c. *î'iăk / tś'iäk / c h' ī T red (Shī); loan for id. or *ts'iāk / ts'iäk / t s' i L expel (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (B hia 18: 8), c. is Chou I (inser. 85). The graph has 'man' and 'fire'.
- d. *śiặg / śia / s h ê T let off, liberate (Tso); pardon (Lunyü).
- e. $*\dot{s}i\ddot{a}k / \dot{s}i\ddot{a}k / sh\bar{i} T$, L to sting (Shī).
- 794 a. * $\hat{i}'i\ddot{a}k/ts'i\ddot{a}k/c$ h' ï T a measure, to measure (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 795 a—c. *dįāk / źįäk / s h ī T stone, rock (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 104: 3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 113, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *diāk / ziāk / s h ī T, L stone case for holding ancestral tablets (Tso).
- e—g. *diāk / źiāk / shī T, L great, stately (Shī). f. is Chou I/II (inscr. 214, sense of name), g. is Chou II/III (inscr. 247, sense of name).
- **h.** $*di\check{a}k / \acute{z}i\ddot{a}k / s h i T$, L some kind of rodent (Yi).
- i. *tiāk / tsiāk / c h i T, L sole of the foot (Lü).
- j. $t\tilde{a}k/\tilde{t}v\hat{k}/t$ sê T, L to rip open (a victim) (Li).
- **k.** *tiak / tsiak / c h o T cut, hack (Mo).
- 1. *Îiag / tśia / c h ê T, L a kind of mulberry tree (Shī); loan for 蔗 (Ch'utsī).
- m. $t'\hat{a}k/t'\hat{a}k/t'$ o T, L take up, lift (Lie).
- n-o. *tâg | tuo | t u T, L jealous (Tso). In o. the phonetic 'stone' has been changed into the similar 'door'.

- p. *t'âk / t'âk / t' o T, L sack, bag (Shi); bellows (Lao); loan for id. noise of pounding earth (Shī).
- *t'âk / t'âk / t' o L watchman's rattle (Chouli).
- *tâg / tuo / t u T, L grubs in wood, vermin (Tso).
- 796 a-d. *dziāk / ziāk / si T evening (Shī), night (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 5,1), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 27,4), d. is Chou I (inser. 65). The graph is a drawing of the moon, cf. group 306 above.
- *dziāk / ziāk / si T, L darkness, night (as in a grave) (Tso).
- 797 a. *dziāk / ziāk / s i T mat (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *dziāk / ziāk / s i T, L large, loose-fitting (garment) (Shī).
- 798 a—e. *sičk / sičk / s i T anciently, formerly (Shī); yesterday (Tso), last night (Tso); loan for s. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (B shang 28: 3), c. is Yin bone (B hia 5: 3), d. is Chou II (inser. 132), e. is Chou II (inser. 139). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *siāk / siāk / s i T regret (Lü), alas (Tso).
- g—h. *siāk / siāk / si T, L dried meat (Yi); loan for id. intense, extreme (Kuoyü). h. is Chou III (inscr. 223).
- i-j. *dz'iāk / dz'iāk / t s i T sacred field ploughed by the king (Shuowen, primary form of b'. below). j. is Chou I (inser. 105).
- k. *dz'įāk / dz'įāk / t s i T, L trample (Li); *tsįāk / tsįāk / t s i T, L walk reverently (Lunyü); *ts'iak / ts'iak / ts'i — L, and *ts'iak / ts'iak / ts' ü e — T. L reverent demeanour (Shī).
- 1-m. *ts'iak / ts'iak / ts' ü e T Shuowen says: walk with light steps; but there are no text examples in support of this. m. is Chou II (inscr. 135, sense of name).
- *ts'iak / ts'iak / ts' ü e T, L magpie (Shī).

- o. *tsiak / tsiak / c h o T, L cut off (Kungyang).

 p. *tsiak / tsiak / t s' o T, L whetstone (Shī ap. Shuowen).

 q—r. *tsiak / tsiak / t s' o T crosswise (inser. 180). r. is Chou II (inser. 180).
- *ts'âk / ts'âk / t s' o T, L whetstone, grindstone (Shī); loan for id. mix (Shī); crossing each other (Shī); ornamented (Shī); alternating (Li); slanting (Li); scared, cautious (Yi); loan for x. below (Yi).
- *dz'âk / dz'âk / t s o L to present and drink a cup in response to the pledge cup
- *tsiag / tsia / tsie T, and *tsiāk / tsiāk / tsi T, L loan, borrow (Lunyü); supposing (Shī).
- *tsiag / tsia / tsie T sigh (Hanfei).
- *ts'âg / ts'uo / t s' u T, L establish (Yi); to place (Li); lay aside, cease (Li).
- y. *ts'įwag | ts'įwo | ts'ü L, K maggot (Chouli); loan for *dz'ag | dz'a | cha T, L name of a winter sacrifice (Li).
- $?/dz' \in k/t$ sê T to spear (sc. fish) (Kuoyü).
- a'. *dz'iāk / dz'iāk / tsi T writing tablet, record (Tso); register of field revenues (Shī); field the produce of which was used for sacrifice (Li, see b'. below).
- b'. *dz' i ăg | dz' i a | t s i e T, L bedding or mat of straw as a support for sacrifices or gifts (Yi); (base oneself on:) avail oneself of, depend on (Tso); to loan, borrow (Meng) (cf. u. above); *dz'iāk / dz'iāk / tsi — T, L field ploughed by the king and the produce of which was used for sacrifice (Tso); loan for id. tribute (Kuliang); to tie (Chuang); to trample (Sün, see k. above).
- *ts'āk / ts'vk / ts'ê T to spear fish (Chouli), cf. z. above.

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- 799 a—d. *siāk / siāk / s i T, L slipper, shoe, sole (Shī); loan for id. great (Shī). b. is Chou I (inser. 65), c. is Chou II (inser. 134), d. is Chou II (inser. 187). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *siāk / siāk / s i T, L salty soil (Chouli).
- f-g. *siag / sia / sia T unload, disburden (Shī); dissipate, remove (Shī); pour off (a liquid) (Li); to cast (metal) (Kuoyü); depict (Kuoyü). g. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 325). h. *siag / sia / sie — T to drain off (Chouli).
- 800 a—c. *zįāk / įäk / y i T armpit (same word as l—m. below) (Shī sü, in stone classics ap. L); besides, also (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 52,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 76), The graph shows a man with the sides of the body (armpits) marked by strokes.
- d. *ziāk / jāk / y i T, L great (Shī); in a long series, orderly (Shī); loan for id. anxious
- *ziāk / iäk / v i T, L baldachin (Chouli).
- *ziāk / jāk / y i T, L chess (Lunyü); loan for id. curtain (Yi Chou shu).
- g. *tsiāk / tsiāk / tsi T footprint (Tso). Cognate to but not identical with 踏.
- h—i. *tsįāk / tsįäk / tsi T, L footprint, traces (Shu). i. is Chou III (inscr. 225).
- j—k. *ziag / ja / ye T night (Shī). k. is Chou I (inscr. 76). The modern character is deformed so as to obscure the fact that a. above is simply phonetic here.
- 1. *ziāk / iāk / y i T, L armpit (Li), lift under the arms (Tso); see a. above.
 m. *ziāk / iāk / y i T, L armpit (Chuang).
- n-o. *ziāk / jāk / y i T, L fluid, moisture (Chuang); moisten (Chouli). o. is pre-Han (inscr. 400, sense of name).
- 801 a. *d'âq / d'uo / t u T a measure (of length) (Shī); law, rule (Shu); limits, bounds (Tso); regulate (Shu); *d'âk / d'âk / t o — T to measure (Shī); calculate, consider (Shī); loan for id. throw earth into building frames (Shī).
- **b.** $*d'\hat{a}g / d'uo / t u T$ to ford (Kuots'ê).
- c. $*d'\hat{a}k / d'\hat{a}k / t$ o T cleave (Tso ap. Kuo P'o).
- 802 a—c. *mâg / muo / m u L evening, late (Shī); loan for id. name of a plant, (a Rumex?) (Shī); loan for *mâk / mâk / mo — T, L not, not have (Shī); still, quiet (Chuang); to plan, deliberate (Shī); settle (Shī); vast (Chuang); obscure (Sün); luxuriant, rich (sc. foliage) (Shī); cut (Kuan); loan for q. below (Shī); loan for ? / mek / mo — L calm and respectful (Shī). b. is Yin bone (I 10:11, sense of name), c. is. Chou II (inser. 147, sense of name). The graph has 'sun' and 'grass' doubled.

- d. *mâg / muo / m u T evening (Meng).
- e. *måg / muo / m u T, L summon (Sün).
- **f.** *mâg / muo / m u T grave (Shī).
- g. *mâg / muo / m u T ugly woman (Sün).
- h—i. *mâg / muo / m u T love, think longingly of (Meng). i. is Chou IV (inscr. 286).
- j. *mâg / muo / m u T model (Lie).
- k. *mâg / muo / m u T kneel (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- 1. *måg | muo | m o T, L (Pek. m o is irregular, we should expect a m u) to plan, counsel (Shī).
- m. *mag/ma/ma Thia-ma frog (Moap. T'ai p'ing yū lan).
- n. *mâk / mâk / m o T quiet, still (Chuang).
- o. *mâk | mâk | m o, m u T, L (Pek. m u is irregular) baldachin, tent (Tso); covering (Yi).
- p. *mâk / mâk / m o T quiet, still (Chuang), same word as n. above.
- q. *mâk / mâk / m o T, L suffering, distress (Shī).
- r. *māk / mvk / m o T silent, still (Ch'uts'ī).
- s. *miak / miek / m i T cover (Chouli).
- 803 a—b. *g'iwag / g'iwo / k' ü (even tone) T a kind of boar (only Han time text ex.); b. is Chou (inscr. 365, sense of name). The graph has 'boar' and 'tiger'.
- c—d. *g'iwag / g'iwo / k ü (oblique tone) T, L sudden, hurried (Tso). d. is Chou II (inscr. 192, sense of name).
- e. *g'iwag | g'iwo | k ü (oblique tone) T, L, and *g'iwag | g'iwo | k ' ü (even tone) T, and *g'iak | g'iak | k ü e T, L subscription feast (Chouli).
- f. *kiwag / kiwo / k ü T grasp (Li); depend on (Shī).
- g. *kiwag / kiwo / k ü L, K a musical instrument (Chuang).
- h. *g'iak / g'iak / k ü e T, L palate, interior of the mouth (Shī).
- i. *g'iāk / g'ivk / k i T aggravate (Sün).
- i. *q'iwaq | q'iwo | k' ü T, L coarse mat (Shī); *kiwaq | kiwo | k ü L basket (Li).
- k. *g'iwag | g'iwo | k' ü T, L straw, thatch (Chuang); loan for id. with a shock come to one's senses (Chuang).
- 804 a—c. *śiwag / śiwo / s h u T numerous (Shī), all (Shī); (*one of the many*:) concubine's son (Tso); (many chances for:) probably, possibly (Shī), would that (Shī); *t̄iwag / tśiwo / c h u T, L c h u s h ī title of officer who expels poisonous animals (Chouli). b. is Chou I (inser. 65), c. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** * $\hat{t}iag/t$ śia/chê T intercept, stop (Kuoyü); combine several together (Kuan).
- e. *tiak / tsjak / c h i T, L pluck, select (Li).
- **f.** $*\hat{t}i\check{a}k / t\dot{s}i\check{a}k / ch = T$ tread (Ch'uts'i); sole of the foot (Kuots'ê).
- 805 a—d. *'ăg / 'a / y a T second, next (Lunyü), inferior (Shu); loan for id. brother-in-law (Shī); loan for h. below (Yi ap. Sün). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,5, sense here uncertain), c. is Yin (inscr. 52; sense of name), d. is Chou (inscr. 361, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. * ăg / a / y a T cut one's own throat (Kuoyü).
- **f.** * $\check{a}k / \check{b}k / o$ T, L laugh (Yi); * $\check{a}g / \check{a} / y$ a T mute (Kuots'ê).
- g. *' $\hat{a}k$ / ' $\hat{a}k$ / o T, L to plaster (Li).
- h. *'âk / 'âk / o T bad, evil (Shī); wrong, fault (Tso); ugly (Meng); *'âg / 'uo / w u T, L to hate (Shī); loan for id. how (Lunyü), where (Meng).



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- 806 a—e. *dz'āg | dz'a | c h a T suddenly, unexpectedly (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 4,3, sense of l. below), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 31,2, sense of l.), d. is Yin (inscr. 2, sense of l.), e. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of l.). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **f.** $*dz'\check{a}g / dz'a / c h a L hurriedly, suddenly (Tso).$
- g. *tsāg / tṣa / c h a T treacherous, deceive (Tso); loan for a. above (Kungyang).
- h. *dz'âg / dz'uo / t s u T, L blessing, prosperity, dignity (Shī).
- i. *dz'âg | dz'uo | t s u T, L meat used in sacrifice to pray for blessing (Tso).
- *dz'âg / dz'uo / t s u T, L east-side staircase leading up to hall (Li); loan for i. above (Yili).
- k. *tsāk / tṣpk / t s ê T, L a quiver (Yili); loan for 👺 (Kuoyü).
- 1. *tsâk / tsâk / t s o T act, do, make, work, be in function (Shī); rise (Yi), stand up (Lunyü); perform, to sacrifice (Li); agitate (Shī).
- m—o. *tsâk / tsâk / ts o L, K to start (Kungyang). n. is Chou III/IV (inser. 309), o. is Chou III (inser. 220, enlarged by rad. 66).
- p—q. *tsâk / tsâk / ts o T, L, and *dz'âk / dz'âk / ts o T, L oak (Shī); *tsāk / tṣnk / tsê L clear away trees and bushes (Shī); loan for id. widening, spreading (sc. sound) (Chouli); narrow (Chouli); for t. below (Kuots'ê). q. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- r. $dz'\hat{a}k / dz'\hat{a}k / t$ s o T, L ashamed (Lunyü).
- **s.** $*dz'\hat{a}k / dz'\hat{a}k / t$ so T the previous day, yesterday (Chuang); loan for t. below (Chouli).
- t—u. *dz'âk / dz'âk / t s o T, L to present and drink a cup in response to the pledge cup (Shī). u. is Chou III (inscr. 226).
- v. *dz'âk / dz'âk / t s o T, L bamboo rope (only Han time text ex.); loan for k. above (Chouli).
- 807 a—d. *d'iāg | dź'ia | s h ê T shoot with bow (Shī), archer (Tso); *d'iāk | dź'iāk | s h ī T hit with bow and arrow (Lunyü); loan for *diāk | iāk | y i L. be satisted with, dislike (Shī). a. is the current form, b. is a more old-fashioned version (that of Shuowen), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 3,4), d. is Chou I (inser. 105). The graph is a drawing of bow and arrow, sometimes with hand added. The bow has been misunderstood and corrupted into s h e n 'body', which was somewhat similar in its archaic form.
- e—f. *dziāg / zia / s i e T, L terrace planted with trees for archery excercise, connected with a temple (Ch'unts'iu). f. is Chou II (inscr. 157, rad. 53 inst. of 75).
- g. *dziãg | zia | s i e T decline, renounce (Li); take leave from (Li); make excuses (Tso); loan for a. above (Sün).

- 808 a. *kěng / keng / keng Τ to plough (Shī). # 'a well' is a drawing of square fields with the middle one (sometimes marked by a dot) occupied by the well. Hence the drawing can also indicate 'arable land', and the present character consists of 'arable land' and 'plough'. In the following derivates, the 井 'arable land' stands alone (pars pro toto) as abbreviation for ## and serves as phonetic. The modern modification of 井 into 升 is a corruption, as shown by the archaic graphs.
- b-c. *g'ieng / yieng / h i n g T punish, punishment (Shu); law (Shi); model, imitate (Shī); loan for g. below (Chouli). c. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- d. *q'ieng / yieng / h i n g T form, shape (Yi); appearance (Meng), appear, be manifested (Li); to conform to (Tso).
- *g'ieng / yieng / h i n g T form (Li).
 *g'ieng / yieng / h i n g L, K whetstone (Chuang).
- **g—h.** *g'ieng / γieng / h i n g T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Li).
- i-j. *kieng / king T (Anc. king is. irregular, we should expect a kiana) briar, thorny shrub (Tso). j. is Chou I (inscr. 104, sense of name). The archaic graph has not 'grass' at the top but shows a knife cutting thorns.
- 809 a—b. *kěng / keng / keng T, L brilliant (Shu); sollicitous (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has 'fire' and 'ear'.
- *k'iweng | k'iweng | k'' i u n g T, L a garment of hemp (Shī, so acc. to Shuowen: Cheng Hüan says: unlined garment).
- 810 a. *g'èng / yeng / h i n g T luck, fortunate (Lunyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- variant of the preceding (Kuoyü).
- *g'ieng / yieng / h i n g T hate (Ch'uts'i).
- *g'ieng / yieng / h i n g T, L great expanse of water, chaos (Chuang).
- 811 a-b. *tsěng / tsɛng / c h e n g T, L strife, quarrel (Shī); remonstrate (Lü). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for # (Chou II, inscr. 180). The graph shows two hands and an object of uncertain meaning.
- c. *dz'eng | dz'eng | ch' eng T, and ? | dz'nng | ch' eng T high, precipitous
- d. *dz'iĕng / dz'iäng / t s i n g T clean, cleanse (Kuoyü).
- *dz'iĕng | dz'iäng | tsing T, L stop, keep quiet (Lü); loan for id. choose (Kungyang).
- 812 a—d. *sěng / smg / s h e n g T live (Shī); bear, be born (Shī); produce (Lunyü); fresh (as greens) (Shī). The rimes clearly place this word in the *eng class, and *seng should regularly give Anc. seng; however, this word (as well as the following three) for unknown reasons has irregularly passed over into the Anc. rng class: Anc. snng. b. is Yin bone (O 951), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57), d. is Chou I (inscr. 74). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e—f. *seng | song | s h e n g T sacrificial animal (Shī) ('life', living creature, etym. s. w. as last). f. is Chou I (inscr. 67).
- g. *sĕng / snng / s h e n g T sister's son or daughter (Shī); son-in-law (Meng).
- h. *sěng / spng / s h e n g T reed organ (Shī).
- i—k. *sièng / siàng / s h e n g L, and ? / sièng / s h e n g T Shuowen says: film covering the eye; but there are no text examples in support of this; (film covering the moon:) new moon (inscr. 162); eclipse (Tso); calamity (Yi); fault, offence (Shu); diminish, restrict (Chouli). j. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of name), h. is Chou II (inscr. 162 'new moon').

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- 1—p. *sièng | siàng | s i n g T observe, examine, inspect (Shī); go and visit (Li); approve (Shī); *sièng | siàng | s h e n g L, and ? | siong | s h e n g T diminish, reduce (Tso); loan for i. above (calamity) (Kungyang), for (Li, phonetically very curious). m. is Yin bone (A 1: 46,3), n. is Yin (inser. 27), o. is Chou I (inser. 57), p. is Chou I (inser. 83) all in the sense of 'inspect'. The archaic forms show that i. and l. are really one and the same graph, erroneously split up into two in the small seal and hence in the modern script. It is the phonetic \(\pm\) which has been tampered with in the one case so as to become \(\psi\).
- q—r. *sičng / sičng / s i n g T clan, family, family name (Shī); (offspring:) son (Tso), grandson (Shī). r. is Chou III/IV (inser. 301, rad. 9 inst. of 38).
- s. *sižng | sižng | s i n g T nature, disposition (of man) (Lunyü); life (Shī).
- t. *sižng / sižng / s i n g L weasel (Chuang); loan for z. below (Sün).
- u. *siĕng / siāng / s i n g T, L weasel (Chuang).
- v. *tsičng / tsičng / tsi n g T, L pennon, banner (Shī); loan for id. give honour to, distinguish (Tso).
- **x**—y. *sieng | sieng | sing T star (Shī). y. is Chou (inser. 387, sense of name).
- z. *sieng | sieng | s i n g T Shuowen says: to bark (as a dog), but there are no text examples of this; *seng | song | s h e n g T, L monkey (Li) (in modern praxis, however, the char. is read s i n g also in the sense of 'monkey').
- a'. *sieng | sieng | si n g T, L grainy grease (Chouli), grease (Chouli); raw meat (Lunyü); rank smell (Shu).
- b'. *sieng | sieng | si n g T, L wake up from drunkenness (Tso).
- c'—d'. *ts'ieng/ts'ieng/ts'i ng T green, blue (Shī); loan for *tsieng/tsieng/tsing L luxuriant (sc. vegetation) (Shī, cf. f'. below). d'. is Chou II (inscr. 187, sense of name).
- e'. *ts'ieng / ts'ieng / ts'ing K Libellula (Lü).
- f'. *tsiĕng / tsiāng / tsing T, L, and *tsieng / tsing L leek flower (Chouli, so acc. to Shuowen and Cheng Chung); rush (Shu); luxuriant, bushy (sc. foliage) (Shī).
- g'. *tsižng / tsiäng / tsing T fine and pure rice (Lunyü); exquisite, subtle (Li); essence (Yi); sperma (Yi).
- h'. *ts'iĕng / ts'iäng / ts'ing T, L cold (Li).
- i'—j'. *ts'iëng / ts'iäng / ts'i n g T clear, pure, bright (Shī). j'. is Chou III (inscr. 228; the phonetic here is really n'. below).

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- k'. *ts'ieng | ts'iang | ts'ing T, L, and *dz'ieng | dz'iang | ts'ing (even tone) T, L request, invite (Lunyü).
- 1'. *dz' i ĕng / dz' i ĕng / t s' i n g T feelings (Tso); jolliness (Shī); quality, proper nature (Meng); circumstances (Tso); true, real (Yi).
- m'. *dz' i ĕng / dz' i ĕng / t s i n g (oblique tone) T quit, tranquillize (Shī); to ponder, plan for (Shi, so the Mao comm.).
- n'—r'. *dz'ièng / dz'iang / t s i n g T quiet (Shī); pure (Shī); to ponder (Shu). o'. is Chou I (inser. 109), p'. is Chou II (inser. 139), q'. is Chou II (inser. 180), r'. is Chou III (inser. 229).
- s'. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- t. *tseng / tseng / c h e n g T, L roll up, tuck in (sc. pendants) (Li); loan for *ts'ion / ts'ien / t s' i e n — T, L dark red (Tso) (phonetically very curious). Of the above, a. *sěng 'live, bear', s. *sièng 'natural disposition, life', and q. *sièng 'clan, family' are cognate words.
- 813 a—f. *kičng / kivng / k i n g T reverent, respectful (Shī); careful (Lunyü). In this series, as in the preceding (生), there is Anc. ipng where we should expect iang. Arch. *kįžng (which is amply proved by rimes) should give Anc. kįäng, not kįnng (Indeed, for h. and j. L indicates kjäng, not kinng). The exceptions are not so numerous as they appear, for the first five words (a-j.) are indeed etymologically one and the same word. b. is Chou I (inscr. 65), c. is Chou I (inscr. 72), d. is Chou II (inscr. 134), e. is Chou II (inser. 139), f. is Chou III (inser. 225). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *kiĕng / king / king T to be afraid (Shī); scare (Yi), disturb (Shī). g.
- *kičng / king T, and *kičng / king L, and *g'ičng / g'ivng / king — T warn, admonish (Tso); be attentive (Tso).
- i. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- *kįčng / kįnng / k i n g T, and *kįčng / kįang / k i n g L warn, admonish (Tso). j.
- *g'iĕng | g'ivng | k'ing T, L lift (Chuang).
 *g'iĕng | g'ivng | k'ing T frame for a bow (Sün).
- 814 a—b. * ¡ĕng / ¡äng / y i n g T, L necklace (Sün); surround (Kuots'ê); loan for id. baby (Li); knock against, attack (Hanfei). b. is Chou III (inscr. 219, sense of name). The graph has 'cowry' and 'woman'.
- *'ižng / 'iäng / y i n g T, L encounter, press against (Meng); entangled (Chuang).

- d. *'iĕng | 'iäng | y i n g T, L tumour, swelling (Chuang); dumb (Lü).
- e. *'ièng / 'iang / y i n g T, L cap-string with hanging ends (Li); tassel on horse's breast (Tso).
- f. *'eng / eng / y i n g T, L bird's call (Shī).
- g. *'eng / eng / y i n g T, L parrot (Li).
- h. *'eng / eng / y i n g T jar, vase (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- 815 a—b. *diĕng / jäng / y i n g T full, fill (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV inser. 327). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *diěng / jäng / y i n g T, L pillar (Shī).
- 816 a—d. *diĕng / jāng / y i n g T, L place name and family name (Tso); loan for f. below (Sün). b. is Chou I (inscr. 122), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 294), d. is Chou (inscr. 358). In spite of the violent variations we can see that this is a compound ideogram, 常语 'a bear' and 'woman' probably a totemistic clan name. In the modern corrupted form the 'bear' element has coincided with the lo of group 14 above.
- e. *diĕng / jäng / y i n g T great water (Ch'uts'ī).
- f.—g. *diĕng / jāng / y i n g T, L profit (Tso); surplus (Shī); excess (Chouli); loan for id. receive (as guests) (Tso); to pack and carry (as provisions) (Chuang). g. is Chou I (inscr. 92, sense of name).
- 817 a. *t'iĕng / t̂'iäng / c h' e n g T, L gallop (Chuang); drive rapidly (Shī). Since the right part cannot be phonetic because of the initials, the explanation of the graph is uncertain.
- 818 a—d. *diĕng / źiäng / c h 'e n g T to achieve, complete (Shī); completed, perfect (Shu); an area of ten l i square (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 10,6), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58), d. is Chou I (inscr. 75). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- eg. *dièng / żiāng / ch' eng T city wall (Shī); to fortify (Shī); city (Meng). f. is Chou II (inscr. 147, rad. 郭 'city wall' inst. of 32 'earth'), g. is Chou III (inscr. 220).
- h. *diěng | źiäng | c h ' e n g T sincere (Lunyü), truly, really (Shī); verify, examine (Li).
- i—j. *diĕng | źiäng | c h 'e n g (even tone) T put in (a receptacle) (Shī), to load, pack (Tso); vessel (Tso), a vesselful (Meng); *diĕng | źiäng | s h e n g (oblique tone) T ample, abundant (Li); loan for a above (Chouli). j. is Chou II (inser. 158).
- 819 a—e. *tsižng / tsižng / tsi n g T a well (Tso) a system of fields belonging to one village (Tso); loan for id. continually (Yi). b. is Yin bone (B shang 18: 5, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense of 形 or 刑, see group 808 above), d. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of name), e. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of fields in nine squares, the middle one having the well (sometimes marked by a dot).
- 1—g. *dz'iëng | dz'iang | t s i n g K Shuowen says: quiet; Kuangya says: chaste (sc. woman); but there are no text examples in support of this. g. is Yin bone (E 75: 1, sense of name).
- h. *dz'iĕng / dz'iäng / t s i n g L, K pitfall (Shu), cognate to a. above.
- i. *dz'iĕng / dz'iäng / tsing T, L pit (Li).
- 820 a—b. *tsižng / tsi in g T brightness (Yin bone P 506). b. is Yin bone (P 506). The graph has 'sun' tripled.

- 821 a—b. *sièng | sièng | sièng | T horn and wood well adjusted (in a bow) (Shì ap. Shuowen). The graph has 'horn', 'sheep' and 'ox'. The form b. is a modern contraction which means, indeed a violent corruption. The graph has nothing to do with 辛.
- c. *siëng | siäng | s i n g T, L red horse (Shī); red sacrificial animal (Shī); red (Chouli); loan for a. above (Shī). The character has the same corruption of the phonetic as b. above.
- 822 a. *śičng / śiżng / s h e n g T sound, noise (Shī); voice (Shī), fame (Shī). The graph has 'musical stone' and 'ear'.
- 823 a—e. *liĕng / liāng / li n g T, L command (Shī); loan for id. good (Shī); loan for r. (Shī), for v. (Shī). Besides the Arch. reading *liĕng, confirmed by several rimes, there must have existed an alternative reading *liĕn, revealed by other rimes. A vestige of this may be a place name in Han time in which the character is read liän / lien. b. is Yin bone (A 3: 18,5), c. is Yin (inser. 10), d. is Chou I (inser. 54), e. is Chou I (inser. 58). In the inscriptions this graph very often serves for 命. It might be the primary graph of r. below 'bell', showing a kneeling man and a drawing of a bell; there are various early texts to show that the bell was used for signals of command.
- 1. *liĕng / liāng / ling T neck (Shī); collar (Li); (take by the neck:) to lead, to direct, regulate (Li).
- g. *lieng | lieng | ling T comedian (Shī in the Han version).
- h. *lieng | lieng | ling T, and ! | lung | leng T cold (Chuang).
- i. *lieng | lieng | ling T, L prison (Li).
- j. *lieng / ling T, L pure, clear (sc. air, wind) (Chuang); to enlighten, instruct (Chuang); loan for id. long and entangled, twisted together (hair) (Li).
- k. *lieng / lieng / ling T a kind of jade (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- 1—m. *lieng / lieng / ling T bamboo matting covering carriage box (only Han time text ex.). m. is pre-Han (inscr. 456, sense of name).
- n. *lieng / lieng / ling T boat having cabin with windows (Ch'uts'i).
- o. *lieng / ling T, L (the Shī rimes indicate an alt. reading *lien, cf. a. above) name of a plant (Licorice? or Xanthium strumarium?) (Shī).
- p. *lieng | lieng | li n g T, L Libellula (Lü); insect on mulberry leaves (Shī).
- q. *lieng / ling T, L wooden cross-piece on front inside of carriage box (Ch'uts'ī); linch-pin (Li).

- r-t. *lieng | lieng | ling T, L small bell (Shī); loan for q. above (Chouli). s. is Chou II (inser. 180; there is really for instead of a., which underlines how these two are interchangeable, see a-e. above), t. is Chou II (inscr. 182).
- *lieng | lieng | li n g T (there are rimes that indicate an alt. reading *lien, cf. a. and o. above) to fall in drops (Shi).
- *lieng | lieng | ling T, L tsi-ling name of a bird (Tso).
- *lieng | lieng | ling T, L year (Li).
- 824 a—c. *pičng / pičng / pi n g T, L combine two (things) (Chouli); both, all together (Shī); add (Tso); take all, monopolize (Li); loan for f. below (Chuang). c. is Yin bone (A 4: 47,5). The graph shows two men connected by two strokes.
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p i n g (oblique tone) T, L, and *piĕng / piäng / p i n g T side by side (Li); loan for f. below (Sün).
- *p'ieng | p'ieng | p'ing T face, mien (Ch'uts'i).
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p' i n g (even tone) T, L screen, protecting wall (Shī); to screen, protect (Tso); *piěng / piāng / p i n g — T, L (screen off, ward off:) remove (Shi); (remove oneself:) retire (Li); loan for id. anxious, nervous (Ch'uts'ī).
- *b'iĕng / b'iäng / p i n g (oblique tone) T eliminate (Sün); cognate to the preceding.
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p' i n g (even tone) L, K to beat (sc. silk in water, to make it white) (Chuang).
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p'ing L, K pitcher (Shī).
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p'ing T, L bottle, flask (Li), s. w. as last.
- *b'ieng / b'ieng / p' i n g T a plant used for making brooms (Kuan); loan for *p'ieng | p'ieng | p' i n g — L drag into (Shī, so the Mao comm.); for *p'ĕng | p'ɛng | p'eng — L to cause, to make (Shī).
- l. *pĕng / pɛng / p e n g T sew (Kuots'ê).
 m. *pĕng / pɛng / p e n g T drive out, relegate (Meng).
- n. *b'ieng | b'ieng | p'ing L, and *b'ien | b'ien | p'ien T, L horse side by side with another (Tso, as part of N. Pr.). *b'ien / b'ien / p'ien — T, L two side by side, double (Chuang), two sticking together (Tso).
- variant of the preceding in the last sense (Kuoyü).
- *b'ien / b'ien / p'ien T, L hard skin on hands or feet (Chuang).
- q. *b'ien / b'ien / p'ien L, K p'ien sien walk with difficulty (Chuang).
- 825 a—b. *b'įžng / b'įwvng / p' i n g T level, even (Shī), equalize (Li); to be just (Shī), calm (Shī); regulate (Shī); peace (Ch'unts'iu); *b'iĕn / b'iān / p 'i e n — T, L well-regulated (Shu), orderly (Shi). There are three unusual features here. First, the double ending in -ng and -n. Secondly, that *b'ièng (as proved by Shī rimes) gives Anc. Chin. b'iwng instead of a regular b'iang. Thirdly that *b'ien (proved by Shi rimes) gives Anc. b'jan instead of a regular b'jen. Altogether, the phonetic history of this word is very obscure. b. is Chou III (inser. 220). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *b'iĕng | b'iwong | p'ing T, L Artemisia (Shī, so acc. to Shuowen and Erya); *b'ieng / b'ieng / p'ing — L duckweed (Ta Tai li); loan for 824 f. above (Chouli).
- *b'ieng | b'ieng | p'ing T, L duckweed (Li).
- *p'ěng / p'eng / p ' e n g L, K, and *pěng / peng / p e n g L to send, to cause
- * $p'\check{e}ng / p'\varepsilon ng / p$ 'e n g T frank (Ch'uts' \bar{i}).
- * $p'\check{e}ng / p'\check{e}ng / p'$ e n g T rumble (Lie).

- 826 a—c. *mièng / miàng / m i n g T name (Tso); fame (Shī); written word (Yili). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 1,4), c. is Chou II (inscr. 151). The graph has 'mouth' and 'moon, evening'. Explanation uncertain.
- d-e. *mieng / mieng / m i n g T, L inscription (Li). e. is Chou III (inscr. 220).
- 827 a—c. *miěng / miwvng / m i n g T cry of birds (Shī); sounds of animals generally (Shī). Arch. *miěng (proved by Shī rimes) should regularly give Anc. miäng, so miwvng is irregular. b. is Yin bone (I 42: 11), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 306). The graph has 'bird' and 'mouth'.
- 828 a. *k'iwëng | k'iwäng | k'ing L, K slanting (sc. basket, with sloping sides) (Shī); loan for id. a certain acreage of field (Lü); interval, short while (Li); loan for \(\frac{1}{2} \) (*k'iwěg) (Li).
- b. *k'iwëng | k'iwäng | k'ing T, and *k'iĕng | k'ing T, L incline the head, incline (Li); turn over, overthrow (Shī).
- c. *giếng / jāng / y i n g T, L point of an ear of grain (Shī); pointed ring on sword handle (Li); *kiệng / kiāng / k i n g L a kind of cushion (Li).
- d. *kiweng / kiweng / kiung T, L to gleam, shine (Shī).
- e. *k'iweng / k'iweng / k'i u n g, k'i n g L, K a textile plant (Li); unlined garment (Yili).
- 829 a. *g'iwëng | g'iwäng | k' i u n g T, L scared, timid, helpless (Shī). The same character serves for yet another word, see group 256 h. above.
- b. *g'iwěng / g'iwäng / k' i u n g T, L alone and helpless (Shī).
- 830 a. *g'iweng | g'iwang | k'iung T, L alone and depressed (Shī), s. w. as the last two. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 831 a—b. *kieng / kieng / kie



- c-d. *kieng | kieng | kieng | T warp (Tso); rule, norm, law (Tso); regulate (Shī); to plan (Shī); to direct (Tso); pass through (Tso); strangle (Lunyü). d. is Chou II (inscr. 157).
- e. *kieng / kieng / king L, K cut the throat, cut off the head (Tso).
- *kieng | kieng | king T, L small path, short-cut (Lunyü); diameter (Li); go, travel (Tso).
- g—h. *kieng / kieng / king T, L to flow through, communicate (Chuang). h. is Chou II (inscr. 148, sense of name).
- *kieng | kieng | king T, L (road, pass on:) gone far away (Chuang).
- *k'ieng | k'ieng | k'ing K empty (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- k. *g'ieng / vieng / h i n g T, L leg, shank (Lunyü).
- *g'ieng | yieng | h i n g T, L ravine, defile (Tso).
- m. *kižng / kiäng / k i n g T, L strong (Tso).
- n. *kiżng / kiang / king T, L, and *g'iżng / g'iäng / k'ing T, L (after Sü Miao) neck (Tso).
- *k' i čng / k' i čng / k' i n g T, L light carriage (Kuots'ê); light (Tso), nimble, swift (Tso).
- *k'iĕng / k'iäng / k'i n g T, L, and *k'ieng / k'ieng / k'i n g T, L to hop on one leg (Tso) (the radical should properly be 157).
- **q**—**r**. *k'ěng | k'ɛng | k' e n g T, L, and *g'ěng | γ ɛng | h e n g T, L Shuowen says: shank bone of ox; but there are no text examples of this; N. Pr. (Tso). r. is Chou III (inscr. 217, sense of name).
- *k'ĕng | k'eng | k' e n g T, L stony, blockheaded, stubborn (Lunyü).
- *k'ěng | k'ɛng | k'eng T, L, and *g'ěng | yɛng | h e ng L unreasoning. impulsive (Chuang).
- *g'ěng / yeng / h e n g T, L stalk (Ch'uts'ī); sword hilt (Chouli).
- *ngěng / ngeng / y i n g T quick, rash (Ta Tai li).
- *t'iĕng / t'iäng / c h ' e n g L, K red (Yili).
- 832 a-b. *k'ieng / k'ieng / k' i n g K Shuowen says: musical stone, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; there are no text examples of this. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 10,5, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a musical stone and a hand wielding a club for beating it.
- *k'ieng | k'ieng | k' i n g T, L musical stone (Shī); suspend (Li); loan for id. to make (horses) gallop (Shī); loan for d. below (Kuoyü).
- *k'ieng | k'ieng | k' i n g T, L empty (Shī); exhaustively, entirely (Shī).
- e. *k'ieng / k'ieng / k'ing T, L cough, clear the throat (Chuang).
- f. *xieng / xieng / h i n g T, L fragrance (Shī).
- 833 a-d. *tieng / ting T cyclical character (Yili); loan for id. to concern, touch (Shī); a bell (Tso); tadpole (Chuang); for *těng / t̂eng / c h e n g — L sound of an axe on wood (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 4,3), c. is Yin (inscr. 9), d. is Chou I (inscr. 56). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *tieng / tieng / ting T top of the head (Yi).
- 1. *t'ieng | t'ieng | t'ing T island (Ch'uts'ī).

 g. *t'ieng | t'ieng | t'ing T, L trampled field (Shī); *d'ieng | d'ieng | ting (oblique tone) L small banks between fields (Tso).
- *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing (even tone) T settle, regulate (Lao).
- *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing T to stop (Kuanyin), s. w. as last.
- j-n. *tižng / tśjäng / c h e n g T straight (Yi), correct, right (Shī); to correct, regulate (Shī); regulator, model (Lao); principal, chief (Shī); just, exactly (Lunyü). k. is

Yin bone (A 1: 48,6), l. is Yin bone (A 6: 26,1), m. is Yin (inscr. 22), n. is Chou I (inscr. 55). Since the radical is 'foot', the graph is probably the primary form for o. below, which is etymologically the same word.

o—q. *tišng / tšiäng / c h e n g — T (*to correct*:) go on a military expedition against (Shī), to punish, attack (Shī); to go (Shī); levy taxes (Meng). p. is Yin (inscr. 28); q. is Chou I (inscr. 54).

r—s. *tižng / tśjäng / c h e n g — T government (Shī); rule, law (Li); manage (Tso); service due to the state (Li); levy (Tso). s. is Chou II (inscr. 157).

t. *fižng / tśiäng / c h e n g — T, L arrange, dispose (Shī). The radical is 較 to correct.

u. * $\hat{t}_i \not\in ng / t \not\in ng / cheng - T$ remonstrate (Kuotsê).

v—x. *tižng / tsižng / c h e n g — T, L a kind of bell (Shī); a section of a big bell (Chouli).
x. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 315).

y. *t'iĕng / t̂'iäng / c h ' e n g — T, L, and ? / t̂'mg / c h ' e n g — T Shuowen says: to look straight; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. red (Tso).

2—8'. *d'ieng | d'ieng | t i n g — T, L settle, establish, fix (Shī); finish, stop (Shī); settled, certain (Yi), quiet (Tso); *tieng | tieng | t i n g — T, L name of a star (Shī); forehead (Shī). a'. is pre-Han (inscr. 460, sense of name).

834 a—1. *tieng / ting — T, L cauldron (Shī); loan for id. ting-ting at ease, comfortably (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 3,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 46), d. is Chou I (inscr. 61), e. is Chou I (inscr. 80), f. is Chou II (inscr. 147). The graph is a drawing.

g—i. *tiĕng | tiāng | c h e n g — T divination enquiry (Chouli); loan for id. straight (Yi), correct (Shu); pure, proper (Tso). h. is Yin bone (A 2: 45,2), i. is Yin bone (E 45: 2). The graph was really only an application of *tieng 'cauldron' as loan for *tiĕng 'divination enquiry'. But in this application the character was mostly less explicit, reduced to a few summary lines. An interesting inscr. is A 5: 3,4, where there are both variants in one line, the *tieng 'cauldron' being a more realistic drawing than *tiĕng 'divination enquiry'.

j. *tiĕng / tịäng / c h e n g — T, L auspicious (Shï).

- k. *tižng / tiāng / cheng T, L, and *t'ižng / t'iang / ch'eng T observe, examine, test (Li).
- *tièng | îiàng | c h e n g T, L posts in framework used in rearing earth walls (Shu); supports (Shī).

m. *t'iĕng \hat{t} 'iäng / c h ' e n g — T, L red (Shī).

- 835 a-c. *t'ieng / t'ieng / t'in g K Shuowen says: good; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. The Yin bone forms b-c. have been identified with this character, and sure enough the variant c. is the same which recurs in 廷 g. below in inscr. 164. But the sense of our a-c. here in the bone inscriptions is entirely obscure. b. is Yin bone (B hia 39:1), c. is Yin bone (B hia 6:1). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d**—g. *d'ieng / d'ieng / t'ing (even tone) T, and *d'ieng / d'ieng / ting (oblique tone) T court (of palace) (Shī). e. is Chou I (inscr. 67), f. is Chou II (inscr. 137), g. is Chou II (inscr. 164).
- h. *d'ieng / d'ieng / t' i n g T court, courtyard (of palace) (Shī); loan for id. straight, upright (Shī); loan for *t'ieng / t'ieng / t'ing. — L distant (Chuang).
- *d'ieng / d'ieng / t' i n g T, L (oblique tone, the Pek. aspirate is irregular) pull out (Kuoyü), stick out, crop up (as something growing) (Li); loan for id, to alleviate (punishment) (Li); move (Lü); for *t'ieng / t'ieng / t'ing — L straight (Tso); loan for q. below (Yili).
- *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing T (Pek. aspirate irregular) stick, staff (Meng).
- k. *d'ieng / d'ieng / t'ing (even tone) T small bamboo rods used for divination (Ch'uts'i).
- *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing T, L stalk, stem (Chuang).
- m. *d'ieng | d'ieng | t'ing T, L a clap of thunder (Shī).
- *d'ieng / d'ieng / t i n g (oblique tone), T, and *d'ien / d'ien / t i e n T lizard (Sün).
- *d'ieng / d'ieng / t i n g T, L metal rod inserted in arrow (Chouli); loan for *t'ieng / t'ieng / t'ing — L to rush (Tso).
- *t'ieng | t'ieng | t'ing T, L jade tablet (Li).
 *t'ieng | t'ieng | t'ing T, L slice of dried meat (Kungyang).
- *d'iĕng / d'iäng / c h 'e n g T to manifest (Lie); loan for x (Tso, Hi 23 ap. L). In the modern graph the phonetic is slightly deformed so as to look like \(\frac{\pi}{\pi}\).
- *d'iëng / d'iang / c h' e n g T a kind of precious stone (Ch'uts'ī); *t'ieng / t'ieng / t'ing — L jade tablet (Yili ap. L).
- *d'ieng / d'iang / c h' e n g T, L measure (of capacity, weight or length) (Shī); norm, rule (Lü); loan for id. leopard (Chuang).
- with wine, deadly drunk (Shi).
- * $t'ieng / \hat{t}'iang / c$ h' e n g T, L to run after, let oneself loose, gratify one's desire (Tso); relax (Lunyü).
- *diĕng / iäng / y i n g L pillar (Chouli).
- z-b'. *śiĕng / śiäng / s h e n g T sage (Shī). a'. is Chou II (inscr. 149), b'. is Chou II (inscr. 152).
- c'. *t'iĕng / \hat{t} 'iäng / c h' e n g T, L tamarisk (Shī).
- d'-e'. *t'ieng | t'ieng | t' i n g T hear (Shī). e'. is Chou III (inscr. 234). The modern form contains a. t'ing as phonetic at the left, then 'ear' and tê 'power, faculty'. But the only archaic form we possess (e') is rather z. above with some addition of unknown meaning.
- 836 a—d. *lieng / lieng / ling Train dropping (Shī ap. Shuowen). b. is Yin bone (4: 24,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58, sense of i. below), d. is Chou II (inscr. 140, sense of i.). The graph has 'rain' and two or three 'mouths', the latter probably meaning incantation for rain, as still practised in China.

837 粤。839 鲁。839 鲁。

- e-f. *lieng / ling T a kind of vessel (inscr. 397). f. is Chou (inscr. 397).
- g. *lieng / lieng / ling T drop the leaves (Ch'uts'i).
- h. *lieng | lieng | li n g T insect on mulberry leaves (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- i. *lieng | lieng | ling T sorcerer, diviner (Ch'uts'ī) (incantator for rain? cf. a. above); supernatural, spiritual, divine (Shī).
- 837 a—f. *nieng | nieng | nieng | T peace, tranquil (Shī); inquire about the well-being of (Shī); preferable, would that (Shī); rather (Shī); loan for id. why, how (Shī); ting-ning a small bell (Tso). a. c. are modern variants, d. is Yin bone (A 2: 18,1), e. is Chou I (inser. 68), f. is Chou II (inser. 180). The graph has 'roof' and 'bowl', and further 'heart' (in e. and f.) and a bottom element (in d. and e.) of unknown meaning.
- g. *nieng / nieng / ning T, L mud (Tso).
- h—i. *něng / ñeng / neng K Kuangyün says: body; but there are no text examples of this. i. is Chou II/III (inscr. 277, sense of name).
- 838 a. *nieng | nieng | n i n g T eloquent, clever, artful (Lunyü). The modern graph has 'good' and 'woman'.
- 839 a—b. *p'ieng / p'ieng / p' i n g T Shuowen says: frank words; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 194, sense here uncertain). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *p'iĕng / p'iäng / p'i n g T inquire about the name (with a view to marriage) (Sün).
- d. *p'iĕng / p'iäng / p' i n g T inquire (Shī), invite (Meng); to seek for wife (Tso).
- 840 a—c. *b'ieng | b'ieng | p i n g T, L side by side, together (Shī). b. is a modern corrupted variant of a., c. is Yin bone (B hia 9:1). The graph has two men standing side by side. The word is cognate to but not identical with #.
- 841 a. *mieng / mieng / ming T, L dark, darkness, darken (Shī); *miek / miek / mi L cover (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *mieng / mieng / ming L, and *mien / mien / mien L, K shut the eyes (Tso), sleep (Chuang); (troubled sight:) dizzy, confused (Meng).

- c. *mieng / mieng / ming T, L ocean (Chuang).
- d. *mieng / mieng / ming T, L insect which damages the grain (Shī); insect on mulberry leaves (Shī).
- e. *miek / miek / m i L, K to plaster (Tso).
- 1. *miek / miek / m i T to cover (Yili); loan for id. to plane, make even (Chouli).
- g. *miek / miek / mi L, K floor-carpet in carriage (Chouli).
- 842 a—b. *kiweng | kiweng | kiung T Shuowen says: out-lying parts, far from the capital, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inser. 133, sense of f. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kiweng / kiweng / kiung T, L out-lying parts, far from the capital (Shī).
- d. *kiweng | kiweng | k i u n g T, L bar (of gate or door) (Li); bolt (Chuang); rod for lifting a cauldron (Yili); frame for weapons on chariot (Tso); loan for id. clear-minded, discriminate (Tso).
- e. *kiweng / kiweng / k i u n g T, L sturdy (sc. horse) (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- f.—g. *k'iweng | k'iweng | k'i u n g L, K unlined garment (Li). g. is Chou II (inscr. 177).
- h. *g'iweng / yiweng / h i u n g T, L distant (Shī).
- 843 a. *g'iweng | yiweng | y i n g T, L dazzle, confuse, delude (Chuang). The graph has 'fire' tripled and another element of uncertain meaning.

In this group again (i. e. in d, e, k, m.), as in groups 生 and 敬 above, there are some irregular Anc. Ch. *inng* instead of the *iang* to be expected. The Arch. **ieng*, proved both by Shī rimes and the phonetics in general of the series, should regularly give Anc. *iang*, not *inng*.

- b. *k'iweng | k'iweng | k'iung K, and *k'iweng | k'iwang | k'iung K a kind of hemp (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- c. *giweng / iwang / y i n g T, L grave area (Li).
- d. *giweng / jiwong / j u n g T flower (Li); curved ends of roof beam (Li); glory, honour (Tso).
- e. *giweng / jiwnng / y u n g T, L sacrifice to natural objects to avert calamity (Tso).
- 1. *giweng / iwang / y i n g T to demarcate, delineate, to plan (Shī); to encamp (Tso); to build (Tso); to regulate, to direct (Shī); to surround (Kungyang); loan for id. buzz about (as flies) (Shī).
- g. *g'iweng / g'iwang / k'i u n g T, L alone, desolate (Tso); sad (Ch'uts'i).
- h. *'iweng / iwang / j u n g T, L to wind, entwine (Shī).
- i. *g'ieng / γieng / y i n g T, L (Pek. y i n g is irregular, we should expect a h i n g) glow-worm (Li).
- j. *giĕng / jiāng / y i n g T hum (sc. of flies) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- k. *ieng / ieng / y i n g T, and *giweng / jiwong / y i n g T, L a kind of precious stone (Shī); brilliant (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).
- 1. *'eng | 'eng | y i n g T, L variegated wings of a bird (Shī).
- m. *g'wěng / \gammaweng / \hat \ung T, and *giwěng / \jiwvng / \j \ung T high, distant (Ch'uts'\vec{i}).
- 844 a—c. *·ěk / ·ɛk / o T, L part of a yoke (inser. 86); (pinch:) straits, difficulties (Meng); loan for id. ring (Shī). a. and b. are modern variants, c. is Chou I (inser. 86). The graph is a drawing.

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- **d—e.** *·ĕk / ·εk / o T, L part of a yoke (Yili).
- f. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- g—h. *'ěk / 'ɛk / o T, L, and *'ĕg / 'ai / y a i T, L a defile, a pass (Tso); straits, difficulties (Meng).
- 845 a—1. *ts'čk / ts'ck / ts'ê T document, diploma (Shu). a. and b. are modern variants, c. is Yin bone (A 4: 37,6), d. is Yin (inscr. 40), e. is Chou I (inscr. 69), f. is Chou II (inscr. 133). The graph shows writing slips tied together.
- g. * $ts'\bar{\epsilon}k/ts'\bar{\epsilon}k/ts'\hat{\epsilon}$ L (after Kuo), K, and $?/ts'\bar{\epsilon}k/ts'\hat{\epsilon}$ hedge (Chuang).
- 846 a. *ts'ěk / tṣ'ɛk / t s 'ê T, L Archillea stalks used for divination (Li); loan for 845 a. (Kuoyü), for 845 g. (Chuang). The graph has 'bamboo' and 夾 'keep between the fingers'.
- 847 a—d. *g'wěk / ywɛk / h u o T, L delineate, mark off, to plan (Tso); limitate (Lunyü); *g'wĕg / ywai / h u a T, L to draw a design, to figure, depict (Meng). b. is Chou I (inscr. 59), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86), d. is Chou II (inscr. 154). The graph has a hand holding a stylus (502 above), for the rest the explanation of the details is uncertain.
- *g'wĕg / γwai / h u a L, K, and *χwĕk / χwεk / h u o T bind, embarrass, obstacle (Ch'uts'ī).
- 848 a—b. *mwěk / mwek / m o T, L vein (Tso). a. and b. are modern variants. The right part of a. is identical with \Re of b. in its archaic form, see 764 above. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *mwěk / mwek / m o T, L drizzle (Shī).
- d. *mwěk / mwek / m o T, and *miek / miek / m i T look on, examine (Kuoyü).
- 849 a—b. *'iĕk / 'iäk / y i T increase (Shī); more (Lunyü); advantage, profitable (Lunyü); b. is Yin (E 223: 4, sense of name). The graph shows a bowl full of water.
- c. * iěk / iäk / y i T, L throat (Chuang).
- d. *'iĕk / 'iäk / y i L, K flesh on the neck (Yili).
- e. *' $\check{e}k$ / ' εk / o T grasp (Mo).
- f. *ngiek / ngiek / y i T, L name of an aquatic bird (Tso).
- g. *'ieg / ie / y i T, L, and *'ieg / iei / y i L, K strangle (Tso).

- h. *'eg/'ai/ai, yai T, L defile, narrow pass (Tso); narrow (Shī); constrained, feeble, small (Tso); id. or *- $\check{\epsilon}k$ / $\circ Ek$ / o — L in straits, distress (Chuang).
- 850 a—e. $*d_i \not\in k / j \not\equiv k / y i$ T change (Shī), exchange (Meng); $*d_i \not\in k / y i$ T easy (Shī); negligent (Li), frivolous (Shī); at ease (Shī); well-ordered (Shī), well cultivated (sc. fields) (Meng); loan for g. below (Kuan). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 21,4), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 33,3), d. is Yin (inscr. 6, sense of n. 'to give'), e. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense of 'give'). The graph is said to be the primary form of f. below, being a drawing of a lizard(?).
- *diěk / jäk / y i T lizard (Shī).
- *diěk / jäk / y i T, L raised borders between fields (Shī); frontier, boundary (Tso).
- h. *t'iek | t'iek | t'i T, L to scrape (Shī).
 i—j. *t'iek | t'iek | t'i T, L grieved (Shī, so the Mao comm.); fear, respect (Shu). j. is Chou III (inscr. 237, sense of n. 'give').
- *t'iek / t'iek / t'i L, K distant, keep at a distance (Shi).
- *siek | siek | si T, L thin cloth (Yili, one version); *t'ieg | t'iei | t'i L border ornament on lower garment (Yili).
- m. *siek / siek / si T, L to bare the upper body (Shi); jacket open in front and worn outside a fur garment (Li); *t'ieq / t'iei / t'i — L wrapper, swaddling cloth (Shī); *siěk / siäk / si — L to hem a sleeve (Li).
- n-o. *siek / siek / si T, L tin (Shī); loan for id. give (Shī); a very thin-woven and smooth stuff (Li). o. is Chou II/III (inscr. 258, sense of 'give'; the phonetic is really p. below).
- p-q. *\$i\vert k | \$i\vert k | s \text{ii} T hurried glance (only post-Han text. ex.). q. is Chou II (inscr. 157, sense of 'give').
- *d'ieg | d'iei | t i L, and *siek | siäk | s i T false hair (Shuowen and L, to Chouli, indicates it as original form of s. below): loan for *t'iek / t'iek / t'i — L. and *t'ieg / t'iei / t'i — L cut off, cut to pieces (Chouli).
- *d'ieg / d'iei / t i T, L false hair (Shī); the character is a corrupted abbreviation of the preceding.
- *sièg | sie | sī, ts'ī T (Pek. ts'ī is irregular) give, gift (Lunyü); cognate to n. above *siek in the sense of 'give'.
- 851 a. *dįčk / įäk / y i T war expedition (Shī); service (Tso), to serve (Meng), servant (Meng); to toil (Chuang); loan for id. row, series (Shī). The graph has 'go' and
- *diěk / jäk / y i L, K pottery stove, furnace (Li).
- *diek / iak / y i T, L epidemic, pestilence (Tso). Phonetic abbreviated.
- 852 a. *tsįžk / tsįäk / tsi T, L spine (Li); fundamental principle, reason (Shī); t s i - l i n g wagtail (Shī); loan for dz'iĕk / dz'iäk / t s i — L trample, oppress (Chuang). The graph has 'flesh' and an upper part which was probably originally a drawing of a spine.
- *tsiěk / tsiäk / tsi T, L walk with small steps (Shi).
- *dz'iěk / dz'iäk / t s i T, L emaciated (Yi); meagre, poor (sc. soil) (Kuots'ê).
- d. variant of the preceding (Kuan).
- 853 a—c. *pįėk / pįäk / p i T, L ruler, prince (Shī); brilliant (Li); loan for id. thinsliced (Li); *b'iɛk / b'iæk / pi — T, L law (Kuoyü); lawful, correct (Shī); regulate, arrange (Meng); *b'iek / b'iek / p i — L inner coffin (Tso); loan for i., j., k. and u. (Shī), for p. and t. (Li), for g. (Sün), for 碑 (Li). b. is Chou I (inser. 65), c. is Chou III (inser. 220). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- d-1. *piěk / piäk / pi T circular jade insignium (Shī). e. is Chou II (inscr. 151), f. is Chou III (inscr. 234).
- g—h. *piěk / piäk / p i T, L walk lame (Li). i. *p'iěk / p'iäk / p ' i T, L oblique (Ch'uts'ī); depraved (Shī ap. Yüp'ien); loan for u. below (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- *b'iĕk / b'iäk / p i T, L beat the breast (Hiaoking).
- k. *b'iĕk / b'iäk / p' i T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) to open (Shu); loan for u. below (Chouli).
- *piek / piek / p i T, L house wall (Li).
- m. *p'iek / p'iek / p' i T, L beat silk in water (to make it white) (Chuang).
- n. *b'iek / b'iek / p'i T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) tile (Shī).
- o. *miek / miek / m i T, L covering on carriage (Li).
- p. *pěk / pɛk / p o T, L cleave, split (Li); thumb (Meng).
- q-r. *b'žk / b'žk / p o T Shuowen says: net for catching birds, but there are no text examples in support of this; T says: woven silk sash; this is possibly the sense in inser. 180. r. is Chou II (inser. 180).
- *pieg / pjie / p i T, L arm (Li).
- *p'ièg / p'jie / p ' i T example, compare (Shī).
- u. *b'iěg / b'jig / p i T go away from (Kuoyü); avoid (Meng).
- v. *pieg / piei / p i T, L favourite (Meng).
- *b'ieg | b'iei | pi T, L name of a plant (Chuang); loan for *pěk | pek | po T, L crack, burst (Chouli).
- 854 a. *k'iek / k'iek / k 'i T beat (Chouli); rub (Chouli). The graph has 'baton, beat' and 'carriage' with an element at the bottom of uncertain interpretation.
- b. *kiek / kiek / k i T beat (Shī).
- *kieg / kiei / ki L, K carriages knocking against each other (Chouli).
- d. *g'ieg / yiei / h i T, L, and *kieg / kiei / k i T, L attach (Yi).
- 855 a—c. *gliek / liek / li T, L a kind of ritual vessel (tripod with hollow legs) (Chouli); loan for *klěk / kek / k o — L a handful (Yili); yoke (Chouli). b. is Chou I (inscr. 65), c. is Chou I (inscr. 69). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *klěk / kek / k o L, K a handful (Yili).
- 6. *klěk / kek / k o T diaphragm (no pre-Han text ex.); loan for id. suspending stand for a bell (Sün).

- **f.** *klěk / kɛk / k o T obstruct (Kuan).
- g. *g'lěk / γεk / h o Τ, L root of a feather (Chouli).
- h. *ngliek / ngiek / y i L a plant with leaves in ribbon pattern (Shī).
- 856 a—c. *d'iek / d'iek / t i T name of a Northern tribe (Shī); low servant (Shu); loan for 霍 (Li); loan for *t'iek / t'iek / t'i L eliminate, drive back (Shī). b. is Chou II/III (inser. 258), c. is Chou III/IV (inser. 316). The graph c. has 'fire' and 'dog', as the modern graph; b. has 亦 instead of 'dog', which may be a corruption (?).
- d. *d'iek / d'iek / t i T rush, reed (Hanfei).
- e. *t'iek / t'iek / t'i T troubled, grieved (Ch'uts'ī).
- f. *t'iek / t'iek / t'i T, L distant (Shu); remove (Tso), cf. a. above.
- 857 a—b. *siek / siek / si T, L cleave, split (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 97). The graph has 'wood' and 'axe'.
- c. *siek / siek / si T, L white, bright (Shī).
- d. *siek / siek / s i L white (Tso). Chu Tsün-sheng insists that it is different from the preceding, but that seems hardly tenable.
- e. *siek / siek / si T, L wash rice (Meng).
- 858 a—b. *liek / liek / li T Shuowen says: arrange separately one after another, in a series, a sequel; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (H 1: 18,14, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'grain' doubled.
- c—d. *liek | liek | li T to pass, go along (Sün), s. w. as next. d. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- e—g. *liek / liek / li T to pass (Meng), go along (Li), transgress (Meng); (pass through:) classify (Li); to cross (as fingers) (Chuang); disorder (Ta Tai li). f. is Yin bone (B hia 11: 4), g. is Yin bone (A 1: 33,1).
- h. *liek / liek / li T calculate the course of (sc. stars) (Shu); calculate (Chuang); number (Kuan).
- i. *liek / liek / li T, L name of a mountain (Kuots'è); loan for e. above (Chouli).
- 859 a—b. *miek / miek / m i T, L cover for sacrificial vessels (Yili). b. is Chou III (inscr. 229, sense here uncertain). The graph has 'cauldron' and 'cover'.
- 860 a. *kiwek / kiwek / k ü T, L place name (Kuliang). The modern character has 'eye' and 'dog', explanation uncertain.
- b. *kiwek / kiwek / k ü T, L shrike (Li).
- c. *kiwek / kiwek / k ü T, L shrike (Shī) corrupted variant of the preceding.
- **d.** *k'iwek / k'iwek / k ' \ddot{u} T, L quiet (Yi).
- 861 a. *kĕg / kai / k i e T cut up (sc. an ox) (Chuang); divide (Kuoyü); dissolve (Li); unloose (Meng); *g'ĕg / γai / h i e T (unloosened:) remiss, idle, careless (Shī); loan for d. (Lü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *keg | kai | hie T, L (Pek. hie is irregular, we should expect a kie) lazy, remiss (Hiaoking).
- c. *kèg / kai / k i e T, L worn and washed dress (Chuang).
- **d.** * $g'\check{e}g / \gamma ai / h i e T$, L crab (Li).
- e. *g'ěg / yai / h i e T, L come across, meet accidentally (Shī).
- 862 a. *k'¡ĕg / k'jiɛ̞ / k ' i K stand on tiptoe (Lao), eager (Ch'uts'ī). The graph has 'man' and 'foot'.

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863 a. * $ti\check{e}g/\hat{t}ig/c$ h \bar{i} — T know (Sh \bar{i}); knowledge, wisdom (Li). The graph (see c. below) has 'man' and 'mouth', the former misunderstood and turned into 'arrow' in the modern graph.

b—c. *tižg / t̂ig / c h ī — T knowledge, wisdom (Meng). c. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The character is enlarged by 'to speak' and another element of uncertain interpretation.

d. * $ti\check{e}g / \hat{t}ig / c h \ddot{i}$ — T, L spider (Kuanyin).

e. $*d'_1 \not\in g / d'_1 \not\in / ch'_1 = T$, $\hat{L} ch'_1 - ch'_u$ walk hesitatingly (Shi).

- 864 a. *tižg / tšig / c h ī T branch (Shī); support, hold up (Tso); calculate (Ta Tai li); limb (Yi). The original graph was probably a drawing of a branch.
- **b.** * $\hat{t}i\check{e}g$ / $t\check{s}ie$ / c h i T branch (of tree) (Shi).
- c. *tieg / tsie / chi T limb (Meng).
- d. *tiĕg / tśię / c h i T, L hostile, hurtful (Shi).
- e. *sièg / sie / c h ' ī, s h ī T, L (the Pek. c h ' ī is irregular) wing (Kuots'ê); loan for id. only (Meng).
- 1. *k'iĕg / k'jię / k' i K slanting, placed obliquely (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- g. *k'iĕg | k'jiɛ | k'i T, L stand on tiptoe (Shī); loan for f. above (Shī, Mao version); *g'iĕg | g'jiɛ | k'i L, K foot with six toes (Chuang).
- h. *g'iĕg / g'jie / k' i (even tone) T, L name of a mountain (Shī); high (Shī).
- i. *g'iěg / g'jie / k' i T, L bifurcating, forked (sc. road) (Lie).
- j. *g'iĕg / g'jig / k i (oblique tone) L, K talented (Lao); *g'iĕg / g'jig / k i (even tone) L, K run slowly (Shī); t̂iĕg / tśig / c h ī T hurt (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- **k.** $*g'i \not\in g / g'ji \not\in k i T$, L skill, ability (Tso).
- 1. *g'iĕg / g'jiɛ / k i water-chestnut (Kuoyü).
- m. *k'iweg / k'jwie / k' u e i T, L carry on the head (Shī).
- **865 a.** * $\hat{t}_i \not\in g / t \not\in g / c h i T$, L a final particle (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain. b. * $\hat{t}_i \not\in g / t \not\in g / c h i K limb$ (Sün).
- c. *Îiĕg / tśig / c h ī T, L hole for linch-pin at end of wheel-axle (Chouli); crossboards on the inside of the left and right walls of a carriage box (Chouli); loan for a. above (Chuang).
- **d.** $\hat{t}_{ij} = \hat{t}_{ij} =$
- e. *tîjēg / tśig / c h ī T, L, and *kjēg / kjig / k i L, K a kind of Citrus (Chouli).

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- 866 a—c. *dieq / zie / s h ī T this (Shī); this is, is (Shī); (to be thus:) to be right (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 95), c. is Chou II (inscr. 157). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- đ. *diěg / źię / s h ï — T, L verify (Shu ap. Li).
- * $\hat{t}i\check{e}g$ / $t\check{s}ie$ / c h i T, and * $\hat{d}i\check{e}g$ / $\acute{e}ie$ / s h i T peace, happiness (Yi ap. Shuowen).
- *śieg / śię / s h i T, L wing (Chouli).
- *tieg / tiei / t i T, L bank, dyke (Li).
- *tieg | tiei | t i T, L leather shoe (Li). h.
- i. *t'ieg / t'iei / t'i — T, L clarified red spirits (Li).
- *d'ieg | d'iei | t'i T, L, and *t'ieg | t'iei | t'i T, L red (Chouli). j.
- *d'ieg | d'iei | t'i T bank, dyke (Tso), cf. g. above.
- *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i T stately, fine-looking (Ch'uts'i).
- m. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- n. *d'ieg / d'iei / t 'i T, L lift (Shī); loan for id. calm (Shī); *tieg / tiei / t i L cut off; loan for dieg / żię / c h ' i — (even tone) T, L in a flock (sc. birds) (Shī); throw (Kuots'ê).
- o. *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i T cicada (Ta Tai li).
- p. *d'ieg | d'iei | t'i (even tone) T, L forehead (Li); to direct, conduct (Tso); *d'ieg | d'iei / t i — (oblique tone) T, L see, look at (Shī).
- *d'ieg | d'iei | t i T, L kick (Chuang); *d'iĕg | d'ie | c h ī L, K make efforts (Chuang).
- *d'ieg / d'iei / ti T, and * $d_i eg / ie / shi T$ sheat fish (Kuots'ê).
- *diək | źiək | s h ī T, L this, this is (Shī). *diək | źiək | s h ī T, L limpid (sc. water) (Shī). Of the above, a. * d_{ieq} 'this' and s. * d_{iek} 'this' are cognate words.
- 867 a—c. *diěg / źię / s h ī T clan, family (Shī); surname (Shī); title of a lady (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 39,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 84). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *ties / tsie / c h i T, L stop, cease (Tso; often wrongly written with K as right part).
- * $\hat{t}_i \neq j / t \leq i \neq j$ c h i T to beat (Kuots'ê).
- *d'iĕg | dż'ig | s h ī L, K pick up with the tongue, lick (Chuang).
- g. *g'iĕg | g'jig | k'i T, L illness (Shī).
- current but wrong form of the preceding.
- *g'iĕg | g'jig | k ' i T, L earth spirit (Li); loan for id. to be at rest (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan; others take it here to be loan for g. above); loan for g. (Yi); loan for *tieq/ tśię / c h i — L only (Shi).
- *g'ieg | g'jie | k'i T, L protruding part of a wheel nave (Shi).
- 868 a—c. *ts'iĕq / ts'ie / ts' i T Shuowen says: thorn; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (H 2: 18,13, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 75, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a tree with some extra twigs.
- *ts'įė̃g / ts'iė̃ / ts'ī T, L, and *ts'įė̃k / ts'įäk / ts'i T, L pierce, prod, stab (Meng); kill (Ch'unts'iu); criticize (Shī); probe (Chouli).
- e. *ts'iĕg / ts'ig / ts'ī T to prick (Hokuan).
- 1-g. *ts'iĕg / ts'ig / ts'i T criticize (no early text ex.); g. is Chou II (inscr. 150, sense here uncertain).
- h-i. *tsiěk / tsiäk / t s i K footprints, trample (inscr. 182), s. w. as u. below. i. is Chou II (inscr. 182).
- j-k. *ts'įžk / ts'įäk / ts' i T walk with mincing side-steps (Shī ap. Shuowen). k. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323).

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- 1. *ts'ěk / tṣ'ɛk / ts'ê T tablet, records (Tso); whip (Lunyü).
- m—n. *tsěk / tsek / tsek / tse T to demand payment (Tso); require, to exact (Lunyü); to blame, reprove (Tso); *tsěg / tṣai / c h a i L debt (Tso). n. is Chou II (inscr. 189). The modern graph is simplified so as to obscure the fact that a. above is phonetic.
- o. *tsěk / tsɛk / t s ê T, L, and *dz'ěk / dz'ɛk / t s ê L, K wrangle, dispute (Tso).
- p. *tsěk / tṣɛk / t s ê T kerchief round the hair (only Han time text ex.); loan for *ts'ěk / tṣɛk / t s 'ê regular fine teeth (Tso).
- q. *tsěk / tsɛk / tsê T, L bed mat (Li); dense (Shī).
- r. * $ts'\check{e}k / ts'\check{e}k / ts'\hat{e}$ T pure (Kuan).
- **8.** $*dz'\check{e}k / dz'\check{e}k / t s \hat{e}$ T, L recondite (Yi).
- t. *tsįėk / tsįäk / tsi T collect, accumulate (Shī); *tsįėg / tsię / tsī T, L put in stack or store (Shī); stack (Shī), hoard, provisions (Tso).
- u. *tsièk / tsiäk / tsi T, L footprint (Shī). This is cognate to but not identical with 迹.
- v. *tsiek / tsiek / t s i T, L twist, spin (Shī); achieve, achievement, meritorious deed (Shī); completely (Tso).
- **L.** *dz'ieg/dz'ie/tsi T, L to steep, soak (Chouli).
- 869 a—b. *sièg / siɛ̯ / s ī T cleave, tear apart (Shī); loan for id. this (Shī); final particle (Shī); then, thereupon (Lunyū); completely, entirely (Li). b. is Chou III (inscr. 225). The graph has 'axe' and 'basket'.
- c. *sieg / sie / sī T melting ice, ice-water (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. *sieg / sie / s i T servant, menial (Kungyang).
- e. *sieg / siei / si T, L shriek (Ta Tai li).
- f. *sieg / siei / si T take by the hand, lead (Mo).
- 870 a. *siĕg / sig / s ï T, L a place name (Tso). The graph has 'tiger' and 'cliff'.
 b. *t'iĕg / î'ig / c h ' ï T, L, and *d'iĕg / d'ig / c h ' ï (even tone) T, L, and *d'iĕg / d'ig / c h ï (oblique tone) T, L strip off (Yi).
- c. *d'ieg/d'ie/ch'i T, L a kind of flute (Shi).
- d. *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i (even tone) k cry out (Lü).
- b. *d'ieg / d'iei / t i (oblique tone) T, L alternate, substitute (Kuots'ê).
- 871 a. *siĕg / sig / s i T move towards (Lunyü); remove (Tso). Mand. s i is irregular, we should expect a s ī. The graph has 'walk' and 'foot'.

- b—e. *siĕg / siɛ / si (variant of the preceding, hence the reading) remove to, go to (inser. Yin bone A 1:1,7). c. is Yin bone (A 1:1,7), d. is Yin (inser. 12), e. is Chou I (inser. 67). This archaic graph has generally been interpreted as Æ, but that is quite unwarranted. Shuowen gives it rightly as a variant of a. above, radicals 60 and 162 being interchangeable, as usual, and in the inscriptions the graph sometimes has its ordinary sense (as in Yin bone A 1:1,7), sometimes stands as loan for the homophonous Æ *siĕq.
- 1. *siĕg / sig / sī T (same irregularity in the Mand. reading as a—b.) name of a plant (T, no text ex.); loan for id. five times, five-fold (Meng).
- g. *sieg / sie / s i T sandal (Lü).
- h. *sieg/sie/si T, L hair band (Li).
- 872 a. *liĕg / ljig / li T, L revile, defame (Shī). The modern graph has 'net' and 'speak'.
- 873 a—d. *ńièg / ńżię / e r T child, son (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 16,2, sense of name), c. is Yin (inscr. 23), d. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of part of name). The graph has been explained as a drawing of a baby with open fontanel.
- e. *niĕg / nźię / e r K forced laugh (Ch'uts'ī); prattle (as children) (Sün).
- 1. *ngieg / ngiei / y i, n i T, L young and weak (Meng); loan for id. limit, boundary (Chuang); loan for h. below (Chuang), for 涯 (Chuang).
- g. *ngieg | ngiei | y i T, L grasp, keep on to (Chuang).
- h. *ngieg | ngiei | y i T, L look askance (Tso).
- i. *ngieg / ngiei / y i T, L lock attaching the yoke to the end of a carriage pole (Lunyü).
- j-k. *ngieg / ngiei / y i T, L place name (Tso). k. is pre-Han (inscr. 422).
- 1. *ngieg | ngiei | y i T, L female whale (Tso); name of a small fish (Chuang).
- m. *ngieg | ngiei | y i T, and ? | ngiet | y e T rainbow (Meng).
- n. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- o. *ngieg / ngiei / y i T, L, and *mjeg / mjig / m i T fawn (Lunyü).
- p. *ngiek / ngiek / y i T, L name of an aquatic bird (Chuang).
- q. *χiek / χiek / h i Τ, L wrangle (Shī).
 - Of the above, a. *niĕg 'child' and f. *ngieg 'young' are cognate words.
- 874 a—b. *piěg / piig / p i T low (Shī); loan for c. below (Sün). b. is Chou I (inscr. 100, sense of c.). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *piěg / pjig / p i, p e i T, L to cause, so that (Shī); follow, obey (Shu).
- d. *pjeg / pjie / pei T, L pillar (Li).
- e. *piĕg / pjiɛ / p e i T, L to supplement, add (Kuoyü); *piĕg / pjiɛ / p e i L, and b'iĕg / b'jiɛ / p ' e i L a kind of ceremonial robe (Li); loan for i. below (Kuoyū).
- 1. *piĕg / pjie / p e i T, L, and *b'ieg / b'iei / p i T, L, and ? / pji / p i T, L femur, head of femur, haunch (Li).
- g. *b'iĕg / b'jiɛ̯ / p'i (even tone) L border ornament on lower garment (Yili).
- h. *b'ieg / b'jie / p'i T, L spleen (Li); tripe (Shī).
- i—j. *b'iĕg / b'jiɛ̯ / p'i T, L parapet (Tso); loan for f. above (Lü). j. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,4).
- k. *b'iĕg / b'jiɛ / p' i T, L accumulate (Shī); *b'iĕg / b'jiɛ / p i (oblique tone) T low ground (Sün).
- 1. *b'iĕg / b'jiɛ̯ / p e i, p i (oblique tone) T female slave, servant (Li).
- m. *b'jēg / b'jig / pei, pi T low (Tso), short (stature) (Chouli); loan for id. to help (Sün).

- n-o. *p'ieg / p'iei / p' i T incline the head (inscr. 238). o. is Chou III (inscr. 238).
- p. *b'ieg / b'iei / p'i T, L a kind of drum (Chouli).
- q. *b'ieg | b'iei | p'i T, L shaft, handle (Chouli); *b'iek | b'iek | pi T, L, and *b'iek | b'iak | pi T, L inmost coffin (close to the body of a prince) (Li).
- r. *pěg / pai / p a i T to open (Kueikutsī); *pěk / pek / p o L tear apart, cleave (Li).
- s. *b'ěg / b'ai / p a i (oblique tone) T, L weed resembling grain (Tso).
- t. b'' e'' g / b'' ai / pai T, L fine rice (Shī).
- u. *b'ěg / b'ai / p ' a i (even tone) L oyster (Yili).
- v. *b'ěg / b'ai / p' a i L, K, and *b'iěg / b'jię / p' i K, and *b'ěng / b'ɛng / p e n g L, K a long and narrow bivalve (Chouli).
- **x—y.** *pieg / piie / pi T, and *pieng / pieng / ping T, L scabbard (Shī); loan for p. above (Li). y. is Chou I (inscr. 109).
 - Of the above, a. *pieg 'low' and m. *b'ieg 'low' are cognate words.
- 875 a. *kiwěg / kjwię / k u e i T a compass (Meng), circle (Li); to draw regulating lines (Kuoyü); rule, law (Li); to have plans against (Li); loan for id. demand, greedy (Tso); fear (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *kiwěg / kjwię / k u e i K look at superficially (Sün).
- c. *k'iwěg / k'jwię / k' u e i T, L to peep (Lunyü).
- d. *k'iweg / k'jwie / k' u e i T, L to pry, spy (Yi).
- 876 a—b. *g'ieg / γiei / h i T bind (only Han time text ex.). b. is Yin bone (Ε 2: 2, sense here uncertain). The graph shows a hand and silk thread.
- c. *kieg / kiei / h i T, L bind (Meng), connect, succeed (Yi). Mand. h i is irregular (we should expect a k i) and due to confusion with the preceding.
- d—f. *g'ieg / γiei / h i T slave, servant (Chouli); loan for id. why, what (Tso). e. is Yin bone (A 2: 42,3, sense of name), f. is pre-Han (inscr. 446, sense of name). The graph has t a 'man' and 'bind', a bond, a slave. Thus the word is cognate to the preceding two.
- g—h. *g'ieg / γiei / h i T Shuowen says: female slave; but there are no text examples of this. h. is pre-Han (inscr. 408, sense of name).

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*g'ieg / yiei / h i — T, L wait (Shu); loan for l. below (Li).
    *g'ieg / yiei / h i — T, L disgrace (Sün); perverse (Chuang).
k. *g'ieg / yiei / h i — L discord (Chuang).
    *g'ieg / yiei / h i — T, L foot-path (Meng).
m. *g'ieg / yiei / h i — T, L some kind of rodent (Ch'unts'iu).
n—o. *kieg / kiei / k i — T fowl (Shī). o. is Yin bone (A 2: 36.7).
p. variant of the preceding (Tso).
    *k'ieg / k'iei / k' i — T, L valley with stream in it (Tso).
877 a-d. *tieg / tiei / ti - T sovereign, emperor, God (Shī). b. is Yin bone (E 35: 3),
  c. is Chou I (inscr. 63), d. is Chou I (inscr. 101). Explanation of graph uncertain.
   *tieg / tiei / ti - T, and *t'ieg / t'iei / t'i - L, and ? / t'iäi / ch' i - T comb-
  pin (Shī).
    *tieg / tiei / t i — T, L to cry (Sün); examine (Kuanyin).
    *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i — (even tone) T, L weep, howl (Tso).
    *d'ieg | d'iei | t'i — L, K animal's foot, hoof (Yi).
    *d'ieg | d'iei | t i — (oblique tone) T, L a kind of great sacrifice (Tso).
    *d'ieg | d'iei | t i — T knit together, condense (Ch'uts'ī).
k—l. *śieg / śię / s h ī — T, L only (Shu). l. is Chou I (inscr. 89, sense of q. below).
     This k. is really phonetic in the following series, but in the modern form it is slightly
  deformed.
m. *tiek / tiek / ti — T. L son of principal wife (Tso).
n. *tiek / tiek / ti — T barb of arrow (Lie).
   *tiek / tiek / ti — T, L animal's foot, hoof (Shī); *d'jěk / d'jäk / c h ī — L, K
  check the foot, stop walking (Yi); loan for id. throw out, send away (Chuang).
    *t'iek / t'iek / t'i — T, L, and *těk / t \in k / chê — T to pluck (Lie).
q. *d'iek / d'iek / t i — T, L enemy, opponent (Shu); resist (Tso); an equal, a match
  (Tso).
   *t\tilde{e}k/\hat{t}\epsilon k/ch\hat{e} — T, L, and d'\tilde{e}k/\tilde{d}'\epsilon k/ch\hat{e} — T, L blame, punish (Tso); loan
  for *d'\check{e}k / d'\check{e}k / c h \hat{e} — L change of appearance of the sun (Tso).
    *siěk / siäk / s h ī — T, L proceed to, go to, come to (Shī) (in this sense also read
  *Îièk / tśiäk / c h ī in T); happen (Shī), just then (Tso); be suitable to (Shī); agree, on
  good terms (Kuan); loan for id. only (Meng), scared (Chuang); *tiek | tiek | t i - T, L
  follow (Shu); loan for id. principal (Shi); preside over (Shi); bent on (Lunyu); loan for
  m. above (Shi), for q. (Li), for r. (Meng).
   *d'iěk / d'iäk / c h i — L, K scratch (Lie); throw (Chuang).
u. variant of r. above ('to blame') (Shī).
    Of the above, h. *d'ieg 'hoof' and o. *tiek 'hoof' are cognate words.
878 a—b. *lieg / liei / li — T, L a pair (Chouli), number (Shī); well-proportioned (Li);
  elegant, beautiful (Ch'uts'ī); good (Chuang); brilliant (Shu); loan for id. apply (Yili),
  attach (Li), to hit (Tso); to pass into (Shī); name of a plant (Kuots'è); loan for e. below
  (Chuang). b. is Chou (inscr. 382, sense of name). The graph is probably a drawing of
  a deer with a pair of fine horns.
   *lieg | liei | li — T, L a pair (Yili), one of a pair, mate, companion (Tso).
   *lieg / liei / li — L break (Chuang).
    *lieg / liei / li — T beam (Lie).
    *lieg / liei / li — T, L, and *lieg / lie / li — T, L black horse (Shi).
    *liĕg | ljig | li — L rope (Shī); *sliĕg | sig | s h ī — T, L hair band (Li).
h. *slįžg / ṣig / s h ī — T, L to strain off wine (Shī); also read *sio / siwo / s h u —
  T, L, a synonymous word applied to the same character.
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- i. *slįžg / sig / s h ī T, L, and *slžg / sai / s h a i T, L sprinkle (Li); distribute (Li); loan for id. astonished (Chuang).
- j. *slįėg | się | s h ī T, and *slėg | sai | s h a i T straw sandal (Kuots'ê).
- 879 a—b. *kiweg / kiwei / k u e i T jade tablet as token of rank, sceptre (Shī); pure, sacred (Meng); loan for e. below (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 150). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. variant of the preceding (Shu).
- d. *kiweg / kiwei / k u e i T Cinnamomum Cassia (Li).
- e. *kiweg | kiwei | k u e i T. L small gate, inner gate in mansion (Li) (acc. to Shuowen: shaped like a sceptre a. above).
- f. *kiweg | kiwei | k u e i T, and *wăg | wa | w a L hole, hollow, concave (Lü).
- g. *kiweg | kiwei | k u e i T porpoise (only Han time text ex.); loan for *g'wăg | γwa | h u a L, and *g'ĕg | γai | h i e L (after Sü Miao) h u a l u n g a kind of demon (Chuang).
- h. *k'iweg / k'iwei / k' u e i T, L stab, cut (Yi).
- i. *k'iweg / k'iwei / k' u e i -- T, L crotch of a man's legs (Chuang); name of a constellation (Li).
- j. *g'iweg | yiwei | h i T, L, and *k'iweg | k'iwei | k'i L (Mand. h i and k'i are irregular, we should expect h u e i and k'u e i) an area of 50 m o u (Meng), area (Chuang).
- k. *'iweg / 'iwei / wei L curbing, embossed (as opp. to flat, level) (Chuang). (L. quotes several other readings; the word also occurs, with various readings, in several meanings not attested in pre-Han texts).
- 1. *k'iweg / k'jwig / k' u e i T, L a stride, distance covered by lifting one leg (as opp. to p u a pace taken by both legs) (Li). Cognate to i. above?
- m. *·iwěg / 'jwig / h u e i T, L anger (Kuan). Mand. h u e i is irregular, we should expect a w e i.
- n. *kěg / kai / k i a T good (Lao).
- o. *keg / kai / k i e T road-crossing, street (Chuang).
- p. *ngěg / ngai / y a i T river bank (only post-Han text ex., s. w. as next two).
- q. *ngěg | ngai | y a i a i T river bank (Tso); limit (Chuang).
- r. *ngěg / ngai / y a i, a i T, L river bank (Shu); limit (Chuang).
- s. *kweg | kwai | k u a T prognosticate by means of Achillea stalks (Yi); divination figures (combinations of lines) (Li).



- t. *kwěg / kwai / k u a T, L suspend (Yili).
- u. variant of the preceding.
- v. *g'wěg / γwai / ĥ u a T, L, and *kwěg / kwai / k u a T, L entangled, hampered (Tso).
- x. *g'wĕg / γwai / h u a L vomit, spit out (Chuang). (T has other readings for meanings not attested in early texts).
- y. *'wĕg / 'wai / w a K, and *'wăg / 'wa / w a L, and *g'wĕg / γwai / h u a L, K, and *g'wăg / γwa / h u a L frog (Chouli).
- z. *'weg / 'wai / w a T frog (Yinwen).
- a'. *ngěg / ngai / y a i T rim of the eye (Kuots'ê).
- b'. *'wag / 'wa / wa T, K hollow, concave (Lao), s. as f. above.
- 880 a. *g'iweg | yiwei | h i T, L (Mand. h i in this and next two is irregular, we should expect a h u e i) Shuowen says: name of a bird, but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. distance equal to the circumference of a wheel (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *g'iweg / γiwei / h i T to dissent, alienate (Kuoyü).
- c. *g'iweg / yiwei / h i T, L take by the hand, lead (Shī), hold (Shu); leave (Kuoyü); alienate (Tso).
- **d.** *g'iweg / yiwei / h u e i T big tortoise (Ch'uts'i).
- *g'iweg / γiwei / h u e i L, K, and *χiweg / χiweg / h u e i T, L spike of horn or bone for opening knots (Shī).
- f. *g'iweg / yiwei / h u e i T, L, and *xiweg / xiwig / h u e i L, K big bell (T, no text ex.); loan for id. vapours round the sun (Chouli).
- 881 a—c. *kəng | kəng | k e n g (primary form of d. below, hence the reading) Shuowen says: increasing moon; there are no text examples of this. b. is Yin bone (B shang 9: 10, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inser. 119, sense of name).
- d—e. *g'ang / yang / h e n g T constant (Shī); loan for *kang / kang / k e n g L increasing moon (Shī); everywhere (Shī). e. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- f-g. *kəng / kəng / k e n g T violently thrum the strings of a lute (Ch'uts'i).
- h. $*k ext{ang} / k ext{ang} / k ext{eng}$ T, L road (Li).

- 882 a—b. *k'əng / k'əng / k 'e n T, L (after Sü) (Pek. k 'e n is irregular, we should expect a k'eng) meat sticking to bones (Chuang; L says that the Tsi-lin in this 'cover' and 'meat', b. is a vulgar variant.
- 883 a—d. *təng / təng / teng T a kind of sacrificial vessel (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 20,7, sense of e. below), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 2,2, sense of e.), d. is Chou I (inscr. 68, sense of l. below). The archaic graph shows two hands — now at the top, now at the bottom — grasping a ritual vessel; to the left hand the modern graph has substituted 'meat'.
- e—h. *təng | təng | teng T rise, ascend (Shī); put up (Tso), achieve (Shī); loan for id. sound of pounding (Shī). f. is Yin bone (A 5: 2,1), g. is Yin (inscr. 34), h. is Chou II (inscr. 147). The radical, substituted to the top elements of a., is 'two feet'.
- *təng | təng | teng T, L a ritual vessel with a high foot (Yili); foot of such a vessel (Li); lamp (Ch'uts'i).
- vulgar variant of the preceding in the sense of 'lamp'.
- *təng | təng | teng T gradually rising height, slope (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- *d'ang | d'ang | teng T place name (Tso).
- m. *d'ing / d'ing / ch' eng T, and i' / d'ing / ch' eng T limpid, clear (Li).

 n. *iing / ting / ting / cheng T testify, prove (Lunyü).
- 884 a—b. *tsəng / tsəng / t s e n g T add (Meng), accumulated, double (Ch'uts'i); late, remote (Shī); rise high (Ch'uts'ī); *dz'əng / dz'əng / t s' e n g — T a particle denoting perfect tense (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 110, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tsəng | tsəng | t s e n g T increase (Shī), numerous (Shī).
- d. *tsəng | tsəng | t s e n g T hate (Shī).
- *tsəng | tsəng | t s e n g L, K bundles of branches (Li).
- *tsəng / tsəng / t s e n g T, L net (Chuang).
- g. *tsəng | tsəng | t s e n g T, L arrow with string attached (Chouli).
 h. *tsəng | tsəng | t s e n g L, and *dz'iəng | dz'iəng | t s' i n g T, L silk (Li).
- *dz'əng | dz'əng | ts' e n g (even tone) T, and *tsəng | tseng T in two storeys, double (Ch'uts'i). Cognate to a. above.
- *dz'əng | dz'əng | t s e n g (oblique tone) T give, gift (Shī); (send, send away:) expel (sc. bad influences) (Chouli).
- *tsiong / tsiong / tsi n g, tse n g T, L (Pek. tse n g is irregular) boiler, earthenware pot for steaming rice (Chouli).
- 885 a—e. * $n \rightarrow nq / n \rightarrow nq / n \rightarrow nq$ T a kind of bear (Kuoyü); loan for id. able, can (Shī). b. is Yin (inser. 6), c. is Chou I (inser. 58), d. is Chou I (inser. 79), e. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The original graph must have been a drawing.
- *t'nag / t'âi / t 'a i T apparition, bearing, manner (Kuots'ê).
- 886 a—e. *b'ang | b'ang | p'eng T, L a set of cowries (stringed) (Shī); loan for id, a peer, equal (Shī), comrade, friend (Shī); a pair (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 10), d. is Chou I (inscr. 66), e. is Chou I (inscr. 69). The graph is a drawing of strings of cowries.
- f-i. *b'ang | b'ang | p'eng T, L adherent, assistant (Chouli). h. is Yin bone (A 4: 30,2), i. is Chou II (inser. 135).
- j. *b'ang | b'ang | p'eng T, L a fabulous great bird (Choung).



そぞシ胚弘宏竑紘閎雄靱888兢 妈为肤脚帆肚袄媵賸

k—l. *pəng / pəng / p e n g — L, K put coffin in the ground (Tso).

m. *pəng / pəng / p e n g — T fall, collapse (sc. mountain) (Shī); die (said of prominent people) (Tso).

*piong / piong / ping — T, L cover of a quiver (Shī).

o. *peng / peng / p e n g — T to bind round (Mo).

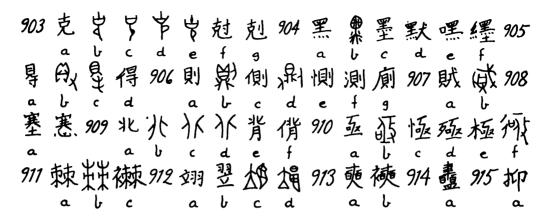
- 887 a—e. *kwəng / kwəng / k u n g Shuowen says: arm, thus taking it to be the primary form of f. below (hence the reading); but there are no text examples of this. c. is Yin bone (A 5: 15,2, sense of g. below), d. is Chou I (inscr. 95, sense of g.), e. is Chou II (inscr. 164, sense of name). The original graph may have been a drawing of an arm.
- *kwəng | kwəng | k u n g T, L arm (esp. the upper arm, from elbow to shoulder) (Shī).
- g. *g'wəng / γwəng / h u n g T vast (Shī); enlarge (Shī).
 h. *g'weng / γweng / h u n g T resounding (Chouli); great (Shu).
- *g'weng / yweng / h u n g T, L to measure (Chouli).
- *g'weng / yweng / h u n g T, L cord on ceremonial cap (Tso).
- k. *g'weng / yweng / h u n g T, L gate across a street or lane (Tso); loan for h. above
- *giŭng / jiung / hiung T (Mand hiung is irregular, we should expect a yung or jung) male (Shi).
- m. *kwəng / kwəng / k u n g T, and *k'wəng / k'wəng / k' u n g L leather-covered leaning-board of carriage (Shī).
- 888 a—b. *kiəng / kiəng / k i n g T, L fear, cautious, attentive (Shī); *g'iəng / g'iang / k i n g — L strong (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 143). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 889 a—d. *xiəng / xiəng / h i n g T lift, raise (Shī); rise (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 21,8), c. is Chou II/III (inscr. 280), d. is Chou (inscr. 365, sense of name). The graph has four hands and a sail (? hoist a sail? cf. 凡).
- 890 a—b. *'iəng / 'iəng / y i n g Shuowen says: eagle, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below (hence the reading); but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 88, sense of name). The graph has 'bird' and another element of uncertain interpretation.

- *'iang / 'iang / y i n g T, L eagle, falcon (Shī).
- * iang / iang / y in g T answer (Meng), respond (Tso); correspond, conform (Yi); accept, agree (Kuoyü); ought, of right (Shi).
- e. * jong / jong / y i n g T, L breast (Shī); (turn the breast against:) resist, oppose (Shī); receive (Kuoyü).
- **891 a.** *tiəng | \hat{t} iəng | c h e n g T summon (Shu); examine, test (Tso), testify (Tso), evidence (Li); prognostics (Shu); effect (Li); to levy (sc. tax) (Chouli); *d'iəng / d'iəng / ch'eng — $\hat{\mathbf{L}}$ suppress (Yi); * $ti \ni g / \hat{t}i / ch = T$, $\hat{\mathbf{L}}$ name of one of the notes of the gamut (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *d'ing/d'ing/c h' e n g T, L to reprove, warn (Tso); to repress, to correct (Shī).
- 892 a. *diəng / iəng / y i n g T, L a fly (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *d'iang / dé'iang / s h e n g T string, cord (Shī); (in a line:) continue (Shī); lay the regulating line on, regulate (Li); loan for id. cautious, careful (Shī, so the Mao comm.); to praise (Tso); loan for *diang | iang | y i n g — L full (sc. ear of grain) (Chouli).
- 893 a-b. *diang / iang / y i n g (primary form of c. below, hence the reading) servant, slave (inscr. 180). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The graph has two hands, holding an object of uncertain interpretation, which has wrongly been turned into 'fire' in the modern graph.
- c-e. *diəng / iəng / y i n g K (same word as k. below) servant, to serve (inscr. 138); go as servant or concubine, accompanying the first rank consort (inscr. 386). d. is Chou II (inscr. 138), e. is Chou (inscr. 386).
- **i**—i. *d'ipm/d'ipm/chen— T, L I, we, our (Shī); *d'ipn/d'ipn/chen— L a seam (Chouli); omen, sign (Chuang). The final consonants in this and next are very enigmatic, all the more since the derivates again have -ng. g. is Yin bone (A 4: 4,7), h. is Chou I (inscr. 63), i. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- *d'iəm / d'iəm / c h e n K horizontal pieces in a frame for silk worms (Lü).
- k. *diəng / iəng / y i n g T, L girl who follows the principal wife to her future husband and becomes at the same time his concubine (Tso); accompany (Ch'uts'ī).
- l-m. *diəng / iəng / y i n g T accompanying 'present', additional concubine following the bride of first rank (inser. 212; s. w. as c. and k. above). m. is Chou I/II (inser. 212).
- *d'iong | dz'iong | ch' eng T Shuowen says: raised path between fields: but there are no text examples in support of this. o. is Chou III (inscr. 216, sense of k. above).
- p. *\$iəng | \$iəng | s h e n g T vanquish, overcome (Shī); surpass (Lunyü); equal to, capable of (Lunyü); loan for id. head ornament (Li).
- q. *d'ang / d'ang / t'eng T, L to gush up (as water) (Shī ap. Yüp'ien); to gape and gush out words (Yi); loan for id. place name (Tso).
- **r—s.** *d'ang / d'ang / t' eng place name, same as the preceding in this sense (hence the reading). s. is Chou I (inscr. 116).
- t. *d'əng / d'əng / t 'e n g T, L tie, band (Shī).
 u. *d'əng / d'əng / t 'e n g T a fabulous flying snake (Sün); *d'ək / d'ək / tê T, L insect eating the leaves of grain plants (Shī).
- v. *d'ang / d'ang / t' e n g T mount, rise (Shī), ascend (Li); loan for k. above (Yili).
- **894 a—c.** * \bar{t} 'jəng / tś'jəng / c h ' e n g T lift, hold (Yin bone A 7: 25,3). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 25,3), c. is pre-Han (inscr. 406, sense of name). The graph shows a hand lifting an object of uncertain interpretation.

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- d-f. *t'iəng / ts'iəng / c h 'e n g T lift (Shu ap. Kuo P'o, comm. to Shu). e. is Yin bone (B hia 36: 8, sense here uncertain), f. is pre-Han (inscr. 404, sense of name).
- g. *\(\bar{t}\)' iang | ts' iang | ch' eng T to weigh (Li); lift up (Shī); praise (Lunyü); divulge (Lunyü); (evaluate:) denominate, call (Lunyü); say, declare, profess to, plead (Tso); appreciate, estimate (Yi); (weighing up:) equal to, corresponding (Shī), capable of (Li); a set (of clothes) (Li).
- **895** a—c. *d' $i \ni ng / d \dot{z}$ ' $i \ni ng / c$ h' e n g (even tone) T to mount, ascend (Shī); ride, drive (Shī); be on top, above (Lao); avail oneself of (Meng); * $d'i \rightarrow nq / dz'i \rightarrow nq / sh$ h e n g — (oblique tone) T (what is mounted:) chariot (Shī); team of four horses (Shī); set of four (Meng); several, group (Li); set of annotations, annals (Meng); set of fields, district (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 25,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 97). The graph shows a man mounted on some object of uncertain interpretation.
- 896 a—b. *diəng / ziəng / c h 'e n g T lift, hold (inscr. 54), same word as c. below, which is only another modern variation of the same archaic graph. b. is Chou I (inser. 54). The graph shows two hands lifting a man.
- *diang / ziang / c h 'e n g T lift, to present (Shī); to honour (Shī); to support, assist (Yi); receive (Shu); continue (Shī); (successive steps:) gradations in taxes (Tso); resist (Shī).
- **d—f.** *diang / ziang / ch' eng assist, same word as next. Shuowen gives this as the original form of g. below, the straight bottom line of which is only a corruption. e. is Yin bone (E 171: 3), f. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324). The radical at the bottom is not 'mountain', but a drawing of a pitfall, two hands rescuing a man out of it.
- g. *diəng / ziəng / c h 'e n g T assist (Li), see the preceding.
 h. *tiəng / tsiəng / c h e n g T, L to steam (Shī); loan for id. advance, bring forward (Shī).
- * \hat{t}_{ij} ang | t_{ij} ang | c h e n g T to save, help (Tso), cognate to d. and g.
- * $\hat{t}i$ ang / t si ang / c h e n g T, L to present (meat) in sacrifice (Yili).
- k. *tiong / tsiong / cheng T, L small twigs as firewood (Shī); loan for id. numerous (Shi ap. Meng).
- 897 a—b. *\$iəng | \$iəng | s h e n g T a measure (10th of a to u) (Shī); loan for id. a set of 80 threads (in weaving) (Li); to mount, rise, arise (Shī); (lift:) to present to (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 191). The graph is a drawing of a measure.

- c. variant of the preceding in the sense of 'rise' (Yi, Cheng Hüan's version).
- d. variant of the preceding in the sense of 'rise' (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. *śing / śing / s h e n g T, and *fing / tśing / c h e n g T, L to lift up, to save (Chouli).
- 898 a-b. *liang | liang | ling T Shuowen says: transgress, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 96, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c-d. *liəng / liəng / li n g T high mound, hill (Shī), a height (Tso); ascend (Kuots'ê); transgress (Li); encroach upon, usurp (Tso); molest, oppress (Tso), insult (Tso); loan for id. to temper (steel) (Sün). d. is Chou II (inscr. 147).
- *liang / liang / ling T transgress (Kuots'ê), surmount (Ch'utsi).
- *liang | liang | ling T, L ice (Shī); maltreat, oppress (Ch'uts'ī).
- *liang / liang / ling K water-chestnut (Lie).
- *liəng / liəng / ling T, L name of a fish (Ch'uts'ī).
 *liəng / liəng / ling T, L water-chestnut (Li), see g. above.
- 899 a. *piəng / piəng / p i n g K Shuowen says: ice, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below. There are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b-c. *piang / piang / ping T ice (Shī); loan for 886 n. above. Shuowen takes this character to be the primary form of **\(\varphi\)**. c. is Chou IV (inscr. 292).
- d. *b'iəng / b'iəng / p'ing T, L (tread:) walk across a river (Shī); (trample:) maltreat (Tso), encroach upon (Chouli), angry (Tso); ascend (Chouli); (stand on:) lean on, rely on (Shī); loan for id. sound of a wall when struck (Shī).
- e. *b'iang / b'iang / p'ing T to lean on (Shu).
- 900 a. *b'iəng / b'iəng / p'ing (even tone) T, and *b'iəng / b'iəng / ping (oblique tone) lean on (sc. a stool) (Shu ap. Shuowen). The graph has 'carry, sustain' and two legs.
- 901 a—d. *kiŭng / kiung / kung T a bow (Shī); a length measure (Yili). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 7,2), c. is Yin bone (B hia 13: 17), d. is Chou I (inser. 88). The graph is a drawing.
- *k'iŭng / k'iung / k' i u n g T, L high and vaulted, vault (Shī); loan for 空 (Li).
- **902 a—b.** *miŭng / miung / m e n g T, and *mung / mung / m e n g L dream (Shī); darkened, blind (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 170). The graph has 'evening, night' below, meaning of upper part uncertain. This upper element, which recurs in the following characters, is not known as an independent character.
- variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- *miung / miung / m e n g T, L, and *mwəng / mwəng / m e n g T, L darkened (Chouli); ashamed, despondent (Tso).
- *mweng | mweng | m e n g T, L rafters, beams inside roof (Tso).
- *mâng / mâng / m a n g T, L exert oneself (Shu).
- 8. *χmwəng / χwəng / h u n g T, L to die (said of kings and princes) (Tso); loan for id. numerous (Shī); to swarm (as insects) (Shī).
- *k'ək / k'ək / k ' o T carry, sustain (Li); able, can (Shu); vanquish, dominate (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 27,2), c. is Yin bone (A 8: 5,5), d. is Chou I (inser. 56), e. is Chou I (inscr. 72). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **1-g.** variants of the preceding (Chuang).



- 904 a—b. *χmək / χək / h e i T black (Shī). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 244). The graph shows a human figure with face and body covered with spots (war-paint?).
- c. *mək / mək / m o T ink (Meng); black (Tso); name of a measure (Kuoyü). Cognate to the preceding.
- **d.** * $mak \mid mak \mid m$ o $\overline{}$ T (dark:) silent (Tso).
- e. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- **f.** *mək / mək / m o T, L cord (Yi).
- 905 a—c. *tək / tək / tê T obtain, get, take (inscr. 146). b. is Yin bone (E 29: 2), c. is Chou II (inscr. 146). The graph has 'hand' and 'cowry' (money). In the small seal the cowry has been misunderstood and turned into 見 'to see'.
- d. *tək / tək / tê T obtain, get (Shī); can (Lunyü).
- 906 a—b. *tsək / tsək / ts ê T law, rule (Shī); follow a law, imitate (Shī); accordingly, thus, then, thereupon (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 97). The graph has ting 'ritual cauldron' and 'knife'. The law was codified by inscriptions on ritual vessels. In the modern graph 'cauldron' has been corrupted into 'cowry'.
- c—d. *tṣṭək / tṣṭək / ts 'ê T (the Mand. aspirate is irregular) side (Shī); inclining (Shī); partial (Shu); inferior, low (Shu). d. is Chou II (inscr. 179).
- e. *ts'iək / ts'iək / ts'ê T, L to pity, pained (Meng).
- f. *ts'iək / ts'iək / ts'ê T to fathom (Shī); limpid (Chouli).
- g. *ts'iog / ts'i / ts'i T, L latrine (Tso).
- 907 a—b. *dz'ək / dz'ək / t s e i T murderer, bandit, villain (Shī); injure (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 147). The graph has 'man', 'dagger-axe' and 'cowry' (money).
- 908 a. *sək / sək / s ê T, L, and *səg / sāi / s a i L stop up, block (Shī); shut (Lunyü); a pass, strait (Tso); fill (Meng); loan for id. sincere (Shī); *səg / sāi / s a i T, L frontier (Tso); loan for id. a game of draughts (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *sək / sək / sê T sincere (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- 909 a—d. *pək / pək / pe i T, L turn the back (Tso); (back side:) North (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 3,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 115), d. is Chou II (inscr. 134). The graph shows two men back to back.

- e. *pwəg / puậi / p e i L, K the back, posterior part (Shī); *b'wəg / b'uậi / p e i T, L turn the back on, cheat (Shī).
- f. *b'wəg / b'uḥi / pei T, L turn the back on, abandon (Li); not to face straightly (Li).

All these words are cognate.

- 910 a—b. *kiək / kiək / ki T, L urgently, hurry (Shī); *k'iəg / k'ji / k'i T, L often (Meng). b. is Chou II (inscr. 180). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. $*ki \ni k / ki \ni k / ki T$ urgently, hastily (Lie).
- d. *kiək / kiək / k i T, L die (Li); destroy, kill (Tso).
- e—f. *g'iək | g'iək | k i T ridge of roof (Chuang); the highest point, extreme limit, utmost (Shī); exhaust (Shī); reach the end, come to (Shī); loan for id. leathern finger protection (in shooting with bow) (Yili); loan for a. above (Sūn). f. is Chou I (inscr. 65, rad. 60 inst. of rad. 75).
- 911 a—b. *kiək / kiək / ki T, L jujube (Shī); thorns (Tso), thorny, harassing, painful (Shī); urgent, haste (Shī); loan for 数 (Tso). b. is Yin (inser. 51, sense of name). The graph has 'thorn' doubled.
- c. *kijək / kijək / k i T, L collar of a coat (Shī).
- 912 a—d. *giək / jək / yi T to fly (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. nextfollowing (day) (inscr. 67). c. is Yin lone (A 2: 20,5), d. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph has 'raise' and a drawing of a 'wing', d. also 'sun'.
- 913 a. *\chi i \tau i i k / h i \to L, and ? / si\(\alpha k \) i \to T, L red (Sh\(\bar{i}\)); (rimes in the \(\alpha k \) class in Sh\(\bar{i}\)). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. ? / śjäk / s h i K raincoat of straw (Kuoyü).
- 914 a. *\(\gammai\)i\(\gamma\) / \(\gammai\)i\(\rho\) / h i T, L grieved, pained (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 915 a. *'iək / 'iək / y i T, L put the hand on, rub (Li); to repress (Tso); (self-repressing:) careful, attentive (Shī); loan for id. initial particle (Shī), and, but, or else (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **916 a—c.** $\cdot *ti \ni k / \hat{t} \ni k / c h i T$, L ascend (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 32,4), c. is Chou I (inser. 58). The graph has feet taking 'steps', and (staircase:) 'height'.
- 917 a—c. *t'iək / î'iək / c h ' ī T to correct (Yi); careful, attentive (Shī). c. is Chou III (inscr. 229). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 918 a—b. *disk / isk / yi T, L to shoot with arrow and string attached (Shī); catch (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 100, sense here uncertain). The graph must be a drawing of some kind of arrow.
- c-d. *diok / iok / yi T a clan name (inscr. 302). d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 302).
- e. *disk / isk / yi T, L stake, pole (Tso).
- f. *\$iək | \$iək | \$ h ī T rule, law, pattern, model (Shī); be a model to (Shī), follow the model of (Shī); measure (Chouli); loan for id. to use (Shī); a particle (Shī); loan for l. below (Lunyü).
- g. $t' \ge k / t' \ge k / t' \ge T$ err (Shī).
- h. *t'ək / t'ək / t'ê T, L, and *d'ək / d'ək / t'ê T beg, demand (Sün); loan for g. above (Shu ap. Shīki).

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- i-j. *d'ag | d'âi | t a i T take the place of (Shu), supersede (Shī); succession (Tso), generation (Tso); dynasty (Tso). j. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 332).
- *śipk / śipk / s h i T, L to wipe (Li).
- *\$i\partial k | \$i\partial k | s h \(\text{i} T\), L cross-bar at front of carriage box (Tso).
- m. $*t'i\partial k / \hat{t}'i\partial k / c h' i T fear (Kuovü).$
- *\$ipg | \$i | s h i T test, try (Shu); to exercise, train (Shi); apply, make use of n. (Li).
- *\$iəg | \$i | s h i T, L kill (a superior) (Meng). 0.
- *t'ag / t'ai / t' a i T, L borrow, lend (Tso); loan for g. above (Li). D.
- *d'ag / d'âi / t a i T, L name of a mountain (Shu). q.
- *d'ag / d'ai / t a i T to pencil the eyebrows (Lie).
- *d'ak / d'ak / tê K insect eating the leaves of grain plants (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- 919 a. *d'i2k / d'i2k / c h ī T straight (Shī); right (Shī); (straight out:) simply, only (Meng); loan for id. (Li) or *d'iəq | d'i | c h \bar{i} — L to represent, take the place of, be equivalent to (L). The graph (see j. and l. below) has 'eye' and a straight line.
- *tiək | tiək | c h i T, L to sow or plant early (Shī).
 *diək | tiək | s h i T, L clay, clayey (Shu).
- *disk / zisk / c h i T, L (Pek. c h i is irregular, we should expect a s h i) rancid (sc. fat) (Shuowen, no pre-Han text ex.); loan for id. to grow, prosper, flourish (Tso); to plant, cultivate (Tso); to raise, establish (Kuoyü); level (Shī).
- * $digk \mid 2igk \mid$? T, L, and * $d'igg \mid d'i \mid$ c h i T, L to plant (Chouli); plants (Chouli); to place (Shī); put up, establish (Chouli); wooden piece into which door bar enters (Mo).
- *d'ək / d'ək / t'ê L single (Li); loan for *d'iək / d'iək / c h ī L hem (of a garment) (Li).
- **h.** $*d'i \ni g / d'i / c h i T$, L hold upright, grasp, take (Shi).
- * $t \ge k / t \ge k / t \ge K$ virtue (inscr. 286). j. is Chou IV (inscr. 286).
- k-l. *tək / tək / tê T virtue, virtuous (Shī); quality, nature (Tso). l. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- 920 a—d. *Î jək / tśjək / c h ī T (T gives this reading but, following Shuowen, says its meaning is unknown) unite (Yi, one version ap. L); loan for l. below (*blazing* = red, sc. earth, soil) (Shu, Yü kung, Cheng Hüan's version ap. L). b. is Yin bone (A 4:

- 4,4, sense uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 97, sense of name), d. is Chou II (inscr. 138, sense of f. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. $|*\hat{t}i\partial k|/t\hat{s}i\partial k|/c$ h \bar{i} L, K, and $|*\hat{d}'\partial k|/t$ ê T pole (Chouli). f. $|*\hat{t}i\partial k|/t\hat{s}i\partial k|/c$ h \bar{i} T weave (Sh \bar{i}); $|*\hat{t}i\partial g|/t\hat{s}i/c$ h \bar{i} L stuff made of coloured silk (Li); $\hat{t}_{ijg}/tsi/chi$ — L and $\hat{t}_{ijg}/tsi/ch'i$ — L flag (Shi).
- g—h. *\hat{t}i\tauk / t\hat{s}i\tauk / c h \(\text{i} \) T. L duties of office, office (Sh\(\text{i})\); attend to, manage (Tso); duty, tribute (Tso); loan for id. ample, numerous (Chuang); loan for e. above (Chouli). h. is Chou IV (inser. 283).
- * $\hat{t}_{i\partial k}/t$ \$ $i\partial k/c$ h i T, L slice of dried meat (Yili).
- j. *śiżk / śiżk / s h ī T, and *t'iżk / tś'iżk / c h ' ī T a kind of banner (Hanfei), cf. f. above.
- * \hat{i} * $\hat{i$ memorate (Yi).
- * \hat{t} 'i $\neq g$ | t's' i | c h' i T, L blaze (Shi); glorious (Shi); to heat (Tso).
- 921 a—c.*d'iək / dź'iək / s h ï T eat (Shī); (*eating*) of sun or moon:) eclipse (Shī); *dzieg / zi / s ī — L food (Shī); give food to (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 35,2), c. is Chou (inscr. 351, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a food vessel with lid.
- **d.** * $d'i\partial k / d\dot{z}'i\partial k / s$ h \bar{i} T to eat up gradually, to eclipse (the sun or the moon) (Lü).
- e-f. *dziog / zi / s i T food, give food to (Yili ap. L; inser. 225). f. is Chou III (inscr. 225).
- g. *t'iək / ti'iək / ch' i T, L to make solid, strengthen (Kuoyü); prepare, make ready (Shī); put in fine order (Li); to order, command (Kuoyü).
- h. *śiżk / śiżk / s h ī T adorn, ornament (Shī); loan for g. above (Kuliang).
- 922 a. *tsiək / tsiək / t s i T, and *ts'iək / ts'iək / c h ' ī T, L ploughshare cutting through the soil (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tsiək / tsiək / tsi T millet (Shī); loan for id. hurry, expeditious (Shī); loan for 昃 (Kuliang).
- c. *siŭk / siuk / shu T, L to rise (Li).
- 923 a. *tsiək / tsiək / t si T go to, forthwith, thereupon etc., see series 399 above. b. *tsiok / tsiok / tsi - T, L tsi-tsü millipede (Chuang).
- c. *dz'iək / dz'iək / t s i T, L detest (Shu); *tsiĕt / tsiĕt / t s i T, L masonry (Li); coaled part of a burning torch (Kuan); in this latter reading the phonetic has its value of group 399 above.
- d. *tsiək / tsiək / tsi K, and *tsiāk / tsi T, L tsi-ling name of a bird (Tso).
- 924 a—b. *tsiək / tsiək / t s ê T Shuowen says: incline the head; but there are no text examples in support of this. (Tsi yun reads this words niet / n i e or liet / l i e). b. is Chou I (inscr. 69, sense of name).
- c-d. *tsizk / tsizk / t sê T slanting, oblique (Chouli). Shuowen registers c. as an early form of what is currently written d.
- e-i. *tsiak / tsiak / tsê T, L sun slanting, inclining to the West (Shu). h. is Yin bone (E 110: 1, sense here uncertain), i. is Yin bone (A 4: 8,7, sense uncertain). The graph shows 'sun' and a man in bent or inclining position.
- 925 a. *siək / siək / si T breathe (Lunyü); sigh (Li); rest, repose (Shī); cease (Lunyü); (collect force:) grow (Meng); interest on money (Chouli); descendants (Kuots'ê). The graph has ts i 'self, from' etc. and 'heart'.
- **b.** *siok / siok / si T extinguish (Meng).

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- 926 a—d. *siək / siək / siək / s ê T, L harvest (Yili); greedy (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 1:29,7), c. is Yin bone (G 12: 2), d. is Yin bone (A 4: 41,3). The graph has 'grain', single or doubled, and a drawing of a granary, or (in d.) a field.
- e. *ṣṇək / ṣṇək / s ê T, L to reap, harvest (Shī); husbandry (Tso); sparing, economical (Tso).
- 927 a. *şiək / şiək / s ê T colour (Tso); countenance, looks (Shī); beauty (Lunyū). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 928 a—b. *liək / liək / li T strength, force (Shī); effort (Shī). b. is Chou III (inscr. 220). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *lək / lək / lê T, L, and *ljək / ljək / li T, L a tenth (Li).
- d. *lək / lək / lê T, L space between the fingers (where divination sticks were inserted) (Yi).
- e. *lək / lək / lê T, L vein or duct in soil (Chouli); loan for id. fraction (Chouli).
- **1—g.** lak/lak/lê T reins (Yili); loan for id. engrave (Li). g. is Chou I (inscr. 86). h. *lak/lê T, L to split according to the veins (sc. stone, cf. e. above) (Chouli).
- 929 a—d. *giwək / jiwək / y ü (primary form of e. below, Shuowen, hence the reading) territory, state (inscr. 57); loan for *g'wək / ywək / h u o T some, someone, something (Shī); (some chances of:) possibly, perhaps (Tso); either-or (Shī; loan for q. below (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 6,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 57), d. is Chou I (inscr. 71). The graph has 'dagger-axe' and 'mouth' in the oldest forms.
- e—f. *giwak / jiwak / y ü T territory, state (Lunyü), boundary (Shī), universe (Lao). f. is Chou II (inser. 182, rad. 163 inst. of 32).
- g—i. *giwək / jiwək / y ü T, L a kind of bushy tree (Shī). h. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name), i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- j. *giwak / jiwak / y ü T, L fishing net (Shī).
- k. *giwək/jiwək/yü Τ, L, and *χiwək/χiwək/h ü Τ, L threshold (Lunyū).
- 1. *xiwək / xiwək / h ü T, L city moat (Shī).
- m. *χiwək / χiwək / h ü L to whistle (as the wind) (Chuang).
- n. *xiwək / xiwək / h ü T, and *giwək / jiwək / y ü L, K seam (Shī).
- o—p. *kwək / kwək / k u o T state, country (Shī), capital city (Chouli). p. is Chou I (inscr. 84).
- q. *g'wək / γwək / h u o Τ deceive, delusion (Lunyü); doubt (Lunyü).

- r. *g'wək / ywək / h u o T, L, and *giwək / jiwək / y ü T, L a kind of water-insect (Shī).
- s. *kwek / kwek / k u o T hollow at back of knee (Sün).
- t. *kwek / kwek / k u o T, L frog (Chouli).
- u. *kwek / kwek / k u o T, L cut off the left ear (Shī); loan for id. (so L) parched, wizened (sc. face) (Chuang, so acc. to the Sī-ma comm.).
- v. variant of the preceding (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- x. variant of the preceding (c h a o 'claw, hand' radical) (inser. 67). x. is Chou I (inser. 67).
- y. **iŭk / 'iuk / y ü T, L richly-giving, flourishing (sc. millet) (Shī).
 Of the above, a. and e. *giwak 'state' and o. *kwak 'state' are cognate words.
- 980 a. *xiwək / xiwək / h ü T, L water-channel, ditch, moat (Lunyü); empty (Kuan); loan for id. excessive, bad (Chuang; so acc. to some comm.). The character was primarily read *xiwĕt, and therefore fit is phonetic, see group 410 d. above. It was then applied to our synonymous word here, which is identical with 929 l. above. Abbreviated phonetic in the following derivates.
- b. *\(\chi\)iwək / \(\chi\)iwək / h \(\text{u} T\), \(\text{L}\), and *\(\chi\)iwəg / \(\chi\)jwi / h u e i T, L still, quiet (Sh\(\text{i}\)).
- c. *χiwək / χiwek / h ü T, L, and *χiwăk / χiwäk / h ü T burst, cleave (said of egg shells) (Li).
- 981 a—b. *kek / kek / k o T hide, skin (Shī); to change feathers (said of birds) (Shī); change (Yi); (flay, peel:) take away (Tso); loan for *kink / kink / k i L extreme (Li). b. is Chou II (inser. 166). The graph is a drawing.
- c. * $k\varepsilon k / k\varepsilon k / k$ o T to change (Sün).
- d. $*g' \varepsilon k / \gamma \varepsilon k / h$ o T wing (Shī, Han version ap. L.).
- 982 a—c. *mwek / mwek / m o, m a i T wheat (Shī). b. is Yin bone (I 10: 8), c. is Chou I (inscr. 64, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- 933 a—c. *b'iūk / b'iuk / f u K Shuowen says: full, fullness (abundance); but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph shows a wine vessel, and if this



- is not simply the primary form of d. below, for which it serves in the oracle inscriptions, then it is etymologically closely cognate to it (abundance: happiness). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 23,8, sense of d. below), c. is Chou II (inscr. 197, sense of d. below).
- d—h. *piŭk / piuk / f u T happiness, blessing (Shī). e. is Yin bone (A 4: 2,8), f. is Yin bone (B hia 27: 6), g. is Chou I (inscr. 58), h. is Chou I (inscr. 87).
- i. *piŭk / piuk / f u T, L a plant with edible fruit and root (Shi).
- i. *piuk / piuk / f u T, L spokes of a wheel (Shi).
- k. *piŭk / piuk / f u T, L width (of cloth) (Tso); limit (Tso), territorial border (Shī); *piŭk / piuk / f u T, L, and *piok / piok / p i L, K strap round the leg (Shī).
- 1. *piŭk | piuk | f u L, K, and *piok | piok | pi T, L piece of wood fastened across a bull's horns (Shī); stand for arrows (Yili).
- m. *b'iŭk / b'iuk / f u L, K, and *b'ək / b'ək / p o T, L crawl (Shī).
- n. *piək / piək / pi L, K encroach upon (Li); press upon (Meng); *piŭk / piuk / f u L, K place name (Ch'unts'iu).
- o. *pijk / pijk / pi L, K bath-house (Li).
- **p.** *piək / piək / p i T, L to urge, press (Meng); close (Γso).
- **q.** $*p^*i \ni k / p^*i \ni k / p$ i L, K, and $*p \ni k / p \ni k / p$ o L split, cut open (Chouli).
- r. *piŭg / piżu / f u T rich, wealth (Shī).
- s. *p'iŭg / p'iœu / f u T, L aid, assistant (Lü); a kind of head dress (Shī); *p'iæk / p'iæk / p' i T, L cleave, divide (Shī).
 Of the above, d. *piŭk 'happiness' and r. *piŭg 'rich' are cognate words.
- 984 a—c. *b'įŭk / b'įuk / f u T subdue, submit (inscr. 184). b. is Yin bone (A 4:8,2), c. is Chou II (inscr. 184). The graph has a kneeling man and a hand.
- d—f. *b'iŭk / b'iuk / f u T dominate, subdue (Shī); domesticate, train and use (animals) (Yi); be dominated, submit to (Shī); serve, service, business, labour (Shī), intense thoughts (Shī); (subjugated area:) district, dependence (Shu); loan for id. garment, robe (Shī), to wear (Shī); a quiver (Shī); *b'iŭg / b'iūu / f u L box of a carriage (Chouli). e. is Chou I (inscr. 63), f. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Meaning of the additional element uncertain.
- g. *b'įŭk / b'įuk / f u L, K a quiver (Chouli), cf. the preceding.
- 935 a—b. *b'iŭk / b'iuk / f u T, L prostrate (Shī); throw down (Shu); submit (Shī); be hidden, ambush (Shī); loan for *b'iŭg / b'ižu / f u T, L to hatch (Li); loan for 匐 (Tso). b. is pre-Han (inser. 410, sense of name). The graph has 'man' and 'dog'.
- 936 a—c. *kəg / kại / k a i T change (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 10,6), c. is pre-Han (inser. 445, sense of name). The graph has 'baton, beat' and 已 s ī, explanation uncertain.
- 937 a—f. *g'ag / y\hat{q}i / h a i T cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (E 258: 3), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 44,2), d. is Yin bone (A 1: 52,3), e. is Yin (inser. 12), f. is Chou I (inser. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *g'ag / γάi / h a i T, L smile as a baby (Li); *k'ag / k'ái / k ' a i L cough (Li).

 h. *g'ag / γάi / h a i T, L smile as a baby (Lao); child (Kuoyü), young of animals
- (Li). i. $*g' \ni g / \gamma \hat{a}i / h a i - T$ suffer (Hanfei).
- j. *kɔg / kai / kai T, L a N. Pr. (Kuliang); *ngəg / ngai / ai L to swallow (Chuang).
- k. *kag / kai / kai T circumscription, territory (Kuoyü).

- 1. *kəg / kāi / k a i T a hundred million (Kuoyü).
- m. *kəq / kāi / k a i K all, complete (Kuoyü).
- o. *kəq / kāi / k a i L, K great toe (Chuang).
- p. *kəg / kāi / k a i T all, complete (Kuliang), cf. m. above.
- q. *kəg / kāi / k a i T, L provide (Chuang).
- r. *kəg / kāi / k a i T, L steps, staircase (Shī in the name of a lost ode); loan for 990 f. below (Yili).
- s. $*k \cdot \partial g / k' \hat{a}i / k$ a i T, L cough (Li, cf. g. above); guffaw (Chuang).
- t. *ngəg | ngâi | a i K obstruct, hinder (Lie).
- u. *ngəg / ngâi / a i T, L obstruct, hinder (Lie).
- v. *k'ək / k'o T engrave (Tso), to cut, wound (Shu); (cutting:) intense (Kuots'ê).
- **z.** $*g'\partial k / \gamma \partial k / h$ o T, L, and $*g'\partial g / \gamma \partial i / h$ a i T, L investigate, try (a culprit) (only Han time text ex.).
- y. *g'eg / yāi / h i e T, L alarmed, frightened (Tso).
- **z.** *g'εg / yǎi / h i e T, L bones, skeleton (Tso).
- a'. *g'εk / γεk / h o T, L kernel (Shī); (go to the kernel:) scrutinize (Chuang), cf. x. above.
- 938 a. * g / (i / a i) T, L oh yes! (Chuang). The graph has 'mouth' and 'exclamation'. Abbreviated phonetic in the following.
- **b.** *'-2g / '\di / a i T, L dust (Li).
- c. *' $\partial g / \dot{a}i / ai T$, and *' $\varepsilon g / \dot{a}i / v ai T$ beat (Lie).
- d. * $\partial g / \dot{\alpha}i / ai T$ sigh, moan (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. *χiəg / χji / h i K amusement (Ch'uts'ī).
- t. *χiəg / χji / h i K, L (several more readings) fie! ah! (Tso ap' Shuowen).
- 939 a. *d'ag / d'āi / t' a i T tower, elevated terrace (Shī); loan for id. servant (Tso); a kind of rush (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 940 a—c. *tsəg / tsēi / t s a i T calamity, disaster, injury (Shī); b. is Yin bone (A 2: 22,2), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 22,1). The modern graph has 'flowing water' and 'fire'. The archaic graph (b.) had only 'flowing water' obstructed, this indicated by a cross stroke; sometimes (as in c.) the latter has been shaped so as to be phonetic at the same time (see 943 below).
- d. variant of the preceding (Chouli). The graph here has 'fire' and 'roof' (house).
- 941 a—c. *tsəg / tsāi / t s a i T twice, second, again (Tso. b. is Chou III (inscr. 220), c. is Chou IV (inscr. 288). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 942 a—c. *ts'əg / ts'āi / ts'ai T, L gather, pluck (Shī); variegated (Shī); numerous (Shī); loan for id. business (Shu); loan for e. below (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (E 242: 1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 90). The graph has 'tree' and 'hand'.
- d. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- e—f. *ts'ag / ts'ai / t s ' a i T (gathered herbs:) edible herbs, vegetables (Shī). f. is Chou I (inser. 97, sense of part of name).
- 943 a—f. *dz'əq / dz'&i / t s 'a i T endowment, ability, talent (Tso), well-endowed, able, strong (Shī); loan for c'. below (Kuots'ê). b. is Yin bone (A 1:9,7), c. is Yin



bone (A 1: 42,1), d. is Yin (inser. 25), e. is Yin (inser. 4), f. is Chou I (inser. 54) — in all these (b—f.) sense of i. below. Explanation of graph uncertain. Observe that in the oldest script the same symbols could sometimes serve for several different words. Thus the cross serves for both 七, 甲 and 才.

- g. *dz'əg / dz'āi / t s 'a i T timber, wood stuff, material (Meng); treasures (Tso); disposition, natural qualities (Li).
- h. *dz'əg / dz'@i / t s 'a i T wealth, valuables (Shu); (mental resources:) talent (Meng).
 a., g. and h. are etymologically the same word.
- i—k. *dz'əg / dz'ḍi / t s a i (oblique tone) T be at, in, on (Shī); be present (Shī); in, at, on (Shī); residence (Shī); consist in (Li); be living (Lunyü); loan for id. examine (Shu). j. is Chou I (inser. 57), k. is Chou I (inser. 65).
- 1—0. *tsəg / tsâi / t s a i K to hurt, damage (Yin bone A 5: 9,3). m. is Yin bone (B shang 14: 6), n. is Yin bone (A 5: 9,3),
- o. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of a'. below).
- p—q. *tsəg / tsāi / t s a i K to set out food, to serve (inscr. 58). q. is Chou I (inscr. 58).
- r. *tsiog / tsi / t s i T, L small tripod (Shi).
- s. *tsiag / tsi / tsi L, K black (Li).
- t—u. *dz'ɛg / dz'ĕi / c h 'a i T, L wolf (Shī). u. is Chou (inscr. 368, sense of name).

 ▼—x. *tsəg / tsái / t s a i K a particle (Shī); to begin (Shu). x. is Chou III (inscr. 218).
- y. *tsəg / tsậi / t s a i T, L to plant (Li); *dz'əg / dz'ậi / t s a i L, K to board, erect building frames (Tso).
- z. *tsəg / tsåi / t s a i T calamity (Li), same word as 940 a. above.
- a'—b'. *tsəg / tsāi / t s a i T conveyance (Shu), be conveyed in a carriage, to load, (Shī); contain (Shī); carry (Tso); fill (Shī); to record (Tso), item, business (Shu); start (Shī); achieve (Shu); (a completed whole:) year (Shu); loan for [1] (Shī); *dz'əg / dz'āi / t s a i T to load, a load (Shī). b'. is Chou IV (inser. 293, phonetic a. inst. of l.).
- c'. *dz'əg / dz'āi / t s 'a i (even tone) T, L, and *dz'əg / dz'āi / t s a i (oblique tone) T, L cut out clothes (Li); regulate, moderate (Kuoyü); decide (Tso).
- d'. *tsiog / tsi / ts i T, L minced meat (Shi).

- e'. *təg | tai T carry on the head (Meng); have above oneself (Li): to bear, support (Tso).
- 944 a—e. *log / låi / lai Ta kind of wheat (Shī); loan for id. come (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 17,6), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 25,3), d. is Yin (inser. 22), e. is Chou I (inser. 73). The graph is a drawing of a wheat plant.
- f. *lag / lai / lai T come (Ch'uts'i).
- g—h. *log / lâi / lai K says: come; but there are no text examples of this. h. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- i. *log / lai / lai T Shuowen says: stimulate (causative of a. above: cause to come); but there are no text examples of this. The character is often erroneously used for 动.
- j. *log / låi / lai T, L a kind of weed (Shī).
 k—l. *log / låi / lai T, L give (Shī). l. is pre-Han (inscr. 419).
- m. *log / låi / la i T, L horse seven ch' i high or more (Shi).
- 945 a—c. *nəg / nāi / n a i T your (Shu); loan for 946 below. id. then, therupon (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 36,1), c. is Chou I (inser. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *nəg / nāi / n a i L, K big tripod (Shī).
- e. *niəng / niziəng / j e n g T, L repeat, as before (Lunyü); forthwith (Shī); loan for f. below (Lao).
- f. *niəng / nziəng / j e n g T, L to pull, push (Lao).
- g—i. *niəng | niziəng | j e n g T herbs growing freely without ever being cut (Lie).
 i. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- j. *diəng / iəng / y ü n T pregnant (Tso). The Pek. y ü n is irregular, we should expect a y i n g.
- 946 a—d. *nəg / nāi / n a i T then, thereupon (Shī). This must be a loan application; the primary sense of the character is not known through any text example. b. is Yin bone (B hia 20,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56), d. is Chou I (inscr. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 947 a—e. *məg / məu / m u T mother (Shī); loan for 模 (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 31,1), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 3,4), d. is Yin (inscr. 10), e. is Chou I (inscr. 56). The graph is sometimes identical with that of 女 'woman', sometimes distinguished by two dots marking the breasts.

- *mag / mau / m u T, L female teacher in harem (Tso).
- *mag / mau / m u T, L the great toe (Yi), the thumb (Kuoyü).
- *miŭk / miuk / m u T place name (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- i-k. *mwəg / muậi / m e i T, L flourishing, rich, abundant (sc. growth) (Tso); loan for id. each, every, whenever (Shi); covetous (Chuang); dark, confused (Chuang), j. is Yin bone (A 2: 2,6, sense here uncertain), k. is Chou II (inscr. 132, sense of u. below). The radical is a drawing of some branches.
- 1. *mwəg | muậi | m e i T plum tree (Shī), plum (Tso); loan for t. below (Li). m. *mwəg | muậi | m e i T, L meat on sides of spine (Yi).
- n. *mwəq / muāi / m e i T, L dog's big collar-ring with two smaller rings on it (Shī).
- o-p. *məg / məu / m u, m o u L, K Chinese acre (Chouli). p. is Chou I (inscr. 118).
- *mwəg | muâi | m e i T, L, and *\gammamwəg | \gammau\delta i | L, K pain, distress
- *zmwəg | xuāi | h u e i T upper lines in divinatory hexagrams (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- *zmwəg / zuāi / h u e i T repent, regret (Shī).
- *xmwəg / xuāi / h u e i T, L last day of a moon (Tso); dark, darkness (Shī); reticent (Tso).
- -v. *γmwəg / χuậi / h u e i T instruct (shī). v. is Chou II (inscr. 172).
- **x—y.** * $\chi m g / \chi \tilde{a} i / h a i T sea (Shi). y. is Chou I (inscr. 54).$
- 948 a—b. *məq / məu / m o u T, L so and so, a certain (Shu); b. is Chou I (inscr. 60, sense of f. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *mwəg | muậi | m e i T, L match-maker, go-between (Shī); loan for 睐 (Chuang).
- d. *mwəg / muāi / m e i T soot (Lü).
- e. *mwəg / muāi / m e i T, L sacrifice in order to get children (Li).
- *miŭq / miðu / m o u T (one T ms. has mðu, but the placing in its rime series reveals this to be a slip) scheme, plan (Shī); examine (Shu); consult (Tso).
- 949 a. *məg / məu / m u, m o u T. Chinese acre (Shī), same word as 947 o. above. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 950 a. *χwəg / χuάi / h u e i T ashes (Chuang), charcoal (Li). The graph has 'fire' and 又 'hand'.
- *k'wəg / k'uâi / k' u e i T, L great, extend (Tso).
- c. *mwəg (gmwəg?) / muâi / m e i T, L meat on sides of spine (Li), cf. 947 m. above.
- 951 a—b. *b'wəg / b'uâi / pei, p'ei T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) to wear hanging at the girdle, pendants (Shi). b. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph has 'man', 'kerchief' and above the latter an element of uncertain interpretation.
- c. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- 952 a—e. *kiog / kji / k i L, K Shuowen says: winnowing basket, thus taking it to be the primary form of f. below; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. a particle (Shī); for *g'iəq / g'ji / k ' i — T this (Lunyü); his, her, its, their (Shī); modal particle: will probably (Shī), wish that (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58), d. is Chou I (inscr. 107), e. is Chou II (inscr. 140). The graph is a drawing of a basket.
- f. *kipg / kji / k i T, L winnowing basket, dust-basket (Li).
- g—i. *kiəq / kii / k i T base, foundation (Shī); establish (Shī); loan for id. hoe (Meng). h. is Yin bone (P 354, sense of name), i. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 310, sense of k. below).

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- j. $*ki \ni g / kji / ki T$, L year (Shu).
- k. *kiəq / kji / k i T a year (Yi); a full fixed time (Li); loan for id. a final particle (Shī); *g'iəg / g'ji / k' i — T a stipulated time (Shī); end, limit (Shī); wait for, expect (Chuang).
- *kiag / kji / ki K a year (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- m. *kiog / kji / ki T, L hiang ki millet, grain (Li; Cheng Hüan here takes k i to be a *particle*, which is very unlikely).
- **n.**—o. * $ki \ni g / kji / ki$ T to plan (T, no text ex.); * $k' \ni g / k'ji / k'$ i K Shuowen says: deceive, thus taking it to be a variant of q. below; no text examples. o. is Chou I (inscr. 105, sense of name).
- * $k'i \ni g \mid k'ii \mid k'i K \text{ mask (Sün)}.$
- q. *k'iəg / k'ji / k'i T deceive, cheat (Lunyü).
 r—s. *g'iəg / g'ji / k'i (variant of k., hence the reading) fixed time, end, limit (inser. 224). s. is Chou III (inser. 224).
- **t—u.** * $g'i \ni g / g'ji / k'i$ T chess, game (Tso).
- **v.** $*g'i \ni g / g'ji / k'i T flag (Tso).$
- *g'iəg | g'ji | k'i T a kind of jade (Mu t'ien tsī chuan).
- y. *g'iog | g'ji | k'i T, L prosperity, fortunate (Shi).
- z. *g'iəg/g'ji/k'i T, L grey (Shī); *g'iəg/g'ji/k'i (even tone) T, L, and *g'iəg | g'ji | k i — (oblique tone) L sandal cord (Li); loan for g. above (Sün), for 極 (Sün).
- a'. *q'iəq | q'ii | k' i T, L bluish black horse (Shī); bluish black (Shī); checkered horse (Shī); fine horse (Kuots'ê).
- b'. $*g'i \ni g / g'ji / k$ ' i T unicorn (Li).
- c'. *g'izg / g'ji / k i (oblique tone) T, L pernicious, damage (Tso); instruct (Tso).
- d'. *g'iag / g'ii / k i T fear (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- e'. *g'iəg / g'ji / k ' i T, L jade ornaments attached at seams of cap (Chouli).
- f'. *k'iəg / k'ji / k'i T, L dance unsteadily (like drunk) (Shi).
- 953 a—e. *kipg / kji / k i T cyclical character (Tso); self (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (E 39:4), c. is Yin bone (E 197:1), d. is Yin (inscr. 12), e. is Chou I (inscr. 58). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **f.** *kipg / kji / k i T lady's name (inscr. 79). g. is Chou I (inscr. 79), Chou II (inscr. 201).

- i. *kiəg / kji / k i T regulate (Shī), rule, norm (Li); regular series, sequel, cycle of years (Kuoyü); follow up, continue (Li); record, to record (Tso); loan for $\stackrel{*}{\cancel{=}}$ (Shī).
- j. *kiəg / kji / k i T record (Shu).
- k. *k'iəg / k'ji / k'i T, L hill bare of vegetation (Shī).
- 1—p. *k' jag | k'ji | k'i T, L a kind of willow (Shī); Lycium chinense (Shī). m. is Yin bone (A 2: 8,7, sense of name), n. is Yin (inscr. 35, sense of name), o. and p. are Chou II/III (inscr. 248, sense of name).
- q. *k'iəg | k'ji | k'i T, L a kind of millet (Shī); Cichorium or Lactuca (Shī).
- s—t. *g'iəg | g'ji | k i T dread (Shī); hate (Shī); show respect for (Tso); abstain from, taboo (Chouli); loan for *kiəg | kji | k i L final particle (Shī). t. is Chou III (inser. 217).
- **u—v.** * $g'i \ni g / g'ji / k i$ T warn, take warning (inscr. 301). v. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 301).
- x. *g'i@g / g'ji / k i T, L kneel (Chuang).
- y—b'. *g'i2g | g'ji | k i (Yüp'ien and Tsiyün, not in T or K; same word as x., confirming the reading) Yüp'ien says: to kneel; Shuowen says: to squat on crossed legs; no text examples. z. is Yin (inscr. 9, sense of name), a'. is Chou II (inscr. 141, sense of part of name), b'. is Chou II (inscr. 182, sense of name).
- 954 a—c. *giəg / i / y i T different (Shī); rare (Shī); aberrant, strange (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 38,6, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of d. below). The graph shows a human figure with the head drawn in an unusual fashion.
- d. *giək / jək / yi T wing (Shī); (keep the wings over) protect, shelter (Tso); aid (Shu); loan for id. respectful, reverent (Shī), orderly (Shī); next-following (sc. day) (Shu).
- e—f. *giək / iək / yi T, and *giəg / i / yi T Shuowen says: tent; T says: respectful; there are no text examples in support of these meanings. f. is Chou I (inscr. 111, sense of name).
- **g—h.** *'t' $i \ni k \mid \hat{t}' i \ni k \mid c$ h' \bar{i} T sound of marching (inser. 323). h. is Chou III/IV (inser. 323).
- i. *giək / jək / y i T drip (Kuan).
- 955 a—c. *χiog / χji / h i T joy (Yi), rejoice (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1:1,3), c. is Chou II (inscr. 197). The graph has 'drum' and 'mouth'.
- d. variant of the preceding (Ta Tai li).
- e. *χiəg / χji / h i T, L exclamation of joy (Yi) or fear (Tso).
- 1. $*\chi i \ni g / \chi j i / h i$ T, L an outcry, oh! (Tso).
- **g—h.** * $\chi i \rightarrow g / \chi j i / h i$ T amuse oneself (Ta Tai li). h. is Yin bone (H 1: 21,12).
- i. *χį əg / χji / h i Τ warm, harmonious (Ta Tai li).
- \mathbf{j} — \mathbf{k} . * $\chi i \ni g / \chi j i / h i$ T shine (Kuan).
- 1. $\hat{t}'i\partial g/t\hat{s}'i/ch'i$ T, L cooked sacrificial millet (Shi).
- m. variant of the preceding (Shī).
- 956 a. *ngiəg | ngji | y i T to doubt (Lunyü), suspect, hesitate (Li); as if, appearing as (Li); to fear (Li); *ngiək | ngiək | y i L to fix on, settle on (Shī; later comm. take our word here to be loan for h. below and read ngiəng); ? | ngiĕt | y i L stand still, stop (Yili); loan for d. below (Yili). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *ngjəg / ngji / y i T, L compare (Li); loan for a. above (Sün).
- c. *ngiəg | ngji | y i T name of a mountain (in Ch'uts'ī written without the radical at the top); loan for *ngiək | ngiək | y i T, L understand, discern (Shī, so the Mao comm.).

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- d. *ngiəg / ngji / y i T estimate, calculate (Yi).
- e. *ngiəg / ngji / y i T, L, and *ngiək / ngiək / y i T, L luxuriant growth (of grain) (Shī).
- *ngiəg / ngji / y i T, and *ngiək / ngiək / y i T horn-shaped (Ch'uts'i).
- g. *ngəg / ngāi / a i T, L obstruct (Lie).
- h. *ngiəng / ngiəng / n i n g T, L freeze, coagulate (Shī); solid, to fix (Yi); concentrate, achieve (Shu).
- 957 a. ** i og / i / y i T to think (Shī), thought, intention, will (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *' $i \ni g \mid i \mid y = T$, L alas, oh! (Shī); *' $\epsilon g \mid \check{a}i \mid y = i L$, K belch (Li).
- c. * i g / i / y i T, L the swallow (Chuang).
- d. *'jəg / 'i / y i L, K, and *'jək / 'jək / y i T, L drink made of prune juice (Li); loan for * $\varepsilon g / \check{a}i / y$ a i — pent-up breath (Chuang).
- e. * iək / iək / yi T, L a hundred thousand, a great number (Shī); calculate, provide (Tso); satisfied, tranquil (Tso).
- *·iək / ·iək / y i T remember (Li).
- g. * isk / isk / y i T, L a kind of tree (Chouli).
- h. * iək / iək / y i L, K border, decorative band (Yili).

 i. * iək / iək / y i T bosom (Lie).
- - Of the above, a. * iog 'think' and f. * iok 'remember' are cognate words.
- 958 a. * i og / i / y i T, L physician (Tso); potion (Chouli). The character must be some kind of composite ideogram, for the upper part (-r class) cannot be phonetic; the Archaic final is here is certain because of the T rime.
- **959 a.** * $i'_{i} = j = f'_{i} = f'_{i$ 'heart'.
- 960 a—b. *giog / i / y i K chin (inscr. 244, part of name: Hei-yi 'Black-chin'). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 244). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- c. *giog / i / y i T, L chin (Li); loan for id. nourish (Li).
- **d—e.** $*g_{i} = g / i / y_i K$ Shuowen says: broad chin; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 298, sense of j. below).



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- f-h. *kiəq / kii / k i T. L family name (Shī); a fine lady (Shī). g. is Chou II (inscr. 149), h. is Chou II/III (inser. 259).
- * \hat{t} 'iəg / ts'i / c h ' i T, L Iris (Li).
- *xiəg / xji / h i T, L brightness, splendour (Shī).
- *t'iag / ts'i / c h'ī L, K cooked sacrificial millet (Chouli), see 955 l. above.
- 961 a-f. *tipg / tsi / c h i T foot (Chuang); to stop, to rest, remain, dwell (Shi); to stop (action), detain (Lunyü); proper deportment (Shī); loan for id. a particle (Shī). b. is Yin bone (I 9: 16), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 19.1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 57), e. is Chou II (inscr. 140), f. is Chou II (inscr. 150, sense of name). The graph, which is a drawing of a foot, is mostly used both in the bone and the bronze inscriptions as loan for the homophonous Z in its various meanings, see 962 below.
- g. $*\hat{t}i \rightarrow g / t \approx i / c h = T$, L foot (Shi).
- **h**—i. $\hat{t}_{i,j}$ \hat{t}_{i,j
- j. * $\hat{t}i \rightarrow \hat{t}i \rightarrow \hat{t}i / ch i K$ a fragrant plant (Ch'uts'i).

- 1. $\hat{t'igg}/t\hat{s'i}/c$ h' \bar{i} T front teeth (Sh \bar{i}). m—0. $\hat{t'igg}/t\hat{s'i}/c$ h' \bar{i} T hall (only Han time text ex.); s \bar{i} j e n eunuch (Sh \bar{i}) (s \bar{i} je n may mean 'hall-man', guardian of the hall; but some authorities, e. g. Sü Miao, read it in this sense as loan for x. below). n. is Chou III (inser. 217), o. is Chou III (inscr. 220, sense of x.). In the modern character the phonetic il (quite clear in the archaic graph) has been corrupted into ±.
- * $d'i \ni g / d'i / c h'i (even tone) T to grasp, hold (Tso).$
- *d'iag | d'i | c h i (oblique tone) T, L pile up, accumulate (Shi).
- variant of the preceding (Shī ap. L). r.
- *d'i j g / d'i / c h i T, L to store, prepare (Shi).
- * $d'\hat{i} g / d'i / c h i T$, L piles (Chuang).
- *d'i g / d'i / c h i T stop, hesitate, not advance (Chuang).
- * $\hat{t}i\partial g/t\dot{s}i/c$ h i T islet (Mu t'ien tsi chuan), same as h. above.
- * $digg / \dot{z}i / sh \ddot{i}$ T accompany, wait upon (Tso). X.
- * $d_{i \ni g} / \dot{z}_i / s h i T$ depend on, rely on (Shi).
- **z**—**a**'. $\dot{d}_{ijg}/\dot{z}_i/sh\bar{i}$ T time (Shī); sometimes (Shī); then, now (Shī); season (Shī); at all times, constantly (Lunyü); loan for id. this (Shī). a'. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323).
- b'—c'. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i). c'. is Yin bone (A 6: 24,7).
- d'. *siag / si / s h i T poem, ode (Shi); loan for id. receive (Li).

- e'—f'. *\$i@g | \$i | s h i T place name (Tso). f'. is Chou II/III (inscr. 254).
- g'. *d'əg / d'âi / t a i T wait, await (Lunyü); treat, behave to (Lunyü).
- h'. *d'ək / d'ək / t'ê T (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) bull (Shī), male animal (Chouli); 3 years old animal (Shī); loan for id. single, an only one (Shī), only (Lü); exceptional, eminent (Shī); especially (Tso); straight, upright (Shī); (one of two:) a mate (Shī).
- i'. *təng / təng / teng T step of a stair (Lunyü); class, degree (Yi), rank (Tso); classify (Chouli) (in this last sense also read *təg / tôi / t a i T).
- j'. *diəg / źi / s h ī T, L fowl-holes in wall (Shī).
- k'. *d'iag / d'i / c h i T, L provide, prepare (Kuoyü).
- 962 a—b. *figg / tśi / c h ī T go to (Shī); loan for id. this (Shī); him, her, it, them (Shī); genitive and attributive particle (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,1). This archaic graph for 'go to' is indeed only a variant of 止 'foot', as proved by the archaic graphs for 先, which has Yin bone forms with both variants as upper part. Cf. also 961 b'—c'. above
- c. * $\hat{t}i\partial g / t\hat{s}i / c$ h i T, L a kind of mushroom (Li); a fragrant plant (Ta Tai li).
- d. *\(\hat{i}\) i g / ts' i / c h' \(\tilde{i}\) T, L honest, simple (Sh\(\tilde{i}\)). The phonetic at the top must have been either \(\sigma\) or \(\frac{1}{2}\), to judge from the seal form of Shuowen.
- e. *Îiəg | tśi | c h ī T aim, goal (Shu); will, purpose (Lunyü); spirit, mind (Tso); sign, emblem (Li); record (Tso); keep in mind (Kuoyü). The phonetic at the top must have been either Z or 1, to judge from the seal form of Shuowen.
- **f.** $*\hat{t}i \ni g \mid t \not \circ i \mid c \mid h \mid i T \text{ record (Lie)}.$
- 968 a. *diog / źi / s h ï T market, market-place (Shī); to deal (Kuoyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 964 a—j. *tsiog / tsi / t s ī T son, daughter, child (Shī); treat as a child (Shī); the young of animals (Shī); gentleman (Shī), young lady (Shī); master (Lunyü); prince, viscount (Tso); cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 4,1), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 15,3), d. is Chou II (inser. 151), e. is Yin bone (M 197), f. is Yin (inser. 10), g. is Chou I (inser. 58), h. is Yin bone (A 3: 7,5), i. is Yin bone (A 3: 22,7) j. is Chou I (inser. 97).

We must distinguish two series here:

- A. There was one which occurs exclusively as cyclical character, viz. n:r 1 of the 12 series (子). To this series belong our examples b., c. and d. there are a great many variations in the execution of this character.
- B. Secondly, there was the graph with a simple circle as head and a rudimentary body with two arms. This has two applications:
 - a. It may serve in the sense of 'son', 'gentleman' etc., our examples e., f. and g.
- β . It may serve as cyclical character, but then never as the 1 st of the 12 cycle (\mathcal{F}) but always as the 6th, in later times always writtens \square (* $dzi \circ g / zi / s i$), our examples f. (in this inser. same char. in two meanings), h., i. and j.
- k. *tsiəg / tsi / t s ī T, L carry, sustain (Shī).
- 1. *tsiag / tsi / ts i T, L diligent (Shu).
- m. *tsigg | tsi | t s i T, L to hoe earth round plants (Shi).
- n—o. *dz'iəg / dz'i / t s ī T to breed (Yi); to love, fondle (Shī); to foster (Tso); adolescent's name, designation (Tso); compound character in the script, written character (Han time text ex.). o. is Chou III (inscr. 225).
 - Of the above, a. *tsigg 'child' and n. *dz'igg 'breed' etc. are cognate words.

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965 a. *tsiəg / tsi / t s ï — T, L Catalpa (Shï). The graph has 'tree' and sin 'cyclical character, bitter' etc., explanation uncertain. Abbreviated phonetic in:

b—d. *tsəg / tsāi / t s a i — T steward (Shī), minister (Shī); to butcher (Tso). c. is Yin bone (O 1196, sense of name), d. is Chou I (inscr. 88).

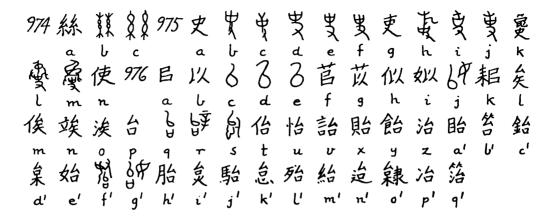
966 a. *tsjag / tsi / t s i — K black (Tso ap. Shuowen).

b-f. *tsiag / tsi / tsī - T mat (Kungyang); loan for id. this (Shī). c. is Yin bone (A 1: 10,3), d. is Yin bone (A 1: 51,1), e. is Chou I (inscr. 58), f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323).

Shuowen distinguishes these two (a:b) homophonous words; the archaic inscriptions have the graphs c-f., all in the sense of 'this', which may account for both characters. Explanation uncertain.

- *tsiəg / tsi / t s ī T sigh (Kuots'ê); to taste (Lü).
 *tsiəg / tsi / t s ī T, L abundant (Shu); grow, extend, increase (Meng); dirty (Tso); juice, spittle (Li); loan for k. below (Kuoyü).
 - *tsiog / tsi / tsi T hoe (Meng).
- *dz'iəg | dz'i | t s i T affectionate, loving, kind (Tso).
- *dz'iəg / dz'i / t s ī T, L copulate, breed (Shu); loan for 964 l. above (Li).
- 967 a—c. *dziəg | zi | s ī T cyclical character (Tso), cf. 子 above. b. is Yin bone (E 263: 4, sense of d. below?), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense here uncertain). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d—h. *dziəg / zi / s ī T sacrifice (Shī); (autumnal sacrifice after harvest:) year (Shu). e. is Yin bone (A 2: 22,2), f. is Yin (inscr. 22), g. is Chou I (inscr. 65), h. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- i—j. *dziəg / zi / s ī T, L branch led from a river and led to it again (Shī). j. is Yin bone (A 4: 13,6, sense here uncertain).
- k. *dz'iəq / dz'i / s h ï T, L corners of the hall platform where the stairs descended (Shu).
- 968 a. *dziąg / zi / s i, t s i T words, speech (Shi); accusation (Shu); make excuses (Lunyü), decline, refuse (Lunyü); take leave (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- 969 a—b. *tsiag / tsi / tsī T Shuowen takes a. to be the primary form of c—d. below; but there are no text examples of this. It distinguishes b. as a homophonous word meaning 'earthenware'; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. In the following series the phonetic may be written a. or b. ad libitum. It is little likely that they are two separate and homophonous words. If a. is the primary graph (and b. a corruption), then 940 b. above is phonetic. If, on the other hand, b. is the primary form (and a. a corruption), then it may be a compound ideogram for 'recently broken field', c-d. below, the graph having 'field' and 'running water' (irrigation).
- c-d. *tsigg / tsi / tsi T, L recently broken field (Shī); loan for id. standing dead tree stumps (Shī); cleave (Chouli); loan for \$\mathscr{K}\$ (Shī).
- e—f. *tsiəg / tsi / ts ï T, L black (Shī).
 g—h. *tsiəg / tsi / ts ï T, L carriage with screens (Kuan).
- i-i. *tsiag / tsi / tsi T, L name of an ancient weight (Li).
- 970 a—c. *dz'iəg / dz'i / s h ī T officer (Shī); scholar (Lunyü); gentleman, man (Shī); warrior (Shī); a judge (Shu); to serve (Shī). b. is Yin bone (N 1: 11, p. 142, sense here uncertain), c. is Chou I (inscr. 98). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *dz'iəg | dz'i | s h i T to practise (Shī), serve, office (Shī).
- 971 a—c. *dz'iaq / dz'i / s h i T to practise (Lunyü), serve (Shi), service, office, occupation (Shī); affair (Tso); sacrifice (Li). b. is Chou I (inser. 59), c. is Chou I (inser. 70). There is really no fundamental difference in the archaic graphs between 事, 史 and 吏 (使), see group 975 below. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *tsiag / tsi / tsi T pick, hoe (Kuan).
- 972 a—e. *siəq / si / s ī T superintend, regulate, govern (Shī); officer (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 14,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 69), d. is Chou II (inscr. 151), e. is Chou II (inscr. 162). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *siog / si / s i T to spy (Kuoyü).
- g. *sipg / si / s i T, L basket (Li).
- h—i. *dziog / zi / s ī T, L spring sacrifice (Shī); sacrifice (Chouli). i. is Chou III (inser. 237).
- j. *dziog / zi / s ī T utterance, word, expression (Hanfei).
- k-m. *dziəg / zi / s ī T continue, succeed, inherit (Shī). l. is Chou I (inscr. 65), m. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 329).
- 978 a. *sipg / si / s \(\bar{i}\) T think (Sh\(\bar{i}\)); loan for id. a particle (Sh\(\bar{i}\)); for *sipg / si / s \(\bar{i}\) L, and *səq / sâi / sai — L bearded (Tso), so acc. to some comm., acc. to others: white-haired). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *sipg | si | s i T, L coarse mourning cloth (Li).
- *sioq/si/si T, L (Pek. si is irregular, we should expect a sī) timid (Lunyü).
- d. *sipg | si | s i T timid (Sün).
- e. $*ts'i \ni g / ts'i / c h' i T$ cold wind (Ch'uts'i).
- f. *ts'ag / ts'âi / ts' a i T, L talented, forceful (Shī); *siag / si / sī L, K earnest, urgent (Lunyü).
- 974 a—c. *sigg / si / s ī T silk (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 8: 7), c. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph is a drawing of silk threads.



- 975 a—f. *sligg / ṣi / s h ī T a recorder (Shī); record (Meng). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 28,3, sense of 事, 971 a. above), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 45,1, sense of n. below), d. is Chou I (inser. 56, sense of n.), e. is Chou I (inser. 69, sense of 971 a.), f. is Chou I (inser. 102, sense of a. here). The archaic graph is not fundamentally different from that of 971 a. above and that of g. (n.) below. Explanation uncertain.
- g—j. *liəg / lji / l i T officer (Tso). h. is Yin (inser. 20, sense of g. here), i. is Chou I (inser. 56, sense of n. below), j. is Chou I (inser. 65, sense of 971 a.).
- k—m. *slipg / si / s h ī T a kind of animal (T, no text ex.) l. is Chou I (inser. 131, sense of name), m. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324, sense here uncertain).
- n. *slipg | si | s h i T command (Yi), to cause (Shi); send (Shi); envoy (Tso).
- 976 a—e. *ziag / i / y i T take, use (Lunyü); by (Shī), because (Shī); in order to (Shī); loan for 已 (Meng). c. is Yin bone (I 7: 11), d. is Yin (inscr. 10), e. is Chou I (inscr. 54). a. is a more old-fashioned and pedantic normal script correspondence to the archaic c—e.; b., the common and current form, is in its left part a stronger reduction of the archaic c—e., and the right part is an additional radical 人. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1-g. *ziəg / i / y i T, L Plantago (Shi).
- h. *dziəg / zi / s ï T resemble (Shī); continue (Shī).
- i—j. *dziəg / zi / s ī T family name (Shī); wife of elder brother (Tso). j. is Chou II (inser. 198).
- **k.** * $dzigg / zi / s \tilde{i}$ T, L plough share (Shi).
- 1. * $z_{ijg} / j_i / y_i$ T (the Anc. j_i is irregular, we should exspect a i) final particle (Shī).
- m. $*dz'i \ni g / dz'i / s \bar{i} T$, L wait (Shī).
- **n.** $*dz'i \ni g \mid dz'i \mid s i K$ wait (Kuoyü).
- o. $dz'i \rightarrow dz'i \rightarrow dz'i$
- p—s. *diəg / i / y i T, L I, me (Shu); loan for *t'əg / t'āi / t' a i T, L globe-fish, Tetrodon (Shī). q. is Chou III. (inscr. 217, sense of a. above), r. is Chou III (inscr. 217, sense of p. here 'I', char. enlarged by rad 160), s. is Chou III (inscr. 226, sense of p. here 'I', rad. 9 and 61 inst. of 30).
- u. *diag / i / y i T, L affable, cheerful (Lunyü); mild (Li).
- v. *dîəg / i / y i T, L transmit, bequeathe, give (Shī); *d'əg / d'āi / t a i T and *təg / tāi / t a i L deceive (Lei).

- **x.** *digg/i/yi T, L to present, give (Shī), leave to (Li).
- y. *diəg / i / y i T, L sweet rice cake (Shī), sweet (Li); y i y e n rock salt (Chouli).
- z. *d'i-g / d'i / c h'ī (even tone) T, and *d'i-g / d'i / c hī (oblique tone) T regulate, arrange (Tso); manipulate, work with, make (Shī); to direct, govern (Meng); well-governed, in good order (Yi); punish (Tso); compare (Kuots'ê).
- a'. *t' $i \ni g \mid \hat{t}'i \mid c \mid h$ ' i = T, and *d' $i \ni ng \mid d$ ' $i \ni ng \mid c \mid h \mid e \mid g = T$ stare (Ch'uts'i).
- **b'.** * $t'i\partial q / \hat{t}'i / c h' i T$, L beat, fustigate (Sün).
- c'. *dziog / zi / s i T handle of a plough or a sickle (Kuan).
- d'. *sigg / si / si T, L hemp (Shu).
- e'—g'. *śiəg / śi / s h ī T beginning, begin (Shī), first, as soon as (Shī). f'. is Chou I (inscr. 103, sense of i. above), g'. is Chou II (inscr. 164, sense of i.).
- h'. *t' $\partial g / t$ ' $\partial i / t$ ' a i T, L foetus (Li).
- i'. *d'ag / d'āi / t' a i T soot (Lü).
- j'. *d'əg / d'âi / t'ai (even tone) L, K ai-t'ai ugly (Chuang); *d'əg / d'âi / tai (oblique tone) T, L loose, slack (Chuang).
- **k**'. * $d' \partial g / d' \partial i / t$ a i T idle (Shī); negligent (Tso).
- 1'. *d'ag / d'âi / t a i T, L danger, perilous (Shī); (there is risk of:) possibly, perhaps (Meng); nearly, almost (Shī).
- m'. *d'ag / d'âi / tai T, L cheat (Kuliang).
- n'. *d'ag / d'âi / t a i T, L come to, until, when (Shī).
- o'. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- p'. *diăg / ia / y e T, L smelt, fuse, cast (Meng); adorn, embellish (Yi).
- q'. *d'ag / d'ai / t a i L bamboo shoot (so acc. to Erya and Cheng Hüan), (Chouli).
- 977 a. *ziəg / i / y i T cease, end (Shī); achieve (Yi); particle denoting past tense (Shī); already (Tso); dismiss (Shī); abstain from (Meng); excessive (Shī); final particle (Lunyü). To judge from the seal form of Shuowen, this character is but a variant of the archaic graph 976 c—e. above.
- 978 a—b. *li2g / lji / li T village (Shī); place of residence (Shī; a measure of distance (Shī); loan for id. grieved (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 70). The graph has 'field' and 'earth'.
- c. *liəg / lii / li T, L shovel (Meng).
- d. *liəg / lji / l i T to cut jade according to its veins (Kuots'ê); to mark out divisions of fields (Shī); regulate (Tso); reason (Yi); principle (Meng); fibres (in muscles) (Li).
- e—g. *liəg | lji | l i T inside of a garment, lining (Shī); inside, interior, within (Tso). f. is Chou I (inscr. 86), g. is Chou II (inscr. 154).
- h. *lijəg / lji / l i T, L a small animal of unknown species, probably some kind of wild cat (Shī); loan for l. below (Chouli). For obscure reasons this character is also loaned for *'iwət / iuət / y ü L evil-smelling (Chouli).
- i. variant of the preceding (Meng).
- j-k. *ligg | lji | li T carp (Shī). k. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- 1. *mleg / mai / m a i T, L bury (Tso).
- m. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- n. *mleg / māi / m a i T, L wind whirling up the dust (Shī).
- 979 a—b. *liog / lji / li (Tsiyün; T reads * $\chi iog / \chi ji / hi$, which agrees badly with the phonetic series) Shuowen says: to crack, split; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou II (inser. 182, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- c—e. *ligg | lji | li K Shuowen says: pull, lead; but there are no text examples in support of this. d. is Yin bone (A 2: 28,3, sense of l. below), e. is Chou II (inscr. 156, sense of name).
- f. *ligg / lii / li T, L widow (Tso).
- g—h. *liəg / lji / li T Fangyen and T say: twins; but there are no text examples of this. h. is Chou II (inser. 174, sense of l. below).
- i. *liəg / lji / li T, L hair (Li); small, fine (Lie). Character also applied to a word m a o, see group 毛.
- j. *liəg / lji / li T long-haired ox (Kuoyü); char. also applied to a synonymous word ? / mau / m a o T.
- k. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- 1—n. *liog / lji / li T, L govern (Shu); give (Shī). m. is Chou I (inscr. 86, sense of name), n. is Chou II (inscr. 140).
- 980 a. *liəg / lji / li T plum tree, plum (Shī); loan for 理 (Tso). The graph has 'tree' and 'child'.
- 981 a—b. **niog | nii | er T ear (Shī); loan for id. ample (Shī, so the Mao comm.); auxiliary word (Shī). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for Ky (Chou II, inscr. 180). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *nipg / nzi / e r T, L cut the ears (Shu).
- d. *niog / nái / e r T, L pendant covering the ear (Lie); guard of a sword (Ch'uts'ī); cut the ear of (sc. game) (Chouli).
- e. *nigg / nzi / e r T, L cut a tuft of hair from victim's ear in sacrifice (Li).
- f. $*\acute{n}i \ni g \mid \acute{n}\acute{z}i \mid e r T$ assist (Mo).
- g. *niəg / nźi / e r T, L corner of the mouth (Li).
- h. *nîəg / nźi / er T, L cake (Ch'uts'ī); meat and rice dumpling (Li); bait (in fishing) (Chuang); loan for id. sinew (Li).
- i. * $\hat{n}\hat{i}\partial g/\hat{n}\hat{\epsilon}\hat{i}/er$ T, and * $n\epsilon k/n\epsilon k/n$ i K look on with contempt, disdain (Lie).
- 982 a—b. *ńijog / ńźi / e r T whiskers (on an animal) (Chouli); loan for id. auxiliary word, and, and yet (Shī); final particle (Shī); you (Shī). b. is Chou III (inscr. 225). The graph is a drawing.
- c. $*\acute{n}i\partial g / \acute{n}\acute{z}i / er T$, L a fungus (Li).

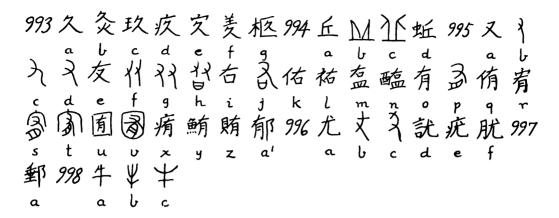
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- d. *nijog / nísi / e r L unite (Chuang).
- e. *niəg / nźi / er T, L boil, cook thoroughly (Tso).
- i. *niog / nzi / er L, K the swallow (Chuang).
- g. *ńį́zg / ńźi / er T, and *ńįŭk / ńźiuk / j u T eggs of fish (Kuoyū); name of a fish (Lū).
- h. *nəg / nāi / n a i T endure (Sün); loan for 能 (Li).
- i—j. *niəng / niiəng / j e n g T, L, and *nu / nou / n u T numerous, many (sc. people) (Shī, so the Mao comm.; Shuowen: sound of people pounding earth walls). The first reading takes a. (doubled) to be phonetic, and j. is then a vulgar form; the second reading takes as phonetic, here, as often, confused with the similar series 238 above (see 238 c—f.).
- 983 a—d. *piog / pjwi / p i T Shuowen says: to hoard; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 4:11,6, sense of e. below), c. is Yin bone (A 4:11,4, sense of e.), d. is Chou I (inscr. 126, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *pjog / pjwi / p i T district (Chouli); border town (Li); border, outskirts (Tso); rustic, mean, common (Lunyü).
- 984 a—c. *b'iəq / b'jwi / p e i K Shuowen says: prepare, thus taking it to be the primary form of d. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 5: 9,4, sense of some kind of sacrifice), c. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of 934 g. above). The graph may be the primary form of 934 g. b'iŭk 'a quiver'.
- **d—e.** *b'iəg / b'jwi / p e i T prepare, provide (Shī); precaution (Tso); ready, complete (Tso); perfect, ample (Yi); (defensive weapon:) long weapon (Tso); claw (Chouli). e. is Chou III (inser. 234).
- f. *b'iəg / b'jwi / pei T a kind of tree (Kuan).
- g. *b'iog / b'jwi / p e i T put yoke on, domesticate (Yi ap. Shuowen).
- h. *b'weg / b'wăi / p a i T, L exhausted (Yi).
- 985 a—b. *kiwəg / kjwi / k u e i T tortoise (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 54,7). The graph is a drawing.
- 986 a. *kiwog / kjwi / k u e i T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Shī). Explanation see the following word.



- 987 a—d. *kiwəg | kjwi | k u e i (same word as the preceding, hence the reading) a kind of ritual vessel (inscr. 20 etc.). b. is Yin bone (B hia 7: 12), c. is Yin (inscr. 20), d. is Chou I (inscr. 58). This graph and the preceding (986 a.) have the fundamental element, the drawing of a vessel, in common, but the accessories are different: in 986 there is 'bamboo' and 'plate', here in 987 there is a hand with a ladle.
- e-f. *kįŭg / kįžu / k i u K satiated (inscr. 95). f. is Chou I (inscr. 95).
- g. *kiŭg / kiżu / k i u T, L a stable (Shī).
- 988 a. *g'iwəg | g'jwi | k u e i T, L bones of the face (Yi, one version ap. Cheng Hüan, cf. 992 e. below); loan for *k'iwəg | k'jwi | k' u e i L simple and honest mien, nice-looking mien (Chuang; L cites a long row of divergent readings from earlier authors). The modern graph has 'head', 'flesh' and 'two hands'. Abbreviated phonetic in:
- b. *χwəg / χuậi / h u e i T, L wash the face (Shu).
- 989 a. *g'iwəg / g'jwi / k u e i (even tone) T, L where 9 roads meet, thoroughfare (Shī) Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 990 a—b. *keg / kāi / k i e T to guard against (Shī); warn (Shī); abstinence, fast (Tso). b. is Chou I (inser. 99, sense of name). The graph has' two hands' and 'dagger axe'.
- c. *keq / kāi / k i e T warn (Yi); prohibit (Sün); to be watchful (Tso).
- d. *g'ɛg / yai / h i e T, L fetters (Lie); weapon, utensil (Li); dexterous (Meng).
- e. *g'ɛg / yāi / h i e T, L frighten, overawe (Chuang); beat the drum (Chouli).
- *kəg / kāi / k a i T, L name of a piece of music (Chouli).
 Of the above, a. c. *keg 'warn' and e. *g'eg 'frighten' are cognate words.
- 991 a. *kweg | kwāi | k u a i T extraordinary (Shu); prodigy (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain. Shuowen defines the right part as 'to work the soil' (no text examples support this), but K reads that graph k'uət, so it cannot be phonetic in our word here which rimes in the -g class.
- 992 a—d. *kiŭg / kiżu / k i u T nine (Shī); loan for n. below (unite, collect) (Lunyū). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 40,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 59), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *g'įū̃g / g'i₂u / k' i u T, L, and *g'įwəg / g'jwi / k' u e i T, L cheekbone, bones of the face, face (Yi).
- f. *kiwəg / kjwi / k u e i T, L traitor (Shu).
- g—i. variant of the preceding. Shuowen records an arch. variant with rad. 29 'hand' below, but without rad. 40 at the top. h. is Chou II (inser. 189, sense of name), i. is Chou II (inser. 132, sense of name).
- j. *kiwəg / kjwi / k u e i T, L spring in which the water comes from the side (a vertical wall), not from the bottom (Shī).
- k. *kiwəg / kjwi / k u e i T, L wheel-axle ends (Shī); rut, gauge (Meng); rule, law (Tso); loan for f. above (Tso).
- 1. *kiwəg / kjwi / k u e i T, L box, vessel (Shu).
- m. *g'iwəg / g'jwi / k' u e i T where 9 roads meet, thoroughfare (Shī in the Han version); cf. 989 a. above.
- n. *kiôg / kiệu / k i u T, L name or part of name of various birds (Shī); loan for id. collect (Shu); cooperate (Tso); (bring together:) stabilize, give peace to (Tso).





- o. *kiôg / kiżu / k i u T, L, and *kiôk / kiuk / k ü T search into, investigate, scrutinize (Shī); go to the end, in the end (Shī).
- p. *g'iôg / g'iau / k' i u T mate, companion (Shī); antagonist, feud (Shī).
- **q_r.** *g'iôg / g'iau / k' i u T, L spear with three teeth (or: three-cornered point?) (Shī).
- s. *g'iôg / g'izu / k' i u T, L wilderness (Shī).
- t. *g'iôg / g'i沒u / k'i u T, L cold in the head, sneeze (Li).
- u. $*k'\hat{o}g / k'\hat{a}u / k$ a o T, L end of spine, rump (Li).
- v. *γôg / γau / h i a o T, L roaring of a tiger (Shī).
- x. *χiuk / χiwok / h ü Τ, L rising sun (Shī); bright (Kuoyü).
- 993 a. $*ki\check{u}g / ki\check{u}u / kiu$ T long, a long time (Shī); wait (Tso); loan for id. to cover (Yili). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *kiŭg / kiżu / kiu T, L cauterise by burning tinder (Chuang); loan for id. to prop up, raise against (Chouli).
- c. *kiŭg / kiżu / k i u T, L a kind of precious stone (Shī).
- d. *kįŭg / kįżu / k i u T, L suffering, distress (Shī).
- e. variant of the preceding (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- t. *giŭg / iżu / y u T, L lead on, induce (Shu).
- g. *g'iŭg / g'iu / k i u T coffin with corpse (Li).
- 994 a—c. *k'iŭg / k'iqu / k'i u T hill, mound (Shī); loan for id. village, district (Meng); great (Kuan). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 243,), c. is Chou II/III (inscr. 260, sense of name). The original graph was a drawing, misunderstood and deformed already in the Chou version.
- **d.** $*k'i\check{u}g / k'i\check{g}u / k'iu$ T earthworm (Li).
- 995 a—d. *giŭg / jiĝu / y u T repeat (Shī); further, moreover, also (Shī); pardon (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1:16,5), c. is Yin (inscr. 12), d. is Chou I (inscr. 56, sense of o. below). The graph is the primary form of i. below, and is a drawing of the right hand.
- e—h. *giŭg / jiau / y u T friend, friendly (Shī); associate, couple (Shī). f. is Yin bone (A 4: 29,3), g. is Chou I (inscr. 56), h. is Chou II (inscr. 136, enlarged by rad. 73).
- i—j. * $gi\bar{u}g/ji\bar{g}u/yu$ T the right hand, on the right (Shī); to honour (Shī); assist (Tso). j. is Chou I (inser. 56).

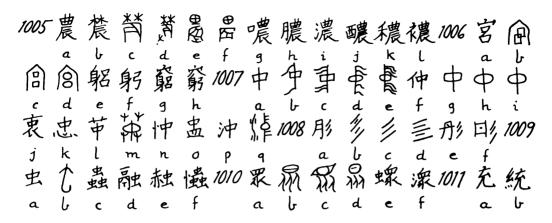
- k. *giŭg / jizu / y u T assist (Shu).
- 1. *giŭg / jiżu / y u T, L help, blessing (Yi).
- m. *giūg / jigu / y u K Shuowen says: a small bowl; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- n. *xəg / xái / h a i T, L meat which has been dried, minced and pickled (Shī).
- o-p. *giūg / jigu / y u K have (Shī); there is (Shī); loan for a., e. and i. (Shī). p. is Chou I (inser. 63).
- q. *qiŭq / jizu / y u T assist (Li); encourage to drink (Shī); forgive (Kuan).
- r—t. *giŭg / jiĝu / y u T vast, deep (Shī); to be large-minded, to pardon (Yi); remit taxes (Tso); aid, encourage (Tso). s. is Yin (inscr. 24, sense of name), t. is Chou II (inscr. 160).
- u—v. *giŭg / jiżu / y u T, L, and *giŭk / jiuk / y ü T, L park, garden (Shī); limited (Shī-tsī). v. is Chou III (inscr. 229).
- x. *giwəg / jwi / w e i T wound (Lü).
- y. *giwəg | jwi | w e i T, L sturgeon (Shī).
- z. *γwəg / χuâi / h u e i T property, valuables (Shī); present, bribe (Tso).
- a'. *'iŭk / iuk / y ü T, L stately, elegant (Lunyü).
- 996 a—c. *giŭg / jiżu / y u T fault (Shī); to blame (Shī); excess (Tso); excelling, remarkable (Chuang). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 40,5), c. is Chou I (inser. 77). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *giŭg / jizu / y u T, L fault, blame (Shī).
- e. *giŭg / jizu / y u T, L a swelling, tumour (Chuang).
- 1. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- 997 a. *giŭg / jiżu / y u T place name (Tso); post-station, relay of couriers (Meng); inspector's hut in the fields (Li); loan for 大 (Shī). The modern graph has 'city' and 'hang down'.
- 998 a—c. *ngiŭg / ngigu / yu T bull, cow, ox (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 24,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph is a drawing.
- 999 a—d. *piŭg / piżu / f o u T to soar (Lü); loan for id. not (Shī); loan for k. below (Shī). All the modern dialect readings reveal an Anc. puət, which points to an Arch. *pwət, cognate to 弗 *piwət. This negation *pwət being synonymous with our *piŭg, the character has been loaned for it. b. is Yin bone (A 1: 27,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56), d. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of k. below). The graph may be a drawing of a soaring bird.
- e—f. *piŭg | piou | f o u T, L not (Shī); loan for *piog | pjwi | p e i L bad (Shī); *b'iog | b'jwi | p e i T, L obstruct (Yi). f. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- g. *p'iŭg / p'izu / f o u T, L clean and bright (sc. robes) (Shī).
- **h.** *b'iug/b'iuu/fou T, L net (Li).
- i. *b'iŭg / b'ižu / f o u T, L Plantago (Shī).
- j. *b'ŭg / b'zu / p' o u L, K take in the hollow of the hand (as water) (Li).
- 1. *p'iəg | p'jwi | p'e i T, L robust (Shī).
- m. *p'iəq | p'jwi | p'ei T yellow and white horse (Shī); to gallop, run (Ch'uts'ī).
- n. *p'iəg / p'jwi / p' e i T, L, and *p'iŭg / p'iəu / f o u T black millet with double kernels (Shī).
- o. *pwəg / puậi / p e i T cup (Li).



- p. variant of the preceding (Meng).
- **q—r.** *p'wəg / p'uāi / p ' e i L wall (Chuang). r. is Chou I (inscr. 78, sense of name). The radical is 氧.
- s. *b'wəg / b'u@i / p 'e i L fill up, obstruct (sc. a hole) (Li).
- **t—u.** * $p' \ge g / p' \ge u / p'$ o u (Tsiyün; T reads $t' \ge u$ which is probably a corruption, as shown by the sounds of the derivates) Shuowen says: to spit; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- \mathbf{v} . * $p' \ge q / p' \ge u / p'$ o u T, L cleave, cut open (Tso).
- x. *p'ag / p'au / p' o u L raised wooden platform, a look-out built of planks (Kung-yang).
- z. *b'əg / b'əu / p u T, L hillock (Tso); loan for id. spread, distribute (Sün); (a spreader:) central piece on which the ribs of a canopy are fastened (Chouli); from Han time also: section, department (then also read b'uo / p u T).
- a'. *b'wəg | b'u@i | p'ei (even tone) T, L to earth up (sv. vegetables), lay up earth (Li); accumulate, add to (Chuang); *b'əg | b'əu | pou K mound (Kuoyü), cf. z. above.
- b'. *b'wəg | b'uậi | p 'e i T, L accompany, associate (Shī); to augment, to double (Tso).
- c'. *b'wəg | b'uāi | pe i (oblique tone) T, L turn, turn the back on (Li); obstinate (Lunyü); improper (Lunyü); loan for id. double (Shī).
- d'. *b'əg | b'əu | p'ou L, K, and *b'iug | b'iuu | fou T, L, and *b'og | b'au | p'ao T grasp, exact, extort (Shī); *pəg | pəu | pou T beat (Chuang); loan for v. above (Chuang).
- e'. *b'ək / b'ək / p o T, L, and *p'əg / p'əu / p' o u L, K overthrow, lay prostrate (Tso).
- f'. *pung / pung / p e n g L gem at mouth of scabbard (Tso).
- g'. *b'əg | b' ∂u | p o u T, L, and *p'əg | p' ∂u | p' o u T, L screen (Yi).
- 1000 a. *b'iŭg / b'izu / f u T carry on the back (Shī); support, be exposed to (Kuots'ê); turn the back on (Li); neglect, be rude to (Kuots'ê); lean on, rely on (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *b'iŭg / b'izu / f u, f o u L, K reflect, represent (Li).
- c. *b'iŭg / b'iżu / f u T, L cucumber (Ta Tai li).

- 1001 a-d. *b'iŭq / b'izu / f u T woman, wife (Shī). b. is Yin bone (K 723), c. is Yin (inser. 16), d. is Chou I (inser. 69). The graph has 'woman' and 'broom'.
- 1002 a-d. *tông / tuong / t u n g T winter (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 28,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of e. below), d. is Chou II (inscr. 140, sense of e.). Explanation of graph uncertain (was the primary graph a drawing of the locust in f. below?).
- *tiông / tśiung / c h u n g T end, finish (Shī); for ever (Shī).

 *tiông / tśiung / c h u n g T, L locust, grasshopper (Shī).
- 1003 a-e. *tsông / tsuong / tsu n g T ancestral temple (Shī); ancestor (Li); clan (Tso); to honour (Shī); summer audience of the king with the feudal princes (Chouli); master, follow as master (Lunyü). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 45,5), d. is Yin (inser. 33), e. is Chou I (inser. 58). The graph has 'roof' (house) and 'sign,
- *tsông | tsuong | t s u n g T, L bring together, collect, sum up (Yi).
- g. *dz'ông | dz'uong | t s' u n g T, L tube-shaped jade insignium (Chouli).
- h. *dz'iông / dz'iung / c h' u n g T high (Shī); exalt, to honour (Shī); pile up, accumulate (Shī); loan for id. end, all, the whole of (Shī).
- 1004 a—c. *sông / suong / s u n g T place name (Shī). b. is Yin bone (P 106), c. is Chou III (inser. 221). The graph has 'roof' (house) and 'tree'.
- 1005 a-f. *nông / nuong / n u n g T agriculture (Shī); farmer (Shī); loan for id. largely, amply (Shu). a. is the current form, b. a variant in Shuowen, c. is Yin bone (A 5: 48.1), d. is Yin bone (A 5: 48.2), e. is Chou I (inscr. 100, sense of name), f. is Chou I (inser. 105). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- g. *nông / nuong / n u n g T mutter, murmur (Ch'ute'ī).
 h. *nông / nuong / n u n g K pus (Hanfei).
- i. *njung / njunng / n u n g T, L, and *nung / nung / n u n g L. thick, rich (sc. dew) (Shī).
- j. *niung / niwong / n u n g T thick, strong (sc. drink) (Hanfei).
 k. *niung / niwong / n u n g T, and *niung / niiwong / j u n g T, L thick covering, luxuriant growth (Shī).
- *njung / ńiwong / n u n g T, and ńiung / ńżiwong / j u n g T, L thick, rich (sc. flowers) (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- 1006 a-d. *kiông / kiung / k u n g T dwelling-house (Shī), palace (Shī), apartment (Tso); temple (Shī); name of a note of the gamut (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 20,5), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 3,7), d. is Chou I (inscr. 57). The graph depicts two rooms and a roof. Slightly abbreviated phonetic in the following.
- e-f. *kiông / kiung / k u n g T body, person (Shī). f. is a vulgar variant.
- g—h. *g'iông/g'iung/k'iung T extreme, to the utmost (Tso); reduced to extremity, poverty (Shī); examine thoroughly (Yi). h. is a vulgar variant.
- 1007 a—e. *tiông / tiung / c h u n g T middle (Shī); midway (Shī), proper (Chouli); hit the centre, attain (Tso); loan for id. a stand for tallies (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 37,3), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 22,1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 56, sense of name), e. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The fundamental part of the graph, the circle with the vertical stroke through the centre, is exclusively used in the cognate sense of f. below in the inscriptions. In our general sense of 'middle' here the inscription graphs have always the 'streamers', of uncertain interpretation.



- f—i. *d'iông | d'iung | c h u n g T ('the middle one':) the 2nd of brothers(Shī); 2nd of 3 months (Shu). g. is Yin bone (D 3: 1), h. is Yin (inser. 31), i. is Chou I (inser. 81).
- i. *tiông / tiung / c h u n g T inner garment (Tso); middle, medium (Tso); correct, just (Tso).
- k. *tiông / tiung / c h u n g T sincere, loyal, integrity (Lunyü).
- 1—m. *tiông | tiung | c h u n g T Shuowen says: a herb; but there are no text examples in support of this. m. is Chou II (inscr. 139, sense here uncertain).
- n. $t'iong / \hat{t}'iung / ch' ung T$, L grieved (Shī).
- o. * $t'i\hat{o}ng/\hat{d}'iung/ch'ung$ T, and * $d'i\hat{o}ng/\hat{d}'iung/ch'ung$ T empty (Lao ap. Shuowen).
- p—q. *d'iông / d'iung / c h' u n g T, L (to surge:) rise up against (sc. the sky) (Lü); loan for id. empty (Lao); young, weak (Shu); hang down (Shī); sound of breaking ice (Shī). q. is Chou (inser. 384, sense of name).
- 1008 a—d. *diông / jung / y u n g T, L sacrifice on a following day (after a principal sacrifice) (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,8), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 2,2), d. is Yin (inscr. 22). The rad 130 to the left is a later addition, the primary graph may be a kind of 'repetition mark'.
- e-f. *d'ong / d'uong / t' u n g T red (Shī). f. is Chou I (inscr. 88).
- 1009 a—b. *d'iông | d'iung | c h' u n g Shuowen considers this as the primary form of 虺, but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Its rôle as phonetic (see d. e. below) on the contrary shows that it was the primary graph of c. below. b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 雖 (Chou III, inscr. 229). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *d'iông / d'iung / c h 'u n g T insect (Shī), reptile, scaly creature (Tso); animal (generally) (Ta Tai li); loan for id. great heat (Shī).
- d. *diông / jung / j u n g T, L hot air, steam, heat (Tso, in the name Chu-jung, spirit of the heat); brightness of the time when the sun is at its highest (Shī); harmonious (Tso).
- e. $*d'\hat{o}ng / d'uong / t'ung T red (Kuan)$.
- **f.** *d'ông / d'uong / t' u n g T grieved (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1010 a—d. *\$\hat{t}iong / tsiung / c h u n g T multitude, numerous, all (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 30,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 56), e. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph has three (many) 'men' and either 'sun' or 'eye' above, the meaning of the latter uncertain.

- e. * $\hat{t}i\delta ng / t \sin g T$, L locust (Kungyang).
- *tiông | tsiung | c h u n g T, and *dz'ông | dz'uong | t s' u n g T, and *dz'ung | dz'ung / ts' u n g — T, L junction of two rivers (Shī).
- 1011 a. *î'iông / tś'iung / c h ' u n g T full, fill (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *t'ông / t'uong / t' u n g T leading line, rule, norm (Kuoyü); principle, beginning (Kungyang); connect (Li); to direct (Kuots'ê).
- 1012 a. *siông / siung / s u n g T, L high (Li). The graph has 'mountain' and 'high'.
- 1013 a-d. *niông / niing / j u n g T weapon (Shī); warrior (Shī); war chariot (Shī); loan for id. tribes of the West (Shī); great (Shī); you, your (Shī); to help (Shī); loan for 茸 (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 11,3), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65), d. is Chou II (inscr. 147). The graph contains 'dagger-axe', for the rest explanation uncertain.
- e. *niông / nziung / j u n g T a kind of bean (Lie).
- 1014 a-d. *p'iông / p'iung / f e n g T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Yili); loan for id. luxuriant, abundant (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 5,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 33), d. is Chou I (inscr. 59, sense of name). The graph is a drawing of a ritual vessel with something in it.
- e. *p'iông / p'iung / f e n g T, L cooked wheat (Chouli).
- 1015 a—c. *kông (klông?) / kảng / k i a n g T, L, and *g'ông (g'lông?) / yảng / h i a n g T, L descend, go down (Shī); submit (Shī); send down (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 27,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 72). The graph shows two feet descending (steps:) a height.
- *g'ông / yuong / h u n g T, and *g'ông / yang / h i a n g T, and *g'ung / yung / hung — T inundate (Meng).
- * $\chi ung / \chi ung / h u n g T$, and ? / tang / c h u a n g T stupid (Sün).
 *gliong / liung / l u n g T, L high (Kuots'ê); ample (Li); eminent (Tso); loan for id. thunder, sound of thunder (Shi, so the Mao comm.).
- *gliông / liung / l u n g T decrepit (Hanfei).
- 1016 a. *d'ôk / d'uok / t u T poison, poisonous (Shī); hate (Tso); loan for id. to direct, govern (Yi); nourish (Lao). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** * $d'\delta k / d'uok / tu$ T, L, and * $d'\delta g / d'\hat{a}u / t$ a o T, L banner, streamer (Chouli).
- 1017 a—b. *kįôk / kįuk / k ü T a handful (Shī). b. is Chou (inscr. 353, sense of name). The graph has 'rice' and another element of uncertain interpretation.
- *kiôk / kiuk / k ü T, L both hands joined, grasp with both hands, double-handful
- *kįôk / kįuk / k ü L, K Thuja, Cupressus (Li).
- e. *kiôk / kiuk / k ü T Chrysanthenum (Ch'uts'i).
- variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- *kiôk / kiuk / k ü K foot-ball (Kuots'ê).
- h. *kiôk / kiuk / k ü T, L foot-ball (Kuots'ê); loan for id. nourish (Shī); to bow, bend (Lunyü); all (Shī); exhaust, go to the extreme (Shī); to address, inform (Shī); loan for e. above (Li), for i. below (Li).
- i. $k'i\delta k / k'iuk / k' \ddot{u}$ T, L leaven (Tso).

- j. *kįôk / kṣuk / k ū T, L exhaust, go to the extreme (Shī); loan for id. convexe side of a river bend (Shī). The phonetic is h. above, and the rad. 149 has ousted 'rice' in that character. Our character here therefore has nothing to do with 1252 b. below.
- k. *kiôk / kiuk / k ü K exhaust, to the utmost (Ch'uts'i).
- 1018 a—b. $*\chi i \delta k / \chi i u k / h \ddot{u}$ T, L, and $*\chi i \delta g / \chi i \chi u / h \dot{u}$ T, L, and $*t' i \delta k / \hat{t}' i \delta k / c h' u$ T, L, and $*t' i \delta g / \hat{t}' i \chi u / c h' o u$ T nourish (Shī), to rear (Li); domestic animal (Chouli); keep (Li), support (Tso); to hoard (Li). b. is Chou III (inser. 229). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. $*\chi i \hat{o}k / \chi i u k / h \ddot{u}$ T, and $*t'i \hat{o}k / \hat{t}'i u k / c h' u$ T collect, store of vegetables (Shī).
- d. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- e. *χiôk / χiuk / h ü T, L nourish (Shī).
- 1. $tilde{t$
- 1019 a—b. *tiôk / t̂iuk / c h u T bamboo (Shī). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 173 a—b. (Chou I/II, inscr. 205). The graph is a drawing.
- c. $ti\delta k / tiuk / chu$ T guitar (Kuots'ê).
- **d.**—e. * $ti\delta k / tiuk / c$ h u T, L to pound, beat (sc. earth into hard walls), build (Shī); beat, strike (Chouli).
- **f.** $*t\delta k / tuok / tu$ K ample, to favour (Ch'uts'i).
- g. *tôk / tuok / t u T firm, solid, reliable (Lunyü); generous (Shī).
- 1020 a. *diôk | iuk | y ü T rear, breed (Yi); nourish (Shī); loan for 1079 h. below (Shu ap. Shuowen), for 1023 a. below (Chuang). The graph has 'flesh' and an upper element of uncertain interpretation.
- 1021 a—c. *diôk | iuk | y ü T to produce (Chouli), same word as the preceding. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 24,8), c. is Chou I (inscr. 111). The graph has 'woman' and 'child' with head down, and drops of water; an illustration of child birth.
- 1022 a—c. *d'iôk / d'iuk / c h u T pursue (Meng); drive out (Tso); contest (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 33,3), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 12,3). The graph has 'pig, boar' and 'foot' (go).
- d. *d'iôk / d'iek / t i L, K flute (Chouli).
- e. $*t'i\delta k / \hat{t}'iuk / ch'u T$, L, and $*d'i\delta k / \hat{d}'iuk / chu T$ Rumex (Shī).

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1023 a—b. *diôk / iuk / v ü — T sell (inscr. 132). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). Explanation of graph uncertain.

c-d. *diôk / iuk / y ü - T, L sell (Chouli). d. is Chou I/II inscr. 208).

e. $*d'i\hat{o}k / d'iek / ti$ — T, L see (Yi).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u — T, L box, case (Lunyü).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u — T to defile (Kuoyü).

h. *d'uk / d'uk / t u — T, L coffer (Lunyü), box (Li), coffin (Tso).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u - T, L abortion (Li).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u — T, L canal, ditch, drain (Lunyü); to sully (Li); harrass, molest (Yi), insult (Tso); loan for s. below (Tso).

k. *d'uk / d'uk / t u — T, L tablet (Kuoyü); tube used for marking time in music (Chouli).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u — T, L calf (Li).

*d'uk / d'uk / t u — T recite (Shī), read (Lunyü).

n. *d'uk / d'uk / t u - T, L discontented, vilify (Tso).

o-p. *d'uk / d'uk / t u - K careless, nonchalant, at ease (inscr. 323), p. is Chou III/IV (inser. 323).

*d'uk | d'uk | t u — T, L quiver (Yili). *d'uk | d'uk | t u — T, L dirty (Yi); importunate (Shu).

*d'ug/d'2u/t ou — T, L, and *d'uk/d'uk/t u — L hole (Li); a drain (Tso).

*d'iuk / dz'iwok / s h u - T, L, and *diuk / ziwok / s h u - L redeem (Shi). t.

*dziuk / ziwok / s ü — T continue (Shī).

*dziuk / ziwok / s ü — T, L Alisma plantago (Shī).

1024 a. * $\hat{t}i\hat{o}k/t\hat{s}iuk$ / chu, chou — T, L (Pek. chou is irregular) rice gruel (Li); loan for id. humble, modest (Li); for *diôk / iuk / y ü — T, L sell (Li), cf. 1023 a—d above. The graph has 'rice', for the rest explanation uncertain.

b. $*ti\delta k / t \sin k / c$ h u — L rice gruel (Tso); $*di\delta k / iuk / y$ ü — T, L nourish (Shī); loan for id. sell (Meng).

1025 a-e. *îiôk / tśiuk / c h u - T, L pray (Tso); prayer-master (Shī); loan for id. bind, attach (Shī); cut off (Kungyang); *tiôg / tśiżu / c h o u — T, L to curse (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 18,7), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 18,8), d. is Chou I (inscr. 61), e. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph has a kneeling man with a large mouth, and 'sign, omen'. Abbreviated phonetic in:

- 1. *î'iôk / tś'iuk / c h ' u T, L, and *îiôk / tśiuk / c h u T resounding box (used in music) (Shī).
- **1026 a.** $*di\delta k / \dot{z}iuk / s h u$ T cooked (Li); loan for id. which one, who (Lunyü). The graph has h i a n g 'sacrificial offering' and k i 'grasp, hold'.
- b. *diôk / źiuk / s h u T cooked (Lunyü); ripe (Tso); thoroughly (Tso).
- c. *diôk / źiuk / s h u T, L gate-room (Shu) used as school (Li).
- 1027 a. *ts'iôk / ts'iuk / ts' u K Shuowen says: toad; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph, as seen in c. below, is a drawing.
- **b—c.** *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T cooking-place, stove (Tso). c. is Chou III (inscr. 229, sense here uncertain).
- 1028 a—b. *siôk / siuk / s u T grave, reverent (Shī); orderly (Shī); severe (Shī); to present (Li), advance (Shī); contract, shut (as a flower) (Li); swift (Shī); loan for *siôk / siuk / s h u L sound of flying wings (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 306). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *siôk / siuk / s u T, and *siôg / sizu / shou L slice of dried fish (Li).
- d. variant of the preceding (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- e. *siôg / sièu / siu T, L embroider (Shī).
- 1. *siôg / siêu / s i a o T, L whistle (Shī).
- g. *siôg / sieu / s i a o K (properly variant f.) to groan (Shī).
- h. *siôg | sieu | s i a o T pan-pipe (Shī); ends of a bow (Li).
- i. *siôg | sieu | siao T Artemisia (Shī); loan for id. siao-siao the neighing of horses (Shī).
- j. *siôg / sieu / s i a o T, L a sudden gust of wind and rain (Shī).
- k. *siôg / sieu / s i a o T, L spider (Shī).
- 1029 a—b. *siôk / siuk / s u T lodge the night, pass a night (Shī); abide by (Tso); old (not new) (Li); continuous (Chuang); loan for 1028 a. above (Li); *siôg / sigu / s i u T a *mansion*, group of constellations, part of the zodiac (Li). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 270). The graph has 'roof' (house), 'man' and a 'mat'.
- c. *\$\si\delta k | \si\delta k | s \times \text{w} | s \times \text{T}, L \text{ bind (Shi); collect (Kuoy\(\vec{u}\)); loan for \$id\$. straight, upright (Meng); longitudinal (Li); lose (Kuots'\(\vec{e}\)); to strain (sc. wine) (Tso).
- **d.** * $s_i \delta k / s_i u k / s$ o L, K drag the feet (hardly lifting the heels) in walking (Lunyü).
- 1030 a—c. *siôk / siuk / s u T early morning (Shī); loan for 1028 a. (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 16,3), c. is Chou I (inser. 65). The graph has a kneeling 'man' and 'moon'.
- 1031 a. *\$\sigma_i\hat{o}k / \sigma_iuk / \s h u K Shuowen says: pulse, beans, thus taking it to be the primary form of g. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph (see c. and d. below) may be a drawing.
- **b**—**d.** *\$iôk | \$iuk | s h u T gather, harvest (Shī); loan for id. junior, 3rd of 4 brothers (Shī). c. is Chou II (inscr. 156, sense of j. below), d. is Chou II (inscr. 187, sense of j.).
- e. *tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu K grieved (Meng ap. Shuowen).
- 1. *ts'iôk/ts'iek/ts'i T, L battle-axe (Shī); loan for id. intense feelings, affection (Shī); beloved ones, relatives (Shī); grieved (Shī).
- g. *śiók / śiuk / s h u T, L pulse, beans (Shī).
- **h.** * \hat{t} ' $i\hat{o}k$ / $t\hat{s}$ 'iuk / c h ' u T, L commence (Shī).

- i. $\hat{t}_i'i\delta k / t\hat{s}'iuk / ch'u$ L deceitful (Chuang).
- j. *diôk / źiuk / s h u T pure, fine, good (Shī).
- k. *tsiôk / tsiuk / t s u T, L to walk reverently (Lunyü); *d'iôk / d'iek / t i L, K level and easy (sc. road) (Shī).
- 1. $*dz'i\delta k / dz'iek / t s i$ T repose, quiet (Yi).
- m. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'ī).
- n. *tôk / tuok / t u T, L inspect, control (Chouli); correct, proper (Tso); (the correct medium:) the middle (sc. the seam in the middle of the back) (Chuang).
- o. *tôk / tuok / t u T, L seam in the back of coat (Kuoyü), see the preceding.
- p. *niôk / niek / n i T, L hungry for, desirous (Shī); unhappy (Shī).
- q. *tsiôg | tsieu | tsiao T, L, and *tsiog | tsiāu | tsiao T, L pepper plant (Shī).
- r-s. *d'iôk / d'iek / t i T dried up, wizened (sc. plants) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- t—u. *tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu T, L trample (Li); press, compress (Shī); urgent (Li); reduced to extremity, straitened (Shī).
- v. *tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu L, K, and *ts'iôk / ts'iek / ts'i L wrinkle (the brow) (Meng).
- **x.** *ts'iôk / ts'iek / ts' i T grieved, sad (Shu).
- y. * $ts'i\delta k / ts'iek / ts'i T$, L axe (Tso).
- 1032 a—d. *lįôk / lįuk / l u, l i u T six (Shī). In Pekinese, the regular form, l u, is literary, the irregular, l i u, is colloquial. b. is Yin bone (A 4: 47,7), c. is Yin (inser. 52), d. is Chou I (inser. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *liôk / liuk / l u K Shuowen says: clod of earth; but there are no text examples in support of this. From g. below it can be seen that it is really a. above (doubled) that is phonetic.
- f-g. *liôk / liuk / l u T land (as opp. to water) (Shī); a level height (Shī); path (Tso); loan for id. jump (Chuang). g. is Chou IV (inser, 282, sense of name).
- h. *liôk / liuk / l u T, L grain which is sown late and ripens early (Chouli).
- i. *mliôk / miuk / m u T, L concord, harmonious (Shu).
- 1033 a—b. *ńiôk / ńźiuk / j o u T, L meat, flesh (Tso); ńiôg / ńźiżu / j o u L fleshy, full (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 41,7), c. is extracted from the archaic graph for 祭 (Chou III, inser. 218). Said to depict a slice of dried meat.

- 1034 a—c. *b'iôk / b'iuk / f u K return (inscr. 143). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 13,6), c. is Chou II (inscr. 143). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d—f. *b'iôk / b'iuk / f u T return (Shī); report (Lunyü); reply (Tso); repay (Meng); recall (Li); restore (Tso); recommence, again (Li); loan for i. below (Li), for m. below (Yi); *b'iôg / b'igu / f u T repeat (Meng), again (Meng). e. is Chou I (inscr. 54), f. is Chou II (inscr. 132).
- g. *b'iôk / b'iuk / f u T, L support under box of carriage resting on the axle and holding it in position (Yi).
- h. *piôk / piuk / f u T, L belly (Shī); embrace (Shī).
- i. *piôk / piuk / f u T, L double, lined (garment) (Li).
- j. * $p'i\delta k / p'iuk / fu$ T, L snake (Ch'uts'ī).
- k. *b'iək / b'iək / p i, p i T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) resist, obstinate (Tso).
- 1. *b'iôk / b'iuk / f u K, and *p'iôk / p'iuk / f u K cave (Shī ap Shuowen).
- m. *p'iôk |p'iuk | f u T to turn, turn round (Shī); turn over, overthrow (Tso); on the contrary (Shī); *p'iôg | p'iou | f o u T, L overspread, cover (Shī); lay troops in ambush (Tso).
 - Of the above, a, d. *b'iôk 'return' and m. *p'iôk 'turn round' are cognate words.
- 1035 a—b. *miôk / miuk / m u T fine, splendid, stately (Shī); grave, solemn, inscrutable (Shī); quiet, genial, mild (Shī); reverent (Shu). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1036 a—c. *miôk / miuk / m u T eye (Shī); see (Kuoyū); details (Kungyang); index (Lunyū); denominate (Kuliang). b. is Yin bone (I 11: 3), c. is pre-Han (inscr. 438). The graph is a drawing.
- 1037 a—c. *miôk / miuk / m u T, L to herd, herdsman (Shī); pasture-grounds (Shī); nourish (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 27,1), c. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph has 'ox, cow' and 'baton, beat'. In the Yin bone forms there is often 'sheep' instead of 'ox'.
- 1038 a—c. *g'ộk / γdk / h ü e T learn (Shī); school (Li); imitate (Li); loan for d. below (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 44,4, sense of name), c. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d—e. *g'ôg / yau / h i a o T, L teach (Shu). e. is Chou I (inscr. 58). Cognate to the preceding.
- f. *k\(\hat{c}\) | k\(\dalpha\) | k\(\bar{u}\) | e T to awake (Chuang); apprehend, get insight (Luny\(\bar{u}\)); to rouse somebody into understanding (Tso); loan for \(id\). high, large (Sh\(\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{u}}}}}\), so the Maccomm.); *k\(\hat{\bar{\bar{\bar{a}}}}\) | kau | k i a o T, L to awake (Sh\(\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{u}}}}\)).
- g. $*k'\delta k / k'uok / k$ 'u T a N. Pr. (Kuoyü).
- **h.** $*g'\hat{o}k/\gamma dk/h$ ü e T, L, and $*\hat{o}k/dk/y$ ü e T, L name of a bird (Chuang).
- i. *kôg / kau / k i a o T, L disturb (Shī).
- 1039 a—d. *kôg / kâu / k a o T, and *kôk / kuok / k u T announce, inform (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 29,5), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 3,4) d. is Chou I (inscr. 56). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- e. *kôg / kâu / k a o T, L announce, inform (Yi).
- f.—g. $*k\delta g / k\hat{a}u / k$ a o T, and $*k\delta k / kuok / k$ u T place name (Tso). g. is Chou II/III (inser. 247).
- h. *kôg | kâu | k a o L pure, bright (Shī); loan for 吳 (Sün).
- i. *g'ôg / yâu / h a o T, L bright, white (Lü), cognate to the preceding.

- j. * $g'\delta g / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o T, L great waters (Shu); vast, great (Shī).
- k. *kôk / kuok / k u T, L manacles (Yi).
- 1. $*k\hat{o}k / kuok / ku$ T, L pen, stable (Yi).
- m. $*k'\delta k / k'uok / k$ 'u T cruel (Sün).
- n. *g'ôk / γuok / h u T, L name of a bird (crane? snow-goose? swan?) (Li); *kôk / kuok / k u L centre of target (Li); loan for j. above (Lü).
- o. *kôg / kau / k i a o T, L cave, celar (Li); secluded (Chuang).
- 1040 a—b. *kôg / kâu / k a o T, L announce (Chouli); loan for id. long cry (Li); marsh (Shī); high (Shī); stupid, rustic, coarse (Shī); loan for 瑟 (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *kôg / kâu / k a o T, L a well-sweep (Chuang).
- **d.** * $g'\hat{o}g/\gamma\hat{a}u/h$ a o T, L howl, cry (Tso).
- e. *g'ôg / yâu / h a o T bright (Chuang).
- **1-g.** * $g'\hat{o}g/\gamma\hat{a}u/h$ a o L serene, placid (Meng).
- h. *ngôg / ngâu / a o T, L fly backwards and forwards, go to and fro (Shī).
- 1041 a—c. *k'ôg / k'âu / k' a o T Shuowen says: to sob; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. b. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 169, sense of d. below). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d—i. *k'ôg / k'âu / k' a o T high age, old (Shī); dead father (Shī); loan for id. beat (Shī); build, complete (Shī); examine (Shī). e. is Yin bone (B hia 35: 5), f. is Yin (inscr. 15), g. is Chou I (inscr. 58), h. is Chou I (inscr. 86), i. is Chou I (inscr. 63, sense of 孝).
- **j—k.** variant of the preceding (Chouli). k. is Chou III (inscr. 226).
- 1. * $k'\hat{o}g / k'au / k'$ i a o T, L artful, skilful (Shī).
- m. * $\chi i \hat{o}g / \chi i \hat{g}u / h i u T$, L rot, decay (Shī).
- n. $*\chi i \hat{o}g / \chi i \hat{g}u / h i u$ K cut to pieces (Lie); loan for the preceding (Mo).
- o. $*k'\hat{o}g / k'\hat{a}u / k$ a o T, L a kind of tree (Ailanthus?) (Shī).
- p. *g'og / yâu / h a o T Shuowen says: cry out, wail, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples is support of this.
- q. *g'og / yâu / h a o T cry out (Shī); command (Chuang); call (Tso); name, denomination (Chouli).
- r. *γίος / γίαν / h i a o L, K vast (Chuang); *g'og / γάν / h a o L noise (Chuang).
- s. *χiog / χiäu / h i a o T, L empty, spacious (Chuang); h ü a n h i a o name of a constellation (Tso).

- t. *giog / jiāu / y a o T, L owl (Shī); a small bird (Chuang); c h 'ī y a o another bird of unknown kind (Shī; later comm. take this also to mean 'owl', but that goes against the earliest commentators).
- 1042 a. * $g'\delta g/\gamma \hat{a}u/h$ a o T bright, splendid (sc. heaven) (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1043 a. * $g'\delta g$ / $\gamma \hat{a}u$ / h a o T bright (sc. heaven) (Lü). The graph has 'bright' and 'head'.
- 1044 a—e. *χôg / χâu / h a o T good (Shī); to love, to like (Shī); loan for id. hole (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 38,3), c. is Yin bone (A 7: 27,4), d. is Chou I (inscr. 128), e. is Chou II (inscr. 167). The graph has 'woman' and 'child'.
- 1045 a. *'ôg / 'âu / a o T, L south-west corner of house (Lunyü); interior (Tso); loan for id. to heap (Kuoyü); to cook (Sün); *'iôk / 'iuk / y ü T, L cove in the bank of a stream (Shī); loan for id. warm, genial (sc. sun) (Shī); bird's stomach (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *' $i\hat{o}k$ / 'iuk / y \ddot{u} T, L, and *' $\hat{o}g$ / ' $\hat{a}u$ / a o L, K bay, cove (Li).
- c. * iôk / iuk / y ü L, K, and * ôg / âu / a o T conceal, hidden (Kuoyü); habitable land (Shu); loan for d. below (Shu this sense as shown by a variant in Shī ki).
- d. *'iôk / 'iuk / y ü T, L warm (Shu).
- e. *' $i\delta k$ / 'iuk / y ü T, L wild vine (Shī).
- 1046 a—b. *t'ôg / t'âu / t'a o T volatile, smooth (Shī ap. Shuowen). b. is Chou (inscr. 367, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. $t' \hat{o}g / t' \hat{a}u / t'$ a o T, L bow case (Tso).
- 1047 a—c. *d'ôg / d'âu / t' a o K Shuowen says: kiln, thus taking it to be the primary form of d. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin (inscr. 6, sense of name), c. is Chou (inscr. 387). The graph has 'earthenware' and an element of uncertain interpretation.
- d. *d'ôg | d'âu | t'ao (even tone) T kiln (Shī); pottery, earthenware (Li); loan for id. pleased (Li); anxious (Meng); a kind of clothes (Tso); loan for *d'ôg | d'âu | tao (oblique tone) L to gallop (Shī); for *diog | iau | yao T, L pleased (Shī); kaoyao wooden drum (Chouli).
- e. $*d'\hat{o}g / d'\hat{a}u / t'$ a o T, L rope (Shī).
- 1048 a—c. *d'ôg / d'âu / t a o T way, road (Shī); method (Shī); principle (Lunyū); show the way, lead (Tso); explain (Li); speak (Meng). b. is Chou I (inscr. 98, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 147). The graph has 'head' and 'go'.
- **d—e.** * $d'\hat{o}g / d'\hat{a}u / t$ a o T to lead, conduct (Meng). e. is Chou I (inser. 83).
- 1049 a. * $ts\delta g / ts\hat{a}u / ts$ a o T early (Shu). Explanation of graph (cf. c. below) uncertain.
- b—c. *ts'ôq / ts'âu / t s 'a o T grass, plants, herbs (Shī); loan for id. rough, coarse (Lunyü); troubled, grieved (Shī). c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- 1050 a. *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T jujube (Shī). The graph has 'thorn' doubled.

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- 1051 a—c. *ts'ôg / ts'âu / t s'a o T, L go and offer (a sacrifice) (Li); go to (Shī), advance (Shī); to rush, urgently (Lunyü); go and appear in court (Shu); to put, to place (Li); (passing time:) period, epoch (Yili); *dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s a o T, L do, make (Shī); be active (Yi), initiate, begin (Li); achieve (Shu). b. is Chou II (inscr. 164), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 309). c. and the modern character have 'to go' and 'to announce' (as in a sacrifice); b. has 'to announce', 'roof' (house, temple) and another element which looks like arch. 'boat', of uncertain interpretation.
- d. $*ts'\hat{o}g / ts'\hat{a}u / ts'$ a o T, L sincere (Li).
- e. *ts'iôg / ts'izu / c h ' o u T, L assistant (Tso).
- 1052 a—b. * $ts'\delta g / ts'\hat{a}u / ts'$ a o (same word as 草) grass, plants (Sün). Shuowen says: a sprout, and T reads its $\hat{t}'i\ddot{a}t / ch'\hat{e}$, but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. It occurs in the sense of 草 in Sün, and is obviously a simpler variant of c. below. b. is pre-Han (inscr. 452, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c—d. *ts'ôg / ts'âu / ts'ao K grass, plants (only Han time text ex., Lun heng). Character generally superseded by 草. d. is extracted from the archaic graph for 蒿 (Chou IV, inscr. 283).
- 1053 a—c. *dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s ' a o T two parties, a pair (Ch'uts'ī); come together (Kuoyü); herd (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,5, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 135, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.** $*dz'\delta g / dz'\hat{a}u / ts' ao T dung-worm, insect larva (Meng).$
- e. *dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s a o (oblique tone) T to transport by boat (Yi Chou shu); dz'ôg / dz'âu / t s ' a o (even tone) L, K place name (Shī).
- f. *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T complete, end (Sün).
- g. *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T, L dregs (Chouli).
- h. *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T meet with (Shī).
- 1054 a—b. *dz'ôg | dz'âu | t s a o T, L acorn, black-dyeing fruit (Chouli); loan for id. soft, not yet ripe (sc. grain) (Shī); menial (Tso); a stable (Chuang); 12 horses (Chouli). The original graph may have been a drawing of an acorn.
- **1055 a—d.** * $l\delta g / l\hat{a}u / l$ a o T old (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 35: 2), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 2,6), d. is Chou II (inser. 150). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- 1056 a—c. *lôg / lâu / lao T pen, fold (Shī); domestic animal (Li); sacrifice of an ox, a sheep and a pig (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1:10,2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 98). The graph has 'ox' and a drawing of a pen. In the Yin bone forms there is often 'sheep' instead of 'ox'.
- 1057 a—e. *pôg / pâu / p a o T preserve, protect (Shī) b. is Yin bone (A 7: 3,1), c. is Yin (inser. 47), d. is Chou I (inser. 65), e. is Chou I (inser. 70). The graph has 'man' and 'child' (in e. enlarged by 'jade, precious').
- *pôg / pâu / p a o T, L screen, fan (Li); loan for a. above (Chuang), for h. below (Li).
- g. *pôg / pâu / p a o T swaddling cloth (Lie).
- h. *pôg / pâu / p a o T, L robe with wide skirts (so Shuowen), robe given in recompense (so Cheng Hüan) (Li); loan for id. to salute (Chouli).
- 1058 a—b. *pôg / pâu / p a o T respond, recompense (Shī); return, repay, avenge (Tso); announce (Li); loan for id. to tie, wrap (Li); to have illicit love with a person of higher rank (Tso). b. is Chou I (inser. 69). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1059 a—e. *pôg / pâu / p a o T precious thing (Yi), precious (Tso); precious insignium (of dignity) (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 18:3), c. is Yin (inscr. 2), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54), e. is Chou I (inscr. 60). The graph has 'roof' (house), 'cowry' and 'pottery'; the latter (*piôg) may be phonetic at the same time.
- **1060 a.** * $p \circ g / p \circ u / p$ a o T Shuowen says: in sequel, one after another; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *pôg / pâu / p a o T, L name of a bird (Shī); loan for id. horse of mixed black and white colour (Shī).
- **1061 a.** * $b'\delta g / b'\hat{a}u / p$ a o L, K violent (Chouli). The graph has 'warrior' and 'tiger'.
- 1062 a—b. *môg / mâu / m a o T, L, and *mɔk / mɔk / m o T, L a covering (Li); to cover, overspread (Shī); (with covered eyes:) blindly, reckless (Tso); loan for c. below (Lü), for d. (Chouli). The graph has 'eye' and a drawing of some kind of cover.
- c. $*m \hat{o}g / m \hat{a}u / m \text{ a o } -T$, L jealous (Li).
- d. *môg / mâu / m a o T, L sceptre-cover, cap of a jade tablet (Shu).



- 1063 a-c. *m6q / m2u / mou, mu T, L male (Shī). The Archaic reading was * $m\hat{o}q$ as shown by the rimes; this should give Anc. $m\hat{a}u$, and the evolution into $m\hat{e}u$ is irregular and exceptional. b. is Yin bone (A 1: 20,5), c. is Chou I (inscr. 107). The graph has 'ox' and the phallic-shaped pole of the earth-altar (see ±). In the Yin bone forms there is sometimes 'sheep' or 'deer' instead of 'ox'.
- 1064 a. *kiôg / kiżu / k i u K Shuowen says: to twist, thus taking it to be the primary form of next; but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- * $ki\hat{g}g / ki\hat{g}u / kiu$ T, L twist, plait (Shī); unite (Tso); loan for id. examine (Chouli); lightly carried (sc. hat) (Shī); loan for *g'iog / g'iāu / k i a o — L, and *kiog / kiäu / kiao — L elegant (Shī, so the Mao comm.)
- c. variant of the preceding (Ch'uts'i).
- d. *kiôg / kiệu / k i u T, L vigorous, martial (Shī).
- * $g'i\hat{o}g/g'i\hat{o}u/k$ 'iu T, and * $ki\hat{o}g/ki\hat{o}u/k$ iu T horned dragon (Ch'uts'ī).
- * $g'\hat{i}\hat{o}g/g'\hat{i}\hat{j}u/k'$ i u T, L horn-shaped, long and curved (Kuliang).
- g. *kiôg / kieu / k i a o T, L call out, shout (Shī).

 h. *kiôg / kieu / k i a o T shout (Tso ap. Shuowen).
- *kiôg / kieu / k i a o L, K shout, clamour (Chouli).
- 1065 a. *kiôg / kiệu / k i u T, L Allium, leek, onion (Shī). The original graph may have been a drawing.
- b. variant of the preceding (Chuang).
- 1066 a—d. *g'iôg / g'izu / k'iu T seek for, ask (Shī); an equa, a match (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 6: 48,5), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 48,6), d. is Chou II (inscr. 132). Shuowen takes this to be the primary graph for e. below, 'fur garment', applied by loan to our word 'seek for'. The graph is then a drawing of fur (a tail?).
- e. *g'iôg / g'ièu / k' i u T fur garment (Shī).
- *g'iôg | g'iqu | k' i u T, L a kind of precious stone (Shī).
- g. *g'iôg / g'i沒u / k' i u T, L long and curved, horn-like (Shī), cf. 1064 f. above; *kjug / kju / k ü — T, L to pack earth (in building frames) (Shī).
- h. *g'iôg | g'iqu | k' i u T, L hasty, hurrying (Shī).
- *g'iôg | g'iôu | k'iu T, L long and curved, horn-shaped (Shi), see g. above.
- *g'iôg / g'izu / k' i u T bribe (Hanfei).
- k. *g'iôg / g'iòu / k'iu T, L meet, assemble (Shī); mate (Shī).
- 1. *q'iôq / q'iqu / k' i u T, L the »club» of an axe handle, the part inserted in the axe hole (Shī).
- m. *kiôg / kiqu / k i u T help, save, relieve (Shī).
- n. *g'iŭg / g'iżu / k i u L, K (*g'iŭg revealed by rime) ornate, solemn, respect (Shī).
- 1067 a. *g'iôg / g'ièu / k i u T, L mortar (Yi). The graph (see d—e. below) was a drawing.
- b. *g'iôg / g'i2u / k i u T maternal uncle (Shī); wife's father (Li).
- c-e. *q'iŭq / g'izu / k i u T (*g'iŭq revealed by rime) old (not new), ancient (Shī); for a long time (Shī). d. is Yin bone (A 4: 15,4), e. is Chou II (inscr. 156).
- **1.** $*g'i\check{u}g \mid g'i\check{\varrho}u \mid k i u L$, K coffin (Chouli).
- 1068 a—b. *g'i6g / g'i2u / k i u T fault (Shī); blame (Shī); inauspicious (Shī); calamity (Yi); loan for $*k\hat{o}g/k\hat{a}u/k$ a o — T, L part of names (Tso). b. is Chou III (inscr. 228, enlarged by rad. 104). Explanation of graph uncertain.

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- **c—d.** * $k \hat{o} g / k \hat{a} u / k$ a o T a kind of tree (inser. 328). d. is Chou III/IV (inser. 328).
- e. $*k \hat{o}g / k \hat{a}u / k a o$ T, L big drum (Shī).
- 1. *kôg / kâu / k a o T, L bow case, put in bow case (Shī).
- 1069 a. *glįôg / liðu / liu T, L whistling of the wind (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b—e.** *gliôg / lizu / l i u T fine gold (inscr. 217). c. and d. are Chou III (inscr. 217), e. is Chou III (inscr. 218).
- f. *gliôg / ligu / liu T, L wind high up in the air (Lü).
- g. *gliôg / ligu / liu T, and *kliôg / kigu / kiu L to tie round, strangle (Yili).
- h. *kliôg / kiệu / k i u T, L down-curving (sc. branch) (Shī); to twist (Yili).
- i. *g'liôg | g'iqu | k' i u T, L a kind of precious stone (Shu).
- j. $*gli\hat{o}g/lizu/liu$ T, L, and $*gli\hat{o}k/liuk/lu$ T, L join forces (Kuoyü).
- **k.** * $t'li\hat{o}g/\hat{t}'i\partial u/ch'$ ou T, L, and * $li\hat{o}g/lieu/liao$ T get cured, recover (Shī).
- 1 *mliôg / migu / m i u T, L bind round (Shī); loan for m. below (Li); *kliôg / kigu / k i u L to twist (Li), cf. h. above; loan for 稳 (Li).
- m. *mljôg / mjąu / m i u T lie, error (Chuang).
- n. *gliôg / lieu / l i a o T, L empty, solitary, quiet (Chuang).
- o. *gliôg | lieu | li a o T, L (after Sü Miao) limpid, pure (Chuang).
- p. *gliôg | lieu | l i a o T, L various Polygonum plants, esp. the Hydropiper (Shī); *gliôk | liuk | l u T, L high-growing (plants) (Shī).
- q. *gliog / liau / liao T sharp (sc. taste) (Yi Chou shu ap. Shuowen).
- r. *glôg / lâu / la o T spirits with sediment (Lie).
- s. *klôg / k a u / k i a o T, L glue (Chouli); (as glued:) solid, reliable (Shī); loan for id. frost (Ch'uts'ī); school (Li); to shake, move (Chuang); crowing of a cock (Shī).
- **t.** $*\chi l \hat{o}g / \chi au / h i a o K magniloquent (Meng).$
- u. *glįôk / liuk / lu L, K disgrace (Lunyü); loan for v. below (Sün).
- v. *gliôk / liuk / l u T, L to kill, punish by death (Shu); to disgrace (Tso); loan for j. above (Kuoyü).
- x. *glįôk / liuk / lu L, K grain sown late and ripening early (Shī), cognate to 1032 h. above.
- 1070 a—1. *χiôg / χigu / h i u T rest, ease (Shī); desist (Kuots'ê); loan for id. good (Shī), benefit, blessing (Shī); approve (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 26,2), c. is Yin bone (H 1: 23,15), d. is Yin (inscr. 14), e. is Yin (inscr. 28), f. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph has 'man' and 'tree', sometimes (as in e.) 'man' and 'grain'.

- g. $*\chi i \hat{o}g / \chi i \hat{g}u / h i u K$ clamour (Meng).
- h. *χίδg / χίζu / h i u T, L a wild animal, of uncertain kind (Li).
- i. $*\chi_i \hat{\delta} g / \chi_i \hat{g} u / h i u T$ owl (Chuang).
- j. *xiôg / xizu / h i u T, L dark-red varnish (Yili). Phonetic abbreviated.
- **k.** $*\chi \hat{o}g / \chi \hat{a}u / h$ a o K to weed (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- 1. *\(\chi_0 g / \chi_a u / h i a o \) L violent, tyrannic (Shī).
- m. *kiôg | kieu | k i a o T, L a kind of bird (owl?) (Shī); loan for id. mountain peak (Kuan); disturb, disorder (Sün). Phonetic abbreviated.
- n. *kiôg / kieu / k i a o L dilute (Chuang, one version).
- 1071 a. *'iôg / iżu / y u T grief, grieved (Shī); suffering (Meng). The graph (see c. below) has a 'man' (head, body and foot) and 'heart'.
- b—c. sense and reading of this word are unknown; it is adduced here because its arch. graph contains a. above. c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 328).
- d. * iôg / iòu / y u T, L indulgent, mild (Shī); relax, amusement, comedy (Tso); liberal, generous, plenty (Shī); vast (Li); surplus (Lunyū).
- e. * iôg / iżu / y u L, K slow (Shī); loan for a. above (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1. * iôg / iou / y u T rich moisture, soak (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- g. * iôg / iżu / y u T, L middle part of a hair-pin (Yili).
- h. * iôg / ièu / y u T, L to cover the seed (Lunyü).
- i. variant of the preceding (Lunyü ap. Shuowen).
- 1072 a—b. *'iôg / 'i沒u / y u T, L doe (Shī). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 323). The graph has 'deer' and ∠ 566 (a:) i. above 'female'.
- **1073 a.** $ti\hat{g}g/\hat{t}i\hat{g}u/c$ h o u T, L wrist, elbow (Tso). The graph has 'flesh' and 'hand' (in the 'thumb' variation). Abbreviated phonetic in the following:
- **b.** $*ti\delta g / \hat{t}i\partial u / c$ h o u T pain in the intestines, sickness (Lü).
- c. $*d'i\hat{o}g/d'i\hat{g}u/c$ hou \hat{T} , L new spirits made to ferment by addition of older spirits (Li).
- d. *t'ôq / t'âu / t'a o T punish, blame (Shu); request (Kuliang), examine (Lunyū).
- **1074 a—b.** * $ti\hat{o}g/\hat{t}i\hat{g}u/c$ h o u T pull out (Lü). b. is Chou I (inscr. 73). The graph has 'grasp' and 'vessel'.
- 1075 a. * $ti\delta g / \hat{t}i\alpha u / c$ h o u T time of daylight, day (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1076 a—d. *t'niôg / î'iau / c h' o u K cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 26,5), c. is Yin bone (A 5: 34,1), d. is Chou I (inscr. 69). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *njôg / ńiżu / n i u T, L a kind of tree, of uncertain kind (a Prunus?) (Shī).
- 1. *niôg / ńiżu / n i u T, L be familiar with, treat with contempt (Tso); repeat, practise (Shī).
- g. $*ni\hat{o}g / \hat{n}i\partial u / n i u T$, L to tie, knot (Li).
- h—j. *sniôg / sigu / s i u T viands (Tso); to present (Shu); diffidence (Tso); shame (Lunyü). i. is Yin bone (A 2: 11,1). j. is Chou II (inscr. 172).
- **k.** $*nj\hat{o}k / \hat{n}juk / n u$ T, L ashamed (Meng), cf. the preceding.

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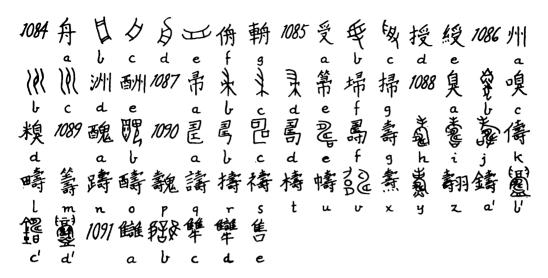
- 1077 a—b. *diôg / i2u / y u T place (Shī); the place where (Shī); that which, whereby (Shī); loan for id. quickly (sc. escaping fish) (Meng); dangerous (Tso). b. is Chou II (inscr. 144, sense of h. below). The graph has 'man' and 'baton', and a third element of uncertain interpretation.
- c. *diôq / igu / y u T, L to brood, worry, anxious (Shī); loan for id. far away (Shī); vast (Shī); slow (Shī).
- d. *siôg / siœu / s i u T adorn (Li); arrange, repair (Shī); cultivate (Shī); loan for id. long, tall (Shī).
- e. *siôg | siau | siu T dried meat (Lunyü); dry (Shī); loan for id. long (Shī); loan for d. above (Yi), for i (Chouli).
- 1. *d'iôg / d'ieu / t' i a o T a kind of tree, of uncertain species (Shī); branch, shoot (Shī); long (Shī), drawn out (sc. sound) (Shī); rope (Li); loan for id. arrange, bring into order (Shu); paragraph (Kuots'ê); *t'iôg / t'ieu / t'iao L pull down branches and gather leaves (Shī).
- g. $*d'i\delta g / d'ieu / t'i a o L$, K reins (Shī).
- h—i. *d'iôg | d'ieu | t'i a o T metal ornament on reins (inscr. 86). i is Chou I (inscr. 86).
- j. *d'iôg / d'ieu / t' i a o T, L a kind of small white fish (Chuang), cf. t. below.
- k. *d'iôg | d'ieu | t i a o (oblique tone) T basket (Lunyü ap. Shuowen), cf. v. below.
- 1. *siôg | sieu | s i a o L, K frayed and worn (sc. plume) (Shī); *siôg | sieu | s i a o L, and *\$iôk | \$iuk | s h u T, L rapid flight (Chuang).
- m—n. *diôk / żiuk / s h u T rapid (Kuots'ê). n. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- o. *diók / źiuk / s h u T, L rapid, sudden (Chuang); loan for j. above (Chuang).
- p. variant of the preceding.
- **q.** $*di\hat{o}g/i\partial u/yu$ L to flow (Shī).
- r. *siôg / sizu / siu T, L wash rice (Li); urinate (Sün).
- **s.** $t'i\delta k / t'iek / t'i K Rumex (Kuan).$
- t. *d'iôg / d'ieu / t' i a o L, K a kind of small white fish (Shī), same as j. above.
- u. *siôg / sieu / s i a o T, L thin bamboo (Shu).
- v. *d'iôk / d'iek / ti T, and *d'iôg / d'ieu / ti a o L basket (Lunyü), cf. k. above.
- **x.** *d'i6k / d'iek / t i T, L to wash (Li), cleanse (Shī); (swept clean:) denuded, bare, dried up (Shī); pen for sacrificial animals (where they are cleaned) (Li); to clarify (sc. spirits) (Chouli); loan for id. move (Li).

- 1078 a. *diôq / i2u / y u T, and *diog / i2u / y a o T, and *diug / iu / y ü T to scoop hulled grain from a mortar (Shī ap. Shuowen). The graph (see e. below) has 'hand' and 'mortar'.
- b. *t'ôg / t'âu / t'a o T, L to please (Tso); careless, frivolous (Shu); insolent (Shī); exceed, pass (Shī); loan for id. doubtful (Tso); conceal (Tso).
- c. $t' \hat{o}g / \bar{t}' \hat{a}u / t'$ a o T to beat (Kuoyü).
- d—e. *t'ôg / t'âu / t 'a o T, L voluminous flow (of a river) (Shī); rushing water, overflowing, water rising high (Shu); overbearing, insolent (Shu); *t'ôg / t'âu / t 'a o L, and *d'ôg / d'âu / t 'a o L to assemble, to crowd (Chuang). e. is Chou III/IV (inser. 329).
- f. $t' \hat{o}g / t' \hat{a}u / t'$ a o T, L doubt (Tso).
- g. $t' \hat{o}g / t' \hat{a}u / t'$ a o T, L to wrap, cover (Yili).
- h—k. $*d\hat{\cdot} \hat{o}g / d\hat{\cdot} \hat{a}u / t$ a o T rice, paddy (Shī). i. is Chou II (inser. 158), j. is Chou II/III (inser. 258), k. is Chou II/III (inser. 263).
- 1. *d'ôg / d'âu / t a o T, L tread, trample (Tso); loan for 恒 (Shī).
- 1079 a. *diôg / ièu / y u proceed from, from (Shī); go along (Li); employ (Tso), by, through (Tso); cause, reason (Tso); freely, at ease (Meng); loan for 猶 (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *diôg / izu / y u T, L Pumelo, Citrus (Shu); *d'iôk / d'iuk / c h u L, K a cylinder for the warp on the weaving apparatus (Shī).
- c. *diôg / izu / y u T to flow (Ch'ute'i); overflowing, abundant (sc. rain) (Meng); (flowingly:) freely, spontaneously (Li); mild, courteous (Li).
- **d.** $*di \hat{o}g / i \hat{g}u / y u T$, L weasel (Ta Tai li).
- e. * $t'i\delta g/\hat{t}'i\partial u/ch'ou$ T, L, and * $d'i\delta g/\hat{d}'i\partial u/ch'ou$ T, L agitated, anxious (Shī).
- f. $tilde{ig} / tilde{ig} / ch'$ ou T take out, pull out (Shi).
- g. $*d'i\partial g / d'i\partial u / c$ h o u T, L canopy of heaven, world (Chuang).
- h. *d'iôg | d'ièu | c h o u T, L descendant (Tso); eldest son of principal wife (Shu).
- i—k. *d'iôg / d'iou / c h o u T helmet (Shī). j. is Chou I (inscr. 67), k. is Chou II (inscr. 159). The radical below is not 'flesh' but, acc. to Shuowen, an element meaning 'cover'. But it seems that the whole graph is due to a corruption of an arch. drawing showing an eye (= head) with some spiked object on top. Yet already in Sün there is a variant with a. as phonetic, see l. below.
- 1. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- m. $*dzi\hat{o}g/zi\hat{o}u/siu$ T, L sleeve (Tso).
- n—o. *dziôg / ziżu / s i u L sleeve (Shī); *ziôg / iżu / y u T, L (sleeved robe:) full dress (Shī); loan for id. big, tall (sc. growing grain) (Shī). To the left in the character there is K 'hand'. The variant o. is very curious.
- p. *d'iôk / d'iuk / c h u T, L wheel-axle (Tso); loan for q. below (Shī, so the Mao comm.; acc. to Cheng Hüan: sick, suffering).
- q. *d'iôk / d'iek / t i T, L advance (Shī); go along, follow a road (Shu); to lead, direct (Shu).
- 1080 a—e. *diôg / igu / y u T, L pendants of a banner (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 26,7, sense of g. below), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 313, sense of name), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327), e. is Chou (inscr. 340, sense of name). The graph has 'banner' and 'child', explanation uncertain.
- 1. *diôg / ièu / y u T, L float; swim (Shī); wander, ramble (Shī); pennon (Tso, in this sense sometimes read liu, through confusion with 1104 c. below).

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- g. $*di\hat{o}g / i\hat{q}u / yu$ T wander about (Shī); leisure (Li). h. $*di\hat{o}g / i\hat{q}u / yu$ — T, L fou-yu Ephemerida (Shī).
- 1081 a—1. *diôg / i2u / y u T, L a kind of ritual vessel (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 18,4), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 41,5), d. is Chou I (inser. 65), e. is Chou I (inser. 74), f. is Chou II (inser. 159). The graph is a drawing.
- g. *diôg / iżu / y u T freely, unrestrained (Lie).
- 1082 a. *diôg / iœu / y u T, L window (Shī); enlighten (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1083 a—e. *\$\tilde{t}_i\tilde{c}_g / t\tilde{s}_i\tilde{c}_u / c h o u T circle (Li), cycle (Tso); a bend (Shī); all round, complete (Tso); to the end (Tso); everywhere (Yi), universally (Shī); (to be *all round * somebody:) assist (Shī), succour (Tso); loan for id. great (Shī); intimate (Tso); secret (Kuan); name of place and royal house (Shī). b. is Yin bone (K 641), c. is Chou I (inser. 58), d. is Chou I (inser. 62), e. is Chou I (inser. 106). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **f**—g. * $\hat{t}\hat{i}\hat{\rho}g$ / $t\hat{s}\hat{i}\hat{\rho}u$ / c h o u T, L woman's name (Tso). g. is Chou II/III (inscr. 240).
- h. $\hat{t}i\hat{o}q/t\hat{s}i\partial u/c$ h o u T, L give, succour (Chouli).
- i. $\hat{t}_i = \hat{t}_i = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$
- j. * $ti\hat{o}g/\hat{t}i\hat{g}u/c$ h o u T, L, and * $t\hat{o}g/\hat{t}au/c$ h a o T twitter, noise (Li).
- **k.** * $t'i\hat{o}g/\hat{t}'i\hat{g}u/ch'$ ou T disappointed (Sün).
- 1. *d'iôg / d'izu / c h ' o u T, L, dense, numerous (Kuots'ê); loan for x. below (Chuang).
- m. *d'iôg | d'i沒u | c h'ou T, L bind round, wrap round (Shī); pressed tightly together, dense (Shī); *t'ôg | t'âu | t'ao L, K envelop (Li).
- n. * $d'i\delta g / d'i\partial u / c h'$ o u T, L sheet for a bed (Shī).
- o. *tiôg / tieu / t i a o T wither, fade, fall (Kuots'ê).
- p-q. *tiôq / tieu / t i a o T engrave, carve (inscr. 133). q. is Chou II (inscr. 133).
- r. *tiôg / tieu / tiao T engrave (Chuang), carve (Tso); injure (Tso); loan for o. above (Lunyü).
- s. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- t—u. *tiôg | tieu | t i a o T, L eagle (Shu, T'aishī in Ma Jung's version); u. loan for r. above (Shu).
- v. *d'iôg / d'ieu / t'i a o T, L cicada (Shī).

- **x.** T*d'iôg | d'ieu | t'i a o T, L to tune (Li); adjust (Shī); blend (Lü); stir, move (Chuang); loan for *tiôg | t̂i沒u | c h o u L, K morning (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- y. *tôg / tâu / t a o T, L read blessings over animals about to be sacrificed (Chouli).
- z. *t'iôk / t'iek / t ' i T vast, high (Sün).
- 1084 a—e. $*\hat{t}_i \hat{o}g / t \hat{s}_i \hat{q}u / c$ h o u T boat (Shī); loan for id. girdle, carry in the girdle (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 24,2), c. is Yin bone (A 2: 26,2), d. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327), e. is Chou (inscr. 367). The graph is a drawing.
- 1. *tiôg | tigu | c h o u T, L cheat, impose on (Shī).
- g. *tiôg / tiqu / c h o u T, L carriage pole (Shī).
- 1085 a—c. $*di\hat{o}g / iiqu / s$ h o u T receive (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 20,7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph shows two hands, handling some boat-shaped object (a shuttle?). $*\hat{t}i\hat{o}g$ 'boat' is at the same time phonetic.
- **d.** $*di\delta g / \pm i \partial u / s$ h o u T give (Shī), hand over (Tso).
- e. *dióq / źiżu / s h o u T. L silk band or cord (for tying seal at waist etc.) (Li).
- 1086 a—c. * $\hat{t}i\delta g / t\delta i\partial u / c$ h o u T islet in stream (Shī ap. Shuowen); province (Shu), district (Chouli), congregation (Kuoyü). b. is Yin bone (O 262), c. is Chou I (inscr. 63). The graph is a drawing.
- d. $*\hat{t}i\hat{o}g / t\hat{s}i\hat{g}u / c h o u T$, L islet (Shī).
- e. *diôg / źiżu / c h 'o u T to pledge with wine a second time (Shī); encourage to drink (Yili); to recompense with gifts (Tso).
- 1087 a—d. $*\hat{t}_i \hat{o}g / t \hat{s}_i \hat{q}u / c$ h o u T, L broom (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 25,3), d. is pre-Han (inscr. 437) in the inscriptions always used in the sense of either k u e i 570 a. 'return' or f u 1001 a. 'wife'. The graph is a drawing.
- e. $*\hat{t}i\hat{o}g / t\hat{s}i\partial u / c h o u T broom (Kuoyü).$
- f. *sôg / sâu / sao T, L to brush, sweep (Shī), cognate to the preceding.
- g. $*s \hat{o} g / s \hat{a} u / s a o T$ to brush, sweep (Li).
- 1088 a—b. * $\hat{t}'i\hat{g}g/t\hat{s}'i\hat{g}u/c$ h' o u T, L strong smell (Shī): b. is Yin bone (A 5: 47,4). The graph has 'dog' and $\hat{\Xi}$, said to be a drawing of a 'nose'(?).
- c. $*\chi i \hat{o}g / \chi i \hat{\rho}u / h i u L$ to smell, inhale (Lunyü).
- d. *k'iôg / k'iau / k' i u T, L parched grain, dry provisions (Shu).
- **1089 a—b.** * $\hat{t}'i\hat{\rho}g/t\hat{s}'i\hat{\rho}u/c$ h' o u T ugly (Ch'uts'ī); evil, ominous (Shī); be ashamed (Chuang); loan for id. multitude (Shī); category, class (Li); of same kind (Meng); anus (Li). b. is Yin bone (C 4:9). The graph has 'devil' and 'wine vessel'.
- 1090 a—c. *d'iôg / d'i沒u / c h' o u T Shuowen says: ploughed field, thus taking it to be the primary form of l. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. c. is Yin bone (A 1: 8,5 sense of s. below). The graph may be a drawing of a ploughed field.
- d-e. *d'iôg / d'i沒u / c h ' o u L who (Yi, Cheng Hüan's version ap. L). e. is Chou I (inscr. 86, possibly sense of u. below).
- f. variant of the preceding (Shuowen).
- g—j. *diôg / źiżu / s h o u T longevity, high age (Shī). h. is Chou I (inscr. 58), i. is Chou I (inscr. 79), j. is Chou II (inscr. 140). Thus a., d. or f. may be phonetic, the radical being 老 'old'.



- **k.** * $d'i\hat{o}g / \hat{d}'i\hat{g}u / c$ h' o u T equal, companion (Kueikutsi).
- 1. *d'iôg / d'îgu / c h' o u T ploughed field (Tso); hemp field (Kuoyü); loan for id. who (Shu) (same as d. above); in the past, yesterday (Tso); class, category (Shu); (of same category:) mate, companion (Shu).
- m. *d'iôg / d'i沒u / c h 'o u T, L arrows thrown into the mouth of a bottle (ancient game) (Li); counting stick, tally (Yili).
- n. *d'iôg / d'izu / ch'ou T, L ch'ou-ch'u advance and draw back, hesitate (Chuang).
- o. *diôg / zizu / c h ' o u L, K pledge with wine a second time (Shī).
- p. *diôg / zigu / c h ' o u T, L reject (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- q. *tiôg / tiệu / c h o u T, L boast, to bluff, impose on (Shu).
- r. *tôg / tâu / t a o T, L to beat, pound (Shī).
- **8.** $*t\hat{o}g / t\hat{a}u / t$ a o T pray (Shī).
- t. $*d^2 \hat{o}g / d^2 \hat{a}u / t$ a o T, L block of wood, block-head, stupid one (Tso).
- u—v. *d'ôg / d'âu / t a o L, K to cover (Li); *d'iôg / d'iau / c h'o u T, L covering (Sün); protection for wheel axle (Chouli). v. is Chou II (inscr. 159, rad. 178 inst. of 50).
- **x—y.** *d'ôg | d'âu | t a o (oblique tone) T, L, and *d'ôg | d'âu | t 'a o (even tone) T to cover (Tso, in Kia K'uei's version). y. is Chou III (inscr. 232, sense of name).
- **2.** $*d'\hat{o}g/d'\hat{a}u/t$ a o (oblique tone) T, L, and $*d'\hat{o}g/d'\hat{a}u/t'$ a o (even tone) L, K staff with plumes (Shī).
- a'—d'. *\hat{t}iug | t\hat{s}iu | c h u T, L to cast (Tso). b'. is Chou I/II (inscr. 209), c'. is Chou III (inscr. 225), d'. is Chou II/III (inscr. 243). The graph varies considerably, having sometimes two hands arranging a cover, sometimes a 'vessel'; there are also forms (not quoted here) in which the phonetic is missing.
- 1091 a—b. *diôg / źiżu / c h 'o u T pay back, reply (give words for words) (Shī); opponent, enemy (Shī); loan for 稠 (Shu). b. is Chou II (inscr. 143, sense of name). The graph has two 'birds' and 'speak'.
- **c—d.** $\hat{t}^{i}\hat{t}^{j}\hat{t}og/ts^{i}\hat{t}ou/ch'$ ou \hat{T} , L sound of an ox breathing (Shouwen, no text ex.); loan for id. protrude (Lü).
- e. *d'iôg / zizu / s h o u (oblique tone) T sell (Shī). Phonetic abbreviated.

- 1092 a. *ts'iôq / ts'ièu / t s'i u T autumn (Shī); loan for id. to dance to posture (said of a bird) (Sün). The graph has 'grain' and 'fire'.
- *ts'iôg / ts'izu / t s ' i u T, L Catalpa (Ch'uts'ī).
- *ts'iôg / ts'ièu / ts'iu T Catalpa (Tso); Shuowen says: Artemisia, but there an no early text examples of this.
- *ts'iôg / ts'iqu / t s ' i u T, L stork, marabou (Shī).
- *tsiôg / tsiòu / tsiu T hum, resound (Ch'uts'ī).
 *tsiôg / tsiòu / tsiu T, and *tsiôg / tsieu / tsiao T, L (after Sü Miao) low (Tso), cramped, congested (Tso).
- *dz'iôg / dz'iqu / ts' i u T collect (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- *tsiôg / tsiqu / c h o u T, L brickwork of a well (Yi).
- * $dz'i\delta g / dz'i\partial u / ch'ou$ T, L grieved (Ch'uts'I). * $ts'iog / ts'i\ddot{a}u / ts'iao$ T, L, and * $dz'i\delta g / dz'i\partial u / tsiu$ L, K to change colour (of face) (Li).
- 1093 a. *dz'iôq / dz'iou / tsiu T go to, come to (Shī); advance, proceed (Shī); accomplish, finish (Kuots'ê); attain, be able to (Tso); (coming to:) as to (Tso); loan for id. a set, a bundle (of ribbons) (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b-c. *tsi6k / tsiuk / tsu T, L, and *ts'i6k / ts'iuk / ts'u T trample, kick (Meng); loan for *tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu — L and *dz'iôk / dz'iuk / tsu — L anxiously. respectfully (Li).
- 1094 a—b. *dziôg / ziżu / s i u T prisoner (Shī); confine (Tso); judgment (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 24,1). The graph shows a man in an enclosure.
- *dziôg / ziąu / s i u T swim (Lie).
- 1095 a—b. *siôg / sigu / siu T ear of grain, go into ear (Shī); flower, come into flower (Lunyü); flourishing, beautiful (Tso). b. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 325). The graph has 'grain' and another element of uncertain interpretation.
- *siôg / sizu / siu T, L, and *ziôg / izu / yu L, K a kind of precious stone (Shī).
- *ziôg / iżu / y u T, L weeds (Shī); useless, injurious (Shī).
- *ziôg / iżu / y u T lead, influence (Lunyü); encourage (Shu); entice, seduce (Shī).
- 1096 a—g. *zi6q / iou / y u T cyclical character (Tso). b. is Yin bone (E 146:3), c. is Yin bone (E 118:4), d. is Yin bone (A 6:5,3), e. is Yin (inscr. 26), f. is Chou I (inscr. 65, sense of k. below), g. is Chou I (inscr. 67). The graph is evidently a drawing of a wine vessel.
- h. $*zi\hat{o}g / i\partial u / y u T$, L rot, decay (Chouli).
- i-j. *ziôg / iau / y u T, L to store firewood (Shī).
- k. *tsiôg / tsigu / t s i u T spirits, wine (Shī).
- 1-m. *dz'ióq / dz'iòu / t s' i u T, L wine-master (Chouli); loan for id. achieve (Shī). m. is Yin bone (F 9: 2, sense here uncertain).
- *dz'iôg / dz'iau / t s ' i u T tree-grub (Shī).
- o. *dz'iôg / dz'ièu / t s ' i u T, L, and *tsiôg / tsièu / tsiu T, L collect (Shī); consolidate (Shī); to press (Ch'uts'ī).
- **p.** * $ts'i\partial g / ts'i\partial u / ts'iu$ L, K crupper (Chouli).
- q. *ts'iôg / ts'iou / ts' i u T, L some kind of small mudfish (Chuang); loan for z. below (Chuang, current version).

1000 番 1004 | 1004 | 1004 | 1005 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006 | 1006

- r—s. *ziôg / i沒u / y u T a kind of monkey (Shītsī); suspicious, hesitating (Li); loan for id. equal to, similar (Shī); plan, scheme (Shī); go along (Shī); still, yet (Shī); would that (Shī); loan for 由 (Meng). s. is Chou IV (inscr. 290, sense of name).
- t—x. *zi6g / izu / y u T plan, scheme (Shī); way (Shu); initial particle (Shu). u. is Yin bone (A 7: 12,1), v. is Chou II (inscr. 139), x. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- y. *ziôg / iżu / y u T, L light car (Shī); light (Shī).
- z. *tsiôk / tsiuk / tsu L, and *ts'iôk / ts'iuk / ts'u L to press (Chuang, one version ap. L).
- a'. *ziôg / izu / y u T, L a stinking water plant (Tso).
- 1097 a—c. *\$\sigma_i\hat{o}g / \sigma_i\hat{v}u / \s o u L; sound of rice being washed (Shī). *\$sug / \sigma_u / \s o u T, L old man (Meng). c. is Yin bone (A 4: 28,7, probably sense of d.). The graph has 'roof' (house), 'hand' and 'fire' it may be the primary form of d. 'search'.
- d. *sjôg / siżu / s o u T search (Chuang); *sug / szu / s o u L to move (Chuang).
- e. *siôg / sizu / s o u T, L conceal (Lunyü); s o u j e n title of an official (in charge of the royal horses) (Chouli).
- 1. $*si\hat{o}g / sigu / sou T$, L moisten, wash (Li).
- **g.** $*si\delta g / si2u / s o u$ T urinate (Kuoyü).
- h. *siôg / sizu / s o u L, K seasonal hunt (Li).
- i. *siôg / sièu / sou T lean, meagre (Hiaoking).
- j. *siôg / sigu / sou T, L white wine (Yili).
- **k.** $*s\hat{o}g / s\hat{a}u / s$ a o T elder brother's wife (Li).
- 1. *siôg / sieu / s i a o T, L small talk (Li).
- m. *sug / szu / s o u L, K old man (Tso), cf. a. above.
- n. *sug / sou / sou T, L blind, without pupils (Shi).
- 1098 a. *\$\frac{*}{2}\tilde{g} / \frac{*}{2}\tilde{u} / \text{s o u } T, L Rubia (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. hunting assembly in springtime (Tso); inspect (Tso); search for something hidden (Tso). The graph has 'herb' and 'demon, spirit'.
- 1099 a—b. *\$iôg | \$i2u | s h o u T keep, guard (Shī); territory in somebody's guard, fief (Shu). b. is Chou II (inscr. 161). The graph has 'roof' (house) and 'hand' (in the 'thumb' variation).



- c. *\$\figsip_0 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} u \sqrt{ s h o u --- T to hunt (Shī); great winter hunt (Shī); inspection tour (Meng).
- 1101 a—b. *\$iôg | \$iau | s h o u T hand (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 86). The graph is a drawing.
- 1102 a—c. *\$i\delta g / \delta i\delta u / s h o u T head (Shī). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58), c. is Chou II (inscr. 170). The graph is a drawing.
- 1103 a. *\$\sigma_i \text{og} | \sigma_i \text{vi} | s h o u T catch (Shī), take (Yi), collect, receive (Shī); take and remove (Tso); harvest (Li); (*receiver*): the hack of a carriage (Shī); a kind of cap (Yili). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1104 a—b. *lifog / ligu / liu T to flow (Shī); to float (Tso); drift away (Tso); roam about (Shī); in all directions (Yi); banish (Meng); descend (Shī); dissolute (Li); loan for id. to search for (Shī, so the Mao comm.). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 327). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- c. *liôg / liqu / liu T. L pendants of a banner (Shī); pendants of a cap (Li).
- 1105 a. *niôg / naizu / j o u T flexible (Shī); soft, mild (Shī); tender (Shī). The graph has 'lance' and 'tree, wood'.
- b. *niôg / nzizu / j o u L, K to make pliable, subdue (Shī).
- c. *ńiôg / ńżiżu / j o u T fertile field (Kuoyü).
- d. *niôg / nźiżu / j o u T, L tread, trample (Shī).
- e. *niôg / nźiżu / j o u L, K felloe of a wheel (Chouli).
- f. *niôg / ńiżu / n i u T, L mixed (Yili).
- g. $*n\delta g / n\hat{a}u / n$ a o T, L monkey (Shī).
- 1106 a. *piôg / piau / piao T, L (Mand. piao in this and next is irregular) a N. Pr. (Ch'unts'iu). The graph has 'tiger' and 'strokes'.
- **b.** $b'i\partial g/b'i\partial u/piao$ L to flow (Shī).

- 1107 a—c. *piôg / piau / f o u T, L earthenware (Shī). b. is Yin bone (O 939), c. is pre-Han (inscr. 434, sense of *). The graph is some kind of drawing (a kiln?), d—1. *b'iog / b'iāu / p' i a o — K big pouch (inscr. 324). e. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense here uncertain), f. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- 1108 a-c. *b'iôg / b'iou / fou T, L big mound, earthen hill (Shī); big and fat (Shī); abundant (Shī). b. is Yin bone (D 3), c. is extracted from the archaic graph for (Chou I, inscr. 72). The graph represents stairs or steps leading down from a height.
- 1109 a—b. *miôg / miau / mao T, L, and *mug / mau / mao T, L (Pek. mao is irregular, we should expect a mou) a kind of lance (Shī). b. is Yin bone (P 23). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *môg | mau | m a o T, L certain kinds of grass (Imperata etc.) (Shī).
- **d—e.** *môq | mâu | m a o T Shuowen says: winter peach tree; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Chou II/III (inscr. 242, sense of name).
- f. g. *mug / mau / m o u T, L make efforts (Shu). g. is Chou I (inscr. 54, sense
- h-i. *miug / miu / wu T Shuowen says: strong; but there are no text examples in support of this. i. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of 悔).
- *miug / miu / w u T apply oneself to, intent on (Tso); occupation, task (Yi): loan for 侮 (Shī).
- *miug / miu / w u T, L w u n ü name of a constellation (Li).
- *miug / miu / wu T, L run quickly hither and thither (Mu t'ien tsī chuan);
- m-n. *miôg / mizu / m o u T insect which eats the root of grain (Shī).
- *miôg / mizu / m o u T helmet (Kuots'ê).
- *micg/migu/mou T long tufts of hair, worn uncut (on each side of the head) by children or youths (Shi ap. Shuowen).
- *mug/mqu/mou T, L, and *mŭk/mak/mo T, L troubled eye-sight (Chuang); deluded (Ch'uts'i); avert the eyes (Sün).
- *muk / muk / m u T, L ornamental leather band round pole of carriage (Shī).

 *muk / muk / m u T, L goose, duck (Tso).

 *miug / miu / w u T, L fog, mist (Li). T.

- 1110 a. *miôg / mizu / m o u T Shuowen says: to bellow; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. to encroach upon (Kuots'ê); double (Ch'uts'ī); a kind of clay vessel (Li); loan for c. below (Sün), for d. (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *miôg / migu / m o u K avid (Sün). b.
- *miôg / miąu / m o u T pupil of the eye (Meng). C.
- d. *miôg / migu / m o u T barley (Meng).
- 6. *miôg / migu / m o u T, L, and *mug / mgu / m o u T, L alike, uniform (Chouli).
- 1111 a—b. *tsôg / tṣau / c h a o T claw (Shī); cut the nails (Li). b. is extracted from the archaic graph for 爱 (Chou II, inscr. 157). The graph is a drawing. In compound characters the element mostly means 'hand'.
- c. *tsôg / tsau / c h a o T grasp (Chuang).

- 1112 a—c. *tsôg / tṣau / c h a o T Shuowen says: claw, nail, thus taking it to be a variant of 1111 a. above; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 19,3, sense of name), c. is Chou (inscr. 369, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *tsôg / tsâu / t s a o T, L flea (Chuang); loan for id. early, in the morning (Shī); end of a wheel-spoke (Chouli); loan for a. above (Li).
- e. $*s \hat{o}g / s \hat{a}u / s = 0$ T, and $*ts' \hat{o}g / ts' \hat{a}u / t s' = 0$ L, K anxious (Shī).
- 1. *sôg / sâu / s a o T, L scratch (Shī); loan for d. above (flea) (Yili).
- g. *sôq / sâu / s a o T, L move, disturb, set in motion (Shī); grief (Ch'uts'ī); hastily (Li).
- **h.** $*si\hat{o}g / si\hat{u} / siu$ L, K wash (Li).
- i. *ts'iôk / ts'iek / ts'i L, K night-watchman's drum (Chouli).
- 1113 a. *pôg | pau | p a o T wrap, bundle (Shu); contain (Tso); loan for c. below (Shu), for e. (Yi). The graph was possibly the primary form of b. below, and may have been a drawing of a foetus in the womb.
- b. *pôg / pau / p a o T, L, and *p'ôg / p'au / p' a o T, L placenta (Chuang); loan for e. below (Li).
- c. *pôg / pau / p a o T, L reed mat for wrapping (Li); loan for id. trunk, root (Shī); shrubbery, bushy (Shī); *b' iog / b' iau / p i a o L reed (Li).
- d. *pôg / pau / p a o T satiate (Shī).
- e. *b'ôg / b'au / p' a o T, L kitchen, butchering-room (Shī).
- **f.** $*b'\hat{o}g/b'au/p'$ a o (even tone) T gourd (Shī).
- g. *b'ôg / b'au / p' a o T, L, and *p'ôg / p'au / p' a o T bake, roast (Shī); fierce, tyrannic (Shī).
- h. *b'ôg / b'au / p a o (oblique tone) T salted and dried fish (Chouli); loan for m. below (Chouli).
- i. *b'ôg / b'âu / p 'a o (even tone) T, L long robe (Shī); *b'ôg / b'âu / p a o (oblique tone) T, L lapel of coat (Kungyang).
- j. *b'ôg / b'âu / pao T, L carry in the arms (Shī).
- **k.** b'igg/b'igu/fou T drumstick (Tso).
- 1. *b'iôg / b'igu / f o u T a kind of bird-net (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- m. * $p'\hat{o}k/p'\hat{a}k/p$ ' o T, L, and * $b'\hat{o}g/b'au/p$ a o T to work leather (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- n. $b'\hat{o}k / b'\hat{a}k / p$ a o T, L hail (Tso).
 - Of the above, a. * $p\hat{o}g$ 'wrap, contain' and j. * $b'\hat{o}g$ 'carry in the arms' are cognate words.

- 1114 a—e. *mlôg | mau | m a o T cyclical character (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 3: 4,1), c. is Yin (inser. 25), d. is Chou I (inser. 56), e. is Chou I (inser. 90). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *mlôg / mau / m a o T, L, and *liôg / liqu / liu T, L Brasenia (Shī).
- g—h. *mlôg | mau | m a o T, L Pleiades (Shī). h. is Chou (inscr. 375, sense of name). i. $p'l\hat{o}g/p'au/p'$ a o — T, and $kl\hat{o}g/kau/k$ i a o — L cave, cellar (Chouli).
- i-k. *mlug | mau | mao (Pek. mao is irregular, we should expect a mou) to barter (Shī); loan for *mliôg / migu / m o u — L bad eye-sight (Li). k. is Chou (inscr. 345, sense of name).

In the following words the archaic graph \$|| has been transfigured into two alternative variants. Shuowen takes the second one to be a variant of 酉 (*ziôg / iəu / y u) but this is disproved by the archaic forms which show quite clearly that the phonetic in e. g. 柳 is not y u but m a o. Observe also the interesting double readings in f. above.

- 1-0. *liôg / ligu / liu T willow (Shī). n. is Chou II (inser. 147), o. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 324).
- p-r. *liôq / liou / liu T detain (Shī); remain (Shī); tarry (Kuoyü); a long time (Li). r. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 321, sense of name).
- s—t. *liôg / li沒u / liu T, L bay horse with black mane (Shī).
- u. *liôq / lieu / l i a o T ringing sound in the ear (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. support, rely on (Kuots'ê); for a while, a little (Shī); an auxiliary word (Shī).
- *liôg / liau / liu T, L to gush forth (Kuan); loan for y. below (Tso).
- **x.** *liôg / liau / liu T, L trap for catching fish (Shī).
- y. *li6g / li2u / liu T, L place in centrum of atrium where the dripping of rain was let down (Chouli); roof-spout (Li).
- z. variant of s. above (Lie).
- a'. *liôq / liou / liu T kill (Shu); battle-axe (Shu); mutilate, strip (Shī).
- b'. *liôg / lizu / liu T, L fine, stately (Shī).
- c'. *liôg / liau / liu T, L deep and clear (sc. water) (Shī); sharp (sc. wind) (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1115 a. *'iôq / 'ieu / y a o T small (only Han time text examples). The graph, as seen in d, e. below, may be a drawing of a silk thread, cf. **.
- b. *'iôg / ièu / y u T Shuowen says: small; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- c—e. *'¿ôg / '¿żu / y u T dark (Shī); solitary, secluded (Yi); obscure, difficult to understand (Yi). d. is Yin bone (O 549), e. is Chou II (inscr. 144).
- *'iôg | 'i沒u | y u T young (Meng).
 *'iôg | 'i沒u | y u T, L cry of deer (Shī).
- * iôg / ièu / y u T, L black (Li).
- * iôg / ieu / y a o T, L secluded, retired (Shī); deep, obscure, mysterious (Chuang).
- * ôg / au / y a o T, L cavity, depression in a surface (Chuang).
 - Of the above, c. *'iôg 'secluded, obscure' and i. *'iôg 'secluded, obscure' are cognate words.
- 1116a. *tiôg / tieu / n i a o T bird (Shī). The Mand. n i a o is irregular, quite a riddle; we should expect a tiao. The Sino-Japanese form is te-u $(ch\bar{o})$. The graph was a drawing, see 827 b. above.
- **b.** *tiôg / tieu / t i a o T, L mistletoe (Shī).
- *tôg / tâu / t a o T island (Shu).
- 1117 a. *g'ok / yuok / h u T high-reaching, high (Yi ap. Shuowen). The original graph was probably the primary form of b. below, a drawing.

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- **b.** $*g'ak / \gamma ak / h$ o T, L crane (Shī); glistening white (Meng).
- c. $*k\delta k / kak / k$ ü e T, L to raise, to quote (Chuang).
- **d.** $*k'\delta k / k'dk / k$ ' $\ddot{u} = -T$, L solid, firm (Yi).
- 1118 a—b. *ngiok / ngiak / n ü e T cruel, oppress, maltreat (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 184). The graph has 'tiger' with the claw especially indicated.
- c. *ngiok / ngiak / n ü e, y ü e T, L ague (Li).
- d. *χiοk / χiak / h ü e T, L to ridicule, to jest (Shī). The words a. *ngiok 'cruel' and c. *χiok 'to ridicule' are probably cognate.
- 1119 a—b. *diok / iak / y ü e T Shuowen says: flute, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below; but there are no text examples of this. b. is Chou I (inscr. 74, sense of g. below). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *diok / iak / y ü e T, L flute (Shī); key (Li).
- d-e. *\(\frac{1}{2}iok\) / \(\frac{1}{2}iak\) / y \(\text{u}\) e T, L moisten, soak (Yili); to drain off, clear the course of (a river) (Meng); purify (sc. the heart) (Chuang).
- f. *diok / jak / y ü e T, L to shine (Lü); melt, disperse (Chuang).
- g. *diok / jak / y ü e T, L name of a sacrifice (Shī).
- h. *diug | iu | y ü T, L cry out, call, appeal to (Shu, so acc. to Shuowen).
- 1120 a. *diok / ziak / s h a o L, K a ladle, cup (Chouli); loan for id. peony (Shī); *tiok / tsiak / c h o T, L to ladle, serve wine (Li); loan for id. name of a piece of music (Li). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *diok / ziak / s h a o T, L a ladle (Li); loan for h. below (Chuang).
- c. *diok / źiak / s h a o L, and *tiok / tśiak / c h o L, and *diok / iak / y ū e L ladle (Chuang); to ladle out, pour out (Kuliang); to deliberate (Chouli); loan for id. beautiful (Ch'uts'ī).
- d. **îjok | tśiak |* c h o T, L pour out (wine) in a cup (Shī); to deliberate, consult (Tso); loan for a. (Ch'uts'ī).
- e. * $\hat{i}iok$ / tsiak / cho T, L, and * $\hat{d}iok$ / $\hat{z}iak$ / shao T, L a marriage go-between (Meng).
- f. *tiok / tsiak / c h o T, L burn (Shu); brilliant (Shī); to manifest (Shu).
- g. *diok / iak / y ü e T, L name of a sacrifice (Li).
- h. *tiok / tiek / ti T bright, brilliant (Li); mark in a target (Shī).
- i. variant of the preceding (Yi ap. Shuowen).

- j. *tiok / tiek / ti T, L reins (Li).
- k. *tiog / tieu / t i a o T, L to angle (Shī).
- L variant of the preceding (Chuang, one version ap. L).
- m. *'iok / 'iak / y ü e T bind (Shī) restrain, restrict (Lunyü); abbreviate (Li); straitened (Lunyü); compliant (Kuoyü); *'iok / iak / y ü e T, and iog / iau / y a o T, L bond, contract, agreement (Tso).
- **n.** * $iok / iak / v \ddot{u} = T$, and iok / iak / w = T Iris leaves (Ch'uts' \ddot{i}).
- 1121 a—d. *tsiok / tsiak / tsüe T sparrow, small bird (Meng); a kind of ritual vessel (with bird-shaped lid) (Shī); loan for id. nobility, dignity, rank (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B hia 7:7), c. is Chou I (inscr. 102), d. is Chou I (inscr. 127). The graph is a drawing of the vessel in question.
- e. *dz'iok / dz'iak / ts "u" e torch (Chuang).
- f. *tsők / tsåk / c h o T wheat grown where there has earlier been rice (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. *tsjog / tsjäu / t s i a o L varnish (Chouli).
- h. *tsiog / tsiāu / tsiao T, L to empty a cup (Li).
- 1122 a—b. *tsiok / tsiak / ts' ü e T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) sparrow, small bird (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 8: 11,3). The graph has 'small' and 'bird'.
- 1123 a. *ńiok / ńżiak / j o T weak (Shu); consider weak, despise (Shu); young, tender (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *njok / nzjak / j o T, L rush used for making mats (Ch'uts'ī).
- c. *niok / niek / n i T, L grieved (Shī, Han version ap. L).
- d. *niok / niek / ni T sink (Shī); *niog / nieu / niao L urine (Chuang).
- e. *niog / nieu / n i a o T slender, swaying in the wind (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1124 a—b. *d'iok / d'iek / t i T, L pheasant (Li); pheasant's feather (Shī); loan for (Kuoyü). b. is pre-Han (inscr. 439). The graph is a drawing of a bird with plume.
- c. *d'iok / d'iek / t i T, L buy grain (Tso).
- d. *t'iok | t'iek | t'i T, L, and *d'iok | d'iek | t i T long, drawn-out (as a rod) . (Shī).
- e. *t'iok / t'iek / t'i T, L leap, jump (Shī).
- 1. *t'iok / t'iek / t'i L to jump about (Shī); *diok / iak / y ü e T, L leap, jump (Shī).
- g. $*d'\delta k / d' dk / c$ h o T, L pull out, select (Kuots'ê); take away, eliminate (Li).
- h. *d'ŏk | d'āk | c h o T, L wash (Shī); moisten (Shi); sleek, glossy (Shī); brilliant, fine (Shī); *d'ŏg | d'au | c h a o T, L wash clothes (Li).
- i. *diog / jäu / y a o T shine, brightness (Shī).
- j. *diog / iäu / y a o T, L shine (Tso), gleam (Shī).
- **k.** $*diog / i\ddot{a}u / y a o T shine (Tso).$
- 1. *t'iog / t'ieu / t'i a o T, L sell grain (Mo).
- m. *d'iog | d'ieu | t i a o T, L name of a plant (Chenopodium?) (Tso).
- n—p. *d'iog | d'ieu | t i a o (Tsiyün; not recorded in T or K, reading therefore somewhat uncertain) a kind of vessel (inscr. 304). o. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 304), p. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 305).
- **q.** * $d'\check{o}g / d'au / chao$ L, K oar (Ch'uts'ī).
 - Of the above, c. *d'iok 'buy grain' and l. *t'iog 'sell grain' are cognate words.

- 1125 a—c. *nglŏk | ngåk | y ü e T, L music (Shī); *glåk | lâk | lo T, L, and *nglŏg | ngau | y a o T, L joy, rejoice in (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 5: 1,2), c. is Chou III (inscr. 217). The graph shows, on a ('tree' =) wooden stand some musical paraphernalia of uncertain interpretation (bells? silk threads = strings?).
- d. *glåk / låk / lo T, and *gliok / liek / li T crush under wheels (Lü).
- e—i. *glåk / låk / lo K lying words (K, no text ex.). f. is Chou (inscr. 349, sense of name).
- g—h. *glok / luok / lu L, K name of a river (Ch'uts'ī). h. is Chou II (inscr. 167, sense of a. above).
- i. *gliok / liek / l i T, L oak (Shī).
- j. *gliok / liek / li T, L pebbles (Hokuan).
- k. *gliek / liek / li L, K move (Ta Tai li).
- l—m. *\$liok | \$iak | s h u o T, and *gliok | liek | l i K to move (inser. 325). m. is Chou III/IV (inser. 325).
- n. *sliok / siak / s h u o T, L to melt, fuse (Chouli); to shine (Lü).
- o. *śliok / śiak / s h u o T, L to melt, fuse (Kuoyü); loan for id. beautiful (Shī).
- p. *diok(?) / iak / y ü e T medicinal plant (Chouli); medicine (Tso); to cure (Shī).
- 1126 a. * $t\check{o}k/\hat{t}\hat{a}k/c$ h o T, L high (Lunyü); distant (Ch'uts'ī); loan for f. below (Chuang). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** $*t\check{o}k / \hat{t}\mathring{a}k / c\hat{h}o T$, L great, splendid (Shī).
- c. $t'\check{o}k / \hat{t}'\hat{a}k / ch'$ o T far, distant (Ch'uts'ī).
- d-e. variant of the preceding. e. is Chou I (inscr. 93, sense of name).
- **f.** * $t'\check{o}k/\hat{t}'\hat{a}k/c$ h'o T, L to limp forward (Chuang ap. L).
- g—h. *t'iok / ts'iak / c h' o T, L indulgent, gentle (Shī). h. is Chou (inscr. 335).
- i. *tog | fau | c h o T, L basket for covering and thus catching fish (Shi).
- j—k. *nŏg (dnŏg?) / nau / n a o T, L mud (Tso); loan for g. above (Chuang). k. is Chou III/IV (inser. 324).
- 1. *d'og / d'âu / t a o T, L sad, sorry (Shī); pity (Li).
- m. *d'iog / d'ieu / t i a o T, L shake, move (Tso); arrange (Tso); *nŏk (dnŏk?) / nˆak / n a o T, L arrange (Tso).
- 1127 a—b. *pŏk / påk / p o T, L horse with mixed colours (e. g. brown and white) (Shī); mixed (Sün). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 47,3). The graph has 'horse' and crossing lines.

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- c. *pŏk / påk / p o T, L a kind of fabulous animal (Kuan); loan for id. a kind of tree (Shī, so acc. to certain commentaries, supported by the context; Mao takes it in the first sense). Explanation of graph uncertain. The character is often used as a variant of a. above.
- 1128 a. *dz'åk / dz'âk / t s o T, L to bore (Yili); chisel out (Shī); dig (Meng); hole (Chouli); loan for id. commence (Kungyang); feelings, passions (Chuang); loan for *tsåk / tsâk / t s o L fine, brilliant (Shī); for b. below (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b.** *tsåk / tsåk / tso T fine and pure rice (Ch'uts'i).
- 1129 a—c. *kog / kâu / k a o T high (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 33,3), c. is Chou I inscr. 111)— The graph is a drawing of a high building.
- **d**—e. * $kog / k\hat{a}u / k$ a o T white, brilliant (Meng).
- t. *kog / kâu / k a o T, L straw, dried stalk of grain (Tso).
- g. *kog / kâu / k a o T dry straw (in mats) (Sün).
- h. *kog | kâu | k a o T, L white silk, undyed silk (Shī).
- i. *kog / kâu / k a o T, L fat, ointment (Shī); grease (Li); moisten, enrich (Shī).
- j—k. *k'og / k'âu / k'ao T, L dried (tree etc.) (Li); *kog / kâu / k a o T a medicinal herb (Sün); loan for 考 'beat' (Chuang).
- **L** *k'og / k'au / k' a o T, L give food as recompense to soldiers, remunerate (Tso).
- m. * $g'og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o T hair (Lao).
- **n.** * $g'og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o T porcupine (only Han time text ex.); long-haired or shaggy animals (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); hair (Li); brave, eminent (Meng).
- o—p. $*g'og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o T, L place name (Shī). p. is Chou (inscr. 388).
- q—r. *χog / χâu / h a o T, L Artemisia (Shī); exhale a perfume (Li); loan for id. to confuse (sc. the eyes) (Chuang); consume, reduce (Kuoyü). r. is Chou IV (inscr. 283).
- **s.** $*k'\check{o}g / k'au / k' i a o T$, L beat (Tso).
- t. *χŏg / χau / h i a o L shout (Chuang).
- **u.** $\sqrt[*]{\chi uok} / h u T$, L, and $\sqrt[*]{\chi ak} / \chi ak / h$ a o T, L blaze, flame (Shī).
- **v.** $*\chi \delta k / \chi dk / h$ o T, and $*g' \delta k / \gamma dk / h$ o L, K rich white colours (of birds) (Shī).

- **z.** * $\gamma dk / \gamma dk / ho$ L, K, and * $\chi \delta k / \gamma dk / ho$ L stern, severe (Yi); * $\chi \delta g / \gamma du / ho$ hiao — T, L shrill sound (Chuang).
- y. $*g'og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o K moat (Mo). z. $*g'og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o T shout (Chuang).
- a'. *k'og / k'âu / k 'a o L, K dried fish (Chouli); dried food (Li).
- b'. *\gamma\delta g / \gamma au / h i a o L to sound (Chuang).
- c'. * $\gamma og / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o L (after Liu), K, and * $\chi \delta k / \gamma \hat{a}k / h$ o L (after Li and Ts'i) to contract (Chouli, so the Cheng Chung comm.).
- 1130 a—b. *ngog / ngâu / a o T saunter about, amuse oneself (Shī); tall (Shī); loan for d. below (Shī), for h. below (Sün). b. is Chou II (inscr. 185, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- variant of the preceding (saunter) (Chuang).
- d. *ngog / ngâu / a o T proud, arrogant (Tso).
- e-f. *ngog / ngâu / a o T. L distressed cry (of birds) (Shī).
- g. *ngog / ngâu / a o T, L beat (Kungyang).
- h—i. *ngoq / ngâu / a o T, L fry (Chouli), roast (Li). i. is pre-Han (inscr. 418, sense of name).
- j. *ngog / ngâu / a o T, L big dog (Shu).
- k. *ngog / ngâu / a o T crab's claw (Ta Tai li).
- *ngog | ngâu | a o T, L, and *ngŏg | ngau | y a o T reckless talk, vilify (Lū); reckless (Chuang); vast (Chuang).
- m-n. *ngog | ngâu | a o T, L fine horse (Lü); loan for d. above (Chuang). n. is Chou III/IV (inser. 326).
- o. *ngog / ngâu / a o T turtle (Lie).
- 1131 a-b. *tog / tâu / tao T knife (Shī); small boat (Shī); loan for *tiog / tieu / tiao — T, L flutter in the wind (Chuang) (then sometimes modified into \supset). b. is is extracted from the Arch. graph for #1 (Chou II, inser. 147). The graph is a drawing.
- *tog / tâu / t a o T, L grieved, sorry (Shī).
- **d.** * $t' \circ q / t' \hat{a} u / t'$ a o T covetous (Shu).
- •—h. *digg / digu / chao— T summon, call (Shī); *digg / zizu / chao— T place name (Shī). f. is Yin bone (A 2: 22,4), g. is Chou I (inser. 65), h. is Chou II (inser. 148). in f. and g. there are various additional elements of uncertain interpretation.
- * $t'iog / \hat{t}'i\ddot{a}u / ch'$ a o T, L grieved (Chuang).
- * $t'iog / \hat{t}'i\ddot{a}u / ch'$ a o T leap on to (Tso); leap over (Meng).
- k. *diog / iäu / y a o T small carriage (Kuoyü).
- *tioq / tśiäu / c h a o T, L to beckon, summon (Shī); to fetter (Meng); to hit the mark (in shooting) (Lü); loan for a'. below (Tso).
- m. *tiog / tśiżu / c h a o T, L bright (Shī); display, manifest (Tso); *diog / śiżu / ch'ao - T, L shrined on the left in the ancestral temple (Shī).
- n. *tiog / tśiau / c h a o L, K to shine on (Kuoyu); brilliant, manifest, visible (Shī).
- o. *tiog / tsiäu / c h a o T shine, shine on, enlighten (Shī).
- p. *tiog / tsiäu / c h a o T, L pool, pond (Shī).
- q. *tiog / tsiäu / c h a o T announce, inform (Li); instruct (Tso); loan for z. below (to assist, direct) (Li).
- * $\hat{t}iog / t\acute{s}i\ddot{a}u / c h a o T big sickle (Kuan).$
- * \hat{t} 'iog / ts'iäu / c h ' a o T, L unbent bow (Shī).

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- t—y. *diog / źiäu / s h a o T Shuowen says: high; but there are no text examples in support of this. In the inscriptions it regularly stands for m. above as name of the 4th Chou king. u. is Chou I (inser. 58), v. is Chou I (inser. 63), x. is Chou I (inser. 107), y. is Chou II (inscr. 164).
- z. *diog / źiäu / s h a o T continue (Shī); to direct, assist (in a ceremony) (Li).
 a. *diog / źiäu / s h a o T name of certain pieces of music (Shu).
- b'. variant of the preceding (Chouli).
- c' *tiog / tieu / t i a o T, L sable (Tso, only as N. Pr).
- d'. *d'ioq / d'ieu / t'i a o T, L a kind of pea (Shī); Bignonia (Shī); *tioq / tieu / t i a o — T reed (Sün).
- e'. *d'og / d'âu / tao L, K small drum (Li).
- 1132 a—b. *tog / tâu / t a o T arrive (Shī); loan for c. below (Chuang). b. is Chou II (inscr. 132). The graph has chī 'arrive' and jen 'man'; the latter has been misunderstood and replaced by tao 'knife' in the modern character because of phonetic similarity.
- *tog / tâu / t a o T turn over, invert (Shī); contrary (Hanfei).
- d. *tog / $t\hat{a}u$ / tao K, and *tŏk / $t\hat{a}k$ / cho K high-grown, high (Shī in the Han version).
- 1133 a. *d'oq / d'âu / t a o T thief, robber (Shī); steal (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1134 a—b. *sog / sâu / sao T Shuowen says: a crowd of birds chirping; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou (inscr. 363, sense of name). The graph has 'tree' and 'mouth' tripled.
- *sog | sâu | s a o T, L shout (Tso).
 *sog | sâu | s a o T, L dry (Yi).
- d.
- *sog / sâu / sao T, L fat of swine or dog (Li).
- *sog / sâu / s a o T putrid smell (Yentsï).
- *tsog / tsâu / t s a o T, L wash (Li).
- *tsog / tsâu / t s a o T, L jade pendants of a cap (Li).
- *tsog / tsâu / t s a o L, K bleach (sc. silk) (Li). i.
- *tsog / tsâu / t s a o T, L deviate (Chouli).
- *tsog / tsâu / t s a o T, L move swiftly (Li); hurried, rash (Lunyü).

- 1. *ts'og / ts'âu / t s ' a o T, L grieved (Shī).
- m. *ts'og / ts'âu / ts' a o T, L grasp (Li); to handle (Tso).
- n. *tsog / tsâu / t s a o T a kind of water plant (Shī).
- 1135 a. *log | lâu | l a o T toil (Shī); merit (Tso); (acknowledge somebody's toil:) to recompense (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *liog / lieu / li a o T, L fat round the intestines (Shī).
- 1136 a. *b'og / b'âu / p a o T, L violent, oppressive (Shī); to overpower by sheer force (without weapons) (Shī); quickly, suddenly (Li); *b'uk / b'uk / p u T, L expose to the sun, to dry (Meng); exhibit (Meng). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).
- c. *b'og | b'âu | p a o T sudden rain (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- d. *pok / puok / p u T, and *pôk / pôk / p o T, L embroidered collar of coat (Shī).
- e. *pok / pak / po T, L angry sound (or: bang!) (Chuang).
- 1137 a—b. *mog / mâu / m a o T hair (Shī), fur, feathers (Li); vegetation (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 95, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c—d. *mog / mâu / m a o T pennon of ox-tails (Shī); loan for h. below (Meng). d. is Chou II (inscr. 192, sense of name).
- e. *mog | mâu | m a o T, L long tufts of hair, worn uncut (one on each side of the head) by children or youths (Shī); long hair, mane (Li); loan for id. fine, eminent (Shī).
- f. *mog | mâu | m a o T, L ox-tail (Chouli); character also applied to a word 1 i, see gr. 979 i. above.
- g. *mog / mâu / m a o T, L vegetable plants (esp. used in soup) (Yili); loan for id. search for, gather (plants) (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- **h.** * $mog / m\hat{a}u / m a o T$ very old (Shī).
- i. *mog / mau / m = 0 T, L, and *mok / mak / m = 0 T, and *mak / mak / m = 0 T dull-sighted (Meng).
- j. *χmog / χâu / h a o T, L a kind of millet (Yi Chou shu ap. Shuowen); loan for id. reduce, diminish (Chouli).
- **k.** * $\gamma mog / \gamma \hat{a}u / h$ a o L to diminish, to waste (Shī).
- 1138 a—b. *g'iog / g'iäu / k' i a o T, L high and arched (Shī); rising aloft (Shī); loan for *k'iog / k'iäu / k' i a o L, and *kiog / kiäu / k i a o L anxious (Chuang); loan for o. below (Li). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 295). Graph of similar depicting sense as in.
- c. *g'iog / g'iäu / k' i a o T, L tall (Tso).
- d. *g'iog | g'iäu | k' i a o (even tone) T, and *g'iog | g'iäu | k i a o (oblique tone) T peak (Lie).
- e—f. *g'iog / g'iāu / k' i a o T cauldron with high feet (inscr. 257). f. is Chou II/III (inscr. 257).
- g. *g'iog / g'iäu / k'i a o T cross-bar, cross-piece (Yili); *kiog / kiäu / kiao L well-sweep (Li); loan for id. energetic (Chuang); loan for a. (Shī), for i. (Sün), for l. (Lü).
- **h.** $*g'iog / g'i\ddot{a}u / k'i a o T agile (L\bar{u}).$
- i. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o T, L high, lift the head (Chuang).
- j. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o L, K lift, elevated, high (Sün); loan for l. (Chouli).
- k. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o L, K to fasten (sc. the strap to the shield) (Shu).

1/10 買 凯/// 天 个 长 妖 娱 殀 袄 訣 实 突 慶 d c 9 1143朝 盆 鮱 i k L 物形线继帐挑挑规频佻挑跳窕 i k l m t Z

- 1. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o T, L to straighten (Yi); falsify, feign (Tso); loan for id. strong, martial (Shī).
- m. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o K tell tales, reveal the faults of others (Sün).
- n. *kiog / kiäu / k i a o T, L a kind of pheasant (Shī).
- o. *kiog / kiāu / k i a o T horse six c h 'ī or more high (Shī ap. Shuowen); untamed horse (Chuang); proud, arrogant (Shī); *k'iog / k'iāu / k' i a o L vigorous (sc. horse) (Shī); *xiog / xiāu / h i a o L h i e h i a o short-muzzled dog (Shī).
- p. *k'iog / k'iäu / k'i a o K string, band (Kuan).
- q. *g'iok | g'iak | k ü e T, L lifting the feet high, stronglooking (horses etc.) (Shī); conceited (Shī); *kiog | kiäu | k i a o L, K martial (Shī); kiok | kiak | k ü e L straw sandal (Chuang); run swiftly (Lü).
- r. *kiok / kiak / k ü e T straw sandal (Hanfei).
- 1139 a. *g'iog / g'iäu / k' i a o T, L a kind of Malva (Shī). The graph has 'herb' and 'gather'.
- 1140 a—b. *χiog / χiäu / h i a o T, L clamour, noise (Shī); loan for id. satisfied, at ease (Meng); *ngog / ngâu / a o T, L clamour, many voices (Shī). b. is Chou (inscr. 354, sense of name). The graph has 'four mouths' and 'head'.
- 1141 a—b. *'iog / 'iāu / y a o T, L bend (Tso), delicate, young and beautiful (Shī); break, cut off (Chuang); premature death (Shu); calamity (Shī); loan for id. to croak (sc. a bird) (Chouli); *'og / 'âu / a o L, K new-born (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 48,3, sense of name). The graph shows a bending man.
- c. variant of the preceding (fresh and tender) (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- d. *'iog / 'iäu / y a o L, K beautiful, fine (Chuang); remarkable, supernatural, ominous (Tso).
- e. variant of the preceding (Ta Tai li).
- f. * iog / iäu / y a o T, L premature death (Meng); kill a young animal (Li).
- g. * iog / iäu / y a o T inauspicious, unlucky (Kuoyü).
- h. * jog / jäu / y a o T bad omen, inauspicious, nefarious (Ta Tai li).

- i. *iog / ieu / y a o L South-east corner of the house (Chuang).
- j. *iog / ieu / y a o T, L obscure, deeply hidden (Chuang).
- k. *'oq / âu / a o T young of deer (Kuoyü).
- 1. *'ok | 'wok | w u T, L sprinkle, moisten, enrich (Tso); fertile (Tso); to look rich and glossy (Shī); elegant (Shī); soft (Shī); wash (hands) (Chouli).
- m. *ok / wok / wu T, L silver (Shī; so all the oldest dict. and comm.; later commentators take it to mean: to silver, or: to gild, cover iron with melt metal of a more precious kind; this is because of the top element of the graph: to wash).
- 1142 a. *'iog / 'iäu / y a o T waist (Li); waist-band (Shī); loan for id. seek, demand /Meng); to force (Lunyü); to intercept (Meng); agreement (Lunyü); a rendez-vous, meet (Shī); to complete (Shī); important, essential (Hiaoking); summary (Chouli); accounts (Li); dangerous (Li). To judge from the seal form of Shuowen, the original graph may have been a drawing of a human figure with hands holding the waist.
- b. * iog / iäu / y a o T waist (Kuots'ê).
- c. * iog / iäu / y a o T, L sound made by locusts (Shī).
- d. * jog / jäu / y a o T, L a kind of grass (some kind of Polygala) (Shī).
- 1143 a—c. *tiog / tiāu / c h a o T morning (Shī); *d'iog / d'iāu / c h ' a o K (morning ceremony:) audience (Shī), court (Shī); go to the court of (Tso). b. is Chou I (inscr. 65), c. is Chou I (inscr. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **d.e.** * $tiog / \hat{t}i\ddot{a}u / c$ h a o T tide (Ch'uts'ī). e. is Chou IV (inscr. 286, sense of a. above).
- 1144 a. * $diog / i\ddot{a}u / y$ a o (same word as next, hence the reading) Shuowen says: earthenware, pottery, thus taking it to be the primary form of b. below; but there are no text examples of this. T reads * $di\dot{o}g / i\dot{q}u / y$ u, but in view of the derivates this is unlikely. If Shuowen is right, it must be the same word as b.
- **b.** $*diog / i\ddot{a}u / y a o T kiln (Kuan).$
- c. variant of the preceding (Mo).
- d-e. *diog / iäu / y a o T public service, military service (Hanfei).
- f. *diog / jäu / y a o T to caper, merry (Ch'uts'i).
- g. *diog / jäu / y a o T, L shake (Shī), be agitated (Shī).
- h. *diog | jäu | y a o K a kind of tree (Kuoyü).
- i. *diog / iäu / y a o T. L a kind of precious stone (Shī).
- j. *diog / iäu / y a o T, L sing, song (Shi).
- k. *diog / jäu / y a o T sia o y a o saunter about, be at ease (Shī).
- 1. *diog / iäu / y a o T a fabulous fish with wings (Lü).
- m. *diog / jäu / y a o T hawk, kite (Lie).
- n. *diog / iäu / y a o T, L flourishing, abundant (Shu); follow (Lü); loan for *d'iôg / d'igu / c h o u T, L oracle pronouncement (Tso); loan for 由 (Yi).
- o. *diôg / igu / y u T a kind of tree (Lie).
- 1145 a. *d'iog | d'iäu | c h a o T cracks in heated oracle tortoise shell or bone, prognostics, omen (Tso); indication, symptom (Tso); beginning, initiate (Li); loan for id. an area, fixed space (Li); a great number, million (Tso). Explanation of graph (cf. e—f. below) uncertain.
- **b.** *d'iog / d'iau / c h a o K make altars at limits of tomb or sacrificial area (Chouli ap. Shuowen).
- c. *d'iog / d'iau / c h a o T, L a kind of flag (Shī).

- d-1. *diog | jäu | yao T, L a family name (Tso); beautiful (Sün). e. is Chou II/III (inser. 273), f. is II/III (inser. 278).
- *diog / iäu / y a o T, L mussel shell (Ch'uts'ī).
- *diog / iau / y a o T, L, and *t'iog / t'ieu / t' i a o L, K hoe (Chuang). h.
- *t'iog | t'ieu | t'i a o T, L mean (Shī). i.
- *t'iog / t'ieu / t'i a o T to look (Li). j.
- *t'iog | t'ieu | t'i a o T, L shrine for remote ancestors (Tso). k.
- *t'iog / t'ieu / t'i a o T, L go to pay homage to (sc. the prince or king) (Chouli).
- m. variant of the preceding (Tso). For obscure reasons this character has sometimes been used for WF bend the head'.
- *t'iog / t'ieu / t'iao T, L, and *d'iog / d'ieu / t'iao T, L usurp (Kuoyü); inconsiderate, reckless (Ch'uts'i); travelling alone, abandoned (Shi, so the Mao comm.).
- *t'iog | t'ieu | t'i a o T, L provoke (Tso); loan for id. ladle (Yili); select (Kuots'ê); *d'iog | d'ieu | tiao — (oblique tone) T, L turn about, caper (Chuang); *t'og | t'âu | t'a o — T, L mobile, restless (Shī).
- *d'iog | d'ieu | t'i a o (even tone) T, L jump (Chuang).
- *d'iog / d'ieu / t i a o (oblique tone) T, L secluded, retired (Shī) loan for *t'iog / t'ieu / t' i a o — L small, insufficient (Tso), light, frivolous (Tso).
- *d'iog / d'ieu / t i a o T seduce (Kuots'ê).
- *t'og | t'âu | t'ao T, L wash the hands (Shu). ·8.
- *d'og | d'âu | t'ao T, L, ant *t'iog | t'ieu | t'iao T moan, cry (Yi). t.
- u.
- *d'og | d'âu | t'ao T peach tree, peach (Shī).
 *d'og | d'âu | t'ao T abscond (Shī); avoid (Meng). ٧.
- *d'oq / d'âu / t' a o T, L small drum (Shī). X.
- variant of the preceding (Lunyü). y.
- *d'og | d'âu | t a o (even tone) T, L (after Shen), and d'og | d'âu | t a o (oblique tone) T, L (after Liu) horse three or four years old (Chouli).
- **1146 a—c.** *d'iog / d'iu / c h a o T, L to begin, to institute (Shī); arrange (Kuoyū); diligent (Shu); limit, delimit (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 58), c. is Chou I (inscr. 86). The graph has 'door', 'dagger-axe' or 'baton', and 'writing stylus'; explanation uncertain.
- 1147 a. $d^2 i g / d^2 i \ddot{a} u / c$ h' a o T some kind of frog (only Han time text ex.); loan for 朝 morning (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1148 a. *tsiog / tsiäu / t s i a o T, L roast, burn, scorch (Tso). The graph has 'bird' and 'fire'.
- *tsjog / tsjäu / t s i a o L, K roast, burn (Li); *tsjok / tsjäk / t s ü e T, L, and *tsok / tsåk / c h o — T, L torch (Li).
- *tsjog / tsjäu / t s i a o T, L discern, understand (Sün); free, natural (Li); *dz'jog / dz'jāu / ts'iao — T dwarf (Lie).
- *tsiog / tsiāu / t s i a o T exhaust, thoroughly understand (Sün).
- *tsjog / tsjäu / tsiao T raw hemp (Lie); loan for i. below (Tso).
- Ť. *tsiog / tsiau / tsiao — T, L to pledge a ritual cup to a young man at his ceremony of capping or at his marriage (Li); loan for id. exhaust, finish (Sün).
- *tsiog / tsiāu / tsiao T, L tsiao liao name of a small bird (Chuang).
- *dz'iog / dz'iäu / t s ' i a o (even tone) T, L melancholy (Tso).
- *dz'iog | dz'iau | ts'iao T, L gather firewood (Shī); firewood (Tso); to burn (fuel) (Kungyang).

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- j. *dz'iog / dz'iäu / t s' i a o T, L to blame (Kuan); loan for id. deteriorate, worn (Shī).
- k. *dz'iog | dz'iāu | t s i a o (oblique tone) T, L to chew (Li); loan for *tsiog | tsiāu | t s i a o T, L quick (sc. sound) (Li); *tsiôg | tsiāu | t s i u T, L cry of birds (Li).
 l. *tsŏk | tsāk | c h o T, L prematurely cut grain (Li).
- m-n. variant of the preceding (inscr. 364). n. is Chou (inscr. 364).
- 1149 a—d. *siog / siāu / s i a o T small (Shī); to belittle (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 3,4), c. is Yin (inscr. 10), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). The graph is a symbol.
- e—f. *\$iog | \$iau | s h a o T few (Shī); a little (Lunyü); after a short while (Meng); young, junior (Lunyü); second, sub- (Tso). f. is Chou IV (inser. 291).
- g. *siog / siāu / s i a o T, L resemble (as a son his father) (Lunyü); loan for id. disperse (Chuang).
- h—i. *siog / siāu / s i a o T night, evening (Shī); loan for a. above (Li). i. is pre-Han (inscr. 424, sense of name).
- j. *siog / siāu / s i a o T melt, dissolve (Shī); annihilate, disappear (Yi); loan for m. below (Li).
- k. *siog / siäu / s i a o T, L headache (Chouli).
- 1. *siog / siau / siao T, L, and *siog / siau / siao T a kind of silk stuff (Li).
- m. *siog / siāu / siao T siao yao saunter about, be at ease (Shī).
- n. *siog / siāu / s i a o T, L melt, reduce, diminish (Li), cf. j. above.
- *siog / siāu / s i a o T, L sleet (only Han time text ex.); loan for h. above (Lü), for j. (Mo).
- p. *ts'iog / ts'iäu / ts' i a o K similar (Lie).
- q. *ts'iog / ts'iau / ts'iao L, K with small and deformed opening (sc. flask) (Li).
- r. *ts' iog / ts' i au / t s' i a o T high, precipitous (Ch'uts'ī).
- s. *ts'iog / ts'iäu / ts'i a o T, L anxious, grieved (Shi).
- t. *dz'iog / dz'iau / t s i a o T, L to blame (Shu).
- u—v. *d'iog / d'iäu / c h a o T to hasten (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); loan for id. or *d'iog / d'ieu / t i a o L pierce, cut (Shī); loan for 掉 (Sün). v. is Chou III (inscr. 237, sense of name).
- **x.** *siog / sieu / s i a o T, L eliminate (Chouli).
- y. *sŏg / sau / s h a o T, L branch, staff (only Han time text ex.) loan for id. ditch dug out by flowing water (Chouli).
- z. *sŏg / ṣau / s h a o T, L a little, few (Tso); rations (to soldiers etc.) (Chouli).

- a'. *sŏg / ṣau / s h a o T, L bamboo vessel (Lunyü).
- b'. *sŏg / sau / s h a o T, L spider (Shī).
- c'. *siok | siak | süe T, L, and *siog | siāu | siao L scrape, pare, cut (Shī); scraper, curved knife (Chouli), erase (Chouli); deprive (Li); loan for id. sword sheath (Han time text ex.); for *sŏg | ṣau | s h a o L a zone comprising districts at a certain distance from the capital (Chouli).
- d'. *siog | sieu | s i a o T, L, and *sŏg | sau | s h a o T, L, and *sŏk | såk | s h u o T, L drawn out in point, pointed (Chouli).
- e'. *siog | sieu | s i a o T, L pipe, flute (Tso); *sŏk | såk | s h u o T name of a piece of music (Sün).
 - Of the above, a. *siog 'small', e. *siog 'few, a little' and z. *sŏg 'few, a little' are cognate words.
- 1150 a. *siog / siäu / s i a o T laugh (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1151 a—d. *liog / liäu / liao T burnt-offering (inser. Yin bone A 1:1,1), same word as next. c. is Yin bone (A 6:64,4), d. is Yin bone (A 1:1,1). The graph shows firewood with flames, with or without 'fire' beneath.
- •. *liog / liāu / liao T, L burnt-offering (Shī); torch (Shī); flame, burn (Shī); brilliant (Shī).
- 1. *liog / liäu / liao T, L treat sickness, cure, heal (Tso).
- g. *liog | liau | liao T, and *liog | lieu | liao L, K bind round, wrap (Li).
- h. *liog | lieu | liao T, L comrade, colleague (Shī); loan for id. fine, good, lovely (Shī).
- i—l. *liog / lieu / l i a o L, K comrade, colleague (Tso). j. is Yin bone (A 4: 31,6), k. is Chou I (inscr. 69), l. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- m. *liog / lieu / liao K empty, down-hearted (Ch'uts'ī).
- n. *liog | lieu | liao K hunt at night (with torches) (Kuan).
- o. *liog / lieu / lia o T, L clear-eyed (Meng).
- p. *liog | lieu | liao K fat round the intestines (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- q. *liog | lieu | li a o T distant (Tso).
- r. *liog / lieu / liao T, L tsiao liao name of a bird (Chuang).
- s. *log | lâu | lao T, L, and *liog | lieu | liao T short rafters (Ch'uts'i).
- t. *log / lâu / la o T, L, and *liog / lieu / li a o T a kind of ritual vessel (Chouli).
- u. *log | lâu | la o T, L rain water (Li); puddle, pool (Shī).
- v. *log | lâu | lao T, L dried prune (Chouli).
- 1152 a. *niog | niiau | j a o T, L disturb (Tso); accord with, docile (Shu); make docile (Chouli), domesticate (Tso). The graph has 'hand' and 'grief, annoyance'. Abbreviated phonetic in:
- **b.** *nog / nâu / n a o L monkey (Li).
- 1153 a. *piog / piäu / p i a o T exterior garments (Li); the outside (of dress) (Lunyü); the outside (generally) (Shu); to display, manifest (Li); distinguish (Tso); mark of distinction (Kuoyü); set an example (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1154 a. *piog / piāu / p i a o T, and *piōg / piau / p i u T, and *sam / sam / sam / sam T long hair (only Han time text examples). The graph has 'long' and strokes depicting hair.



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- 1155 a. *piog / piäu / p i a o T, L rushing, violent (sc. wind) (Li). The graph has 'dog' tripled.
- 1156 a—c. *pioq / piāu / piao K, and *piôq / piau / piu T a flock of horses. (only post-Han text ex.). b. is Chou III (inscr. 220, enlarged by rad. 53, sense of name) c. is pre-Han (inscr. 402, sense of name). The graph has 'horse' tripled.
- 1157 a—b. *p'iog / p'iäu / p'i a o L, K Shuowen says: leaping flames, thus taking it to be the primary form of c. below (but also in this sense K reads it *p'iäu, not piäu); but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. dry and powdery (sc. earth). (Chouli). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *piog / piāu / p i a o T leaping flames (Lü).
- d. *piog / piäu / p i a o L, K branch (Chuang).
- *piog | piäu | piao T, L, and *b'iog | b'iäu | p'iao L, K whirl-wind (Shī); * $\hat{p}'iog/\hat{p}'i\ddot{a}u/\hat{p}'$ i a o — L to blow down (sc. a tile) (Chuang).
- * $p'iog / p'i\ddot{a}u / p'$ i a o T light (not heavy) (Sün). ŧ.
- *p'iog | p'iau | p' i a o T, L quick (Chouli); tip, end (Chuang).
- *p'iog | p'iau | p'iao L, K quick, jerky (sc. movement of a car) (Shī).
 *p'iog | p'iau | p'iao T, L to float (Sun-tsī); dropsy (Chuang); loan for e. above (Shī).
- *p'iog / p'iau / p' i a o T light blue or green (Ch'uts'ī).
- k. *b'iog / b'iäu / p'i a o (even tone) T, L gourd (Lunyü).
- *b'iog | b'iau | piao (oblique tone) L fall down (Shī); to strike (Shī); *p'iog | p'iäu / p'i a o — L to strike (Tso); *p'ŏg / p'au / p' a o — L lay down (Kungyang).
- 1158 a. *miog / miäu / m i a o T, L small-eyed, peering, weak-sighted (Yi); small, insignificant (Shu); very small, minute (Chuang); (into the finest details:) exhaust, to the utmost (Sün); far (Chuang). The graph has 'eye' and 'a little'. Abbreviated phonetic in:
- b. *miog / miäu / m i a o T marvellous, admirable (Yi); mysterious (Lao).
- c. *miog / miäu / m i a o T the utmost end (Li).
- d. variant of the preceding (Kuan).
- e. *mjog / mjäu / m i a o K vast waters (Kuan).
- 1159 a. *mjog / mjäu / m i a o T grain in the blade (Shī); sprout, young growth of grass and vegetables (Shī); loan for id. summer hunt (Shī). The graph has 'herb' and 'field'.

- b. variant of 1160 a. below (Yili).
- c. *miog / miäu / m i a o T, L, and *mŏg / mau / m a o T, L wild cat (Shī); cat (Li).
- 1160 a—c. *miog / miäu / m i a o T ancestral temple (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 159), c. is Chou II (inscr. 153). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1161 a. *miog | miäu | m i a o T wide water (Ch'uts'ī). The graph has 'water' tripled.
- 1162 a. *kiog | kieu | k i a o (same word as next, hence the reading) Shuowen says: to shine, bright; but there are no text examples in support of this. T reads *iak | y ü e, but Tsiyün reads *kieu | k i a o as above, and since the character consists of 放 'let out' 白 'brightness', it is probable that b. below is the same word with a tautological repetition of 白, which confirms the reading of Tsiyün.
- b. *kiog / kieu / kiao T, L bright (Shī); distinct (Lunyü).
- c. *kiog / kieu / k i a o T, L, and *kiok / kiek / k i L shout (Li), cry, weep (Kungyang).
- d. *kiog / kieu / k i a o L, K seek (Lunyü); pry out (Lunyü); intercept (Tso).
- e. *kiog | kieu | k i a o T, L, and *kiok | kiek | k i T, L dam up and cause to rush up (sc. water) (Meng); loan for id. clear (Chuang); sharp (sc. sound) (Ch'utsī).
- f. *kiog / kieu / k i a o T, L follow a course, strive for, seek (Chuang).
- g. *k'iog / k'ieu / k'iao T, L, and *k'iok / k'iek / k'i T to slap from the side (Chuang).
- h. *k'iog / k'ieu / k' i a o T, L hole, opening (Li).
- 1163 a. *kiog | kieu | k i a o T, L, and * $\hat{t}iog$ | tśiäu | c h a o T, L Shuowen says: cut; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. N. Pr. (Shu); to see (Yi Chou shu). The graph has 'metal' and 'knife'.
- 1164 a. *ngiog | ngieu | y a o T Shuowen says: high; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. N. Pr (Shu). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- *ngiog / ngieu / yao T dwarf (Lie); *kiog / kieu / kiao L luck (Chuang).
- *kiog / kieu / k i a o T, L dilute (Chuang, one version).
- *k'iog / k'ieu / k' i a o L bleached, white (sc. bones) (Chuang).
- * yiog / yieu / h i a o T, L cry of alarm (Shī).
- *yiog / yieu / h i a o T make clear, understand (Sün).
- *xiog / xieu / h i a o T, L pork soup (Li).
- *q'ioq | q'iäu | k' i a o L, K long tail-feather (Ch'uts'I); loan for id. lift (Chuang); piled up, high, perilous (Shī); far away (Tso).
- *k'ŏq / k'au / k'i a o T, and *k'ioq / k'ieu / k'i a o T stony soil (Meng). i.
- variant of the preceding (Sün). j.
- *niog | niiau | j a o T, L to wind round (Tso, part of place name).
 *niog | niiau | j a o T, L herbs for fuel (Shī).
- m. *niog / nźjäu / j a o T intestinal worm (Kuanyin).
- *niog / nźiäu / j a o T, L scabbard (Li).
- *niog / nziau / j a o T ample, abundant (Tso).
- *nŏq | nau | n a o T, L bent wood (Chouli); to bend (Sün); crooked, unjust (Li); turn away, break up (sc. army) (Tso); *ńiog / ńżiäu / j a o — T oar (Ch'uts'ī).
- *nog | nau | nao T, L shout, wrangle (Chuang).
- r. *nog / nau / n a o T, L a kind of bell (Chouli); loan for s. below (Chuang).
- * $n \delta g / \hat{n} a u / n a o T$, L and * $\chi o g / \chi \hat{a} u / h a o T$, L to trouble, disturb (Tso); to bend (Lü), flinch (Meng), cf. p. above.
- *śńiog / śiäu / s h a o T, L burn (Li).
- 1165 a—c. *tiog / tieu / tiao T, L condole (Tso); grieved (Shī); to pity (Shī); to comfort (Meng); *tiok / tiek / ti - T, L arrive (Shī); (reach the point:) utmost, very (Shu). In the bronze inscriptions this character (*tiog, tiok) is always used in the sense of A *\$iôk. b. is Yin (inser. 30), c. is Chou I (inser. 88). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d-e. *tiog / tśiäu / c h a o K Shuowen says: vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this. e. is Chou II (inser. 139, sense of 1031 j. above).
- 1166 a—b. *kŏg / kau / k i a o T to cross (Shī); exchange (Yi); hand over (Tso); contact (Meng); join (Tso); have relations with (Yi). b. is Chou II/III (inscr. 281, sense of name). The graph shows a man with crossed legs.
- c-d. *kŏg / kau / k i a o T burn on a pyre of crossed logs (inser. Yin bone A 5: 33,2). d. is Yin bone (A 5: 33,2).
- *kog / kau / k i a o T, L beautiful (Shi).
- *kog / kau / k i a o T, L beautiful (Lü); *g'og / yau / h i a o T, L immoral
- * $k \check{o} g / kau / k i a o T$, and * $\check{o} g / au / y a o L$, K cry (Chuang).
- h. *kŏg / kau / k i a o L compare (Li).
- *kog / kau / k i a o T, L foot fetters (Yi); loan for id. examine (Li); dispute (Lunyü); *g'ŏg / yau / h i a o — T, L enclosure (for animals) (Chouli); school (Meng); foot of a table etc. (Li); quickly (Chouli).
- *kog / kau / k i a o T, L artful (Shi), crafty (Tso); perverse (Tso).
- *kŏg / kau / k i a o T, L twist (Li), strangle (Tso); pressing, intense (Tso); rude (Lunyü); *g'ŏg / yau / h i a o — L band for holding shroud tight (Li); loan for id. greenish-yellow (Li).
- *kog / kau / k i a o T, L dried grass (Shu).
- m. *kŏg / kau / k i a o T, L scaly dragon (Lü); alligator (Li).

- n. *kŏg / kau / k i a o T vicinity of a city, suburb (Shī); suburban altar and sacrifice (Shī).
- o. $*k\check{o}g / kau / k i a o T$, L shark (Sün).
- p. *k'ŏg / k'au / k' i a o T, L (after Li) tibia; used figuratively of the tapering end of the spoke in a wheel (Chouli).
- **q.** * $g'\check{o}g/\gamma au/h$ is o T pleased (Meng).
- r—t. *g'ŏg / γau / h i a o K imitate, follow (Tso); announce (Li); hand over, deliver (Tso); to charge (with an office) (Shu); have effect (Sün). s. is Yin bone (B hia 10:16), t. is Chou I (inscr. 76, sense of name).
- **u.** * $g'\check{o}g/\gamma au/h$ i a o L, K imitate (Shī).
- v. variant of r. above (Kuots'ê).
- **x.** *kiog / kieu / k i a o T bright (Ch'uts'ī).
- y. *kiog | kieu | k i a o T, L bright, brilliant (Shī).
- z. * iog | ieu | y a o L South-east corner of a house (Yili).
- a'. *'iog | 'ieu | y a o T, L obscure, secluded (Yili).
- b'. *kök / kåk / k ü e T, L bars on top of sides of carriage box, in front turned upwards in horn or hook shape (Shī); loan for id. compete, contest (Meng); loan for *kŏg / kau / k i a o K to measure, compare (Lao).
- 1167 a—c. *g'ŏg / yau / h i a o, y a o T, L change (Yi). b. is Yin bone (B hia 41: 1, sense of name), c. is Chou II (inscr. 159, sense of m. below). Pek. y a o is irregular.
- d. *q'ŏq / yau / y a o T, L (Pek. y a o is irregular) viands (Kuoyü).
- e. *g'ŏg / yau / y a o T, L (Pek. y a o is irregular) eat, food, viands (Shī); loan for id. mixed, confused (Chuang); loan for 数 (Li).
- f-g. *kŏg / kau / k i a o K teach, instruct (inscr. 147), same word as next. g. is Chou II (inscr. 147).
- h—l. *kŏg | kau | k i a o T teach, instruction (Shī). i. is a common but erroneous variant. j. is Yin bone (A 5: 8,1, sense of name), k. is Yin bone (A 5: 20,2, sense here uncertain), l. is Chou IV (inscr. 293).
- m—o. *kŏk / kåk / k ü e K same word as 1166 b'. above: bars on carriage box, in front turned upwards (inscr. 86 etc.). n. is Chou I (inscr. 86), o. is Chou II (inscr. 154).
- 1168 a—c. *χŏg / χαu / h i a o T to be filial, filial piety (Shī). b. is Yin (inser. 9), c. is Chou II (inser. 139). The graph has 'old' above and 'child' below.
- 1169 a. *dz'ŏg / dz'au / c h ' a o T, L nest (Shī); make a nest (Tso). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- b. *tsiog / tsiau / tsiao T cut off (Shu); *ts'ŏg / ts'au / ch'ao L snatch (Li).
- c. *tsiog / tsiāu / t s i a o T to make weary (Tso); loan for *dz'ŏg / dz'au / c h ' a o T, and *ts'ŏg / ts'au / c h ' a o L snatch (Li, one version).
- d. *sog / sâu / sao L, K reel off a thread (Li); loan for 1134 n. above (Chouli).
- e. variant of 1134 n. above (Chouli).
- 1170 a. *b'ŏg / b'au / p'ao T a kind of deer (Yi Chou shu); loan for *piog / piāu / piao L martial-looking (Shī); to weed (Shī). The modern graph has 'deer' and 'fire'.
- b. *piog / piäu / p i a o T, L run, a moving crowd (Shī).
- c. *piog / piau / piao T, L richly falling snow (Shī).
- d. *piog / piäu / p i a o T, L to weed (Tso), cf. a. above.
- e. *piog | piāu | p i a o T, L end-pieces of horse's bit, horse's bit (Shī).

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- f. *p'jog / p'jäu / p' i a o T, L change colour (said of a bird) (Li).
- g. variant of the preceding (Chouli ap. L).
- 1171 a. *mŏg / mau / m a o T appearance, form, manner (Kuoyü). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *mog | mau | m a o T appearance, form, manner, aspect (Lunyü).
- c. *miog / miäu / m i a o L, K small (Tso); to slight (Meng); *mŏk / måk / m o T, L to slight, contempt (Shī); loan for d. below (Shī).
- d. *mŏk / måk / m o T distant (Ch'uts'i).
- 1172 a—c. *kung / kung / k u n g T artisan (Tso); officer (Shī); skilled, skilful (Shī). b. is Yin bone (O 1271), c. is Chou I (inscr. 58). The graph is said to be a drawing of a carpenter's square, cf. group 95 above.
- d. *kung / kung / kung T work, effort (Shī); achievement, result (Shī); merit (Shī).
- e—f. *kung | kung | kung T, and kông | kung T to work at (Shī), apply oneself to (Lunyü); well-worked, solid (Shī); attack (Yi). f. is Chou III (inscr. 228).
- g. *kung / kung / kung T tribute (Shu); to present (Tso).
- h. *k'ung | k'ung | k'ung T hollow, empty (Shī); exhaust (Shī); hole (Chouli).
- i. *g'ung / yung / h u n g T red (Lunyü).
- j. *g'ung / yung / h u n g T, L, and *kŭng / ki a n g T, L rainbow (Li); loan for k. below (Shī).
- k. *g'ung / γung / h u n g T, L disorder, trouble (Shī).
- 1—o. *g'ung / rung / h u n g K big and fat bird (only Han time text ex.). n. is Yin bone (A 2: 9,6, sense of name), o. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of name).
- p—r. *kiung | kiwong | k u n g K embrace, hold (inscr. 180). q. is Chou II inscr. 156, sense of d'. below), r. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The radical is 786 a. above.
- **8**—**t.** *g'iung | g'iwong | k' i u n g T, L mound (Shī); loan for id. distressed (Shī); loan for e'. below (Mu t'ien tsī chuan). t. is Chou II/III (inscr. 266, sense of name).
- u. *kŭng / kång / k i a n g T, L pole (Yili); small bridge (Meng).
- v. *kŭng / kång / kiang T the River (Yang-tsī) (Shī); river (Shu).

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- *kŭng / kång / k i a n g L, K firm (Chuang).
- y. *g'ŭng / yang / h i a n g T neck (Tso); loan for id. large (Shī).
- **2.** *k'ung / k'ung / k ' u n g T, L, and *k'ung / k'ung / k ' i a n g T simple (Lunyü).
- a'. *k'ung | k'ung | k' ung T, L pull in (as a horse) (Shī); loan for id. appeal (Shī); *k'ŭng | k' ang | k' ang T, L beat (Chuang).
- b'. *k'ŭng / k'ång / k' i a n g T, L a hollow wooden beaten instrument of music (Li).
- c'. *kiung / kiwong / k u n g T, L to bind with thongs (Yi); strengthen (Shī).
- d'. *k'iung / k'iwong / k' u n g T fear (Shī).
- 6'. *g'iung / g'iwong / k'iung T cricket (only Han time text ex.); k'iungk'i u n g a fabulous animal (Lü).
- Y. *g'iung / g'iwong / k' i u n g L, and *k'ŭng / k'ang / k' i a n g K, L (after Sü Miao) sound of tramping feet (Chuang).
- g'. *g'ung / yung / h u n g T wild-goose (Shī); loan for id. equal, symmetric (Chouli); loan for 洪 great (Li).
 - Of the above, h. *k'ung 'hollow' and b'. *k'ŭng 'hollow instrument' are cognate words.
- 1178 a—f. *kung / kung / kung T father (Lie); prince (Shī); public (Shī); impartial, just (Hanfei); (official place:) palace (Shī); loan for 功 (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 3,7), c. is Yin (inscr. 6), d. is Yin (inscr. 25), e. is Chou I (inscr. 58), f. is Chou I (inscr. 65). Some of these forms seem to suggest a phallic interpretation (cf. H. group 46 above), other forms do not.
- g. *'ung / 'ung / weng K jar (Mo).
- 1174 a—b. *k'ung / k'ung / k'ung T very, greatly (Shī); empty (Lao); peacock (Yi Chou shu). b. is Chou II (inser. 157). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1175 a—d. *tung / tung / tung T East (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 49,1), c. is Yin bone (A 6: 32,4), d. is Chou I (inscr. 54). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *tung / tung / t u n g T, L freeze (Tso).
- *tung | tung | t u n g T, L ridge-pole, ridge of a roof (Yi); a kind of tree (Kuan). Ī.
- *tung | tung | tung T violent rain ((Ch'uts'ī).
 *tung | tung | tung T, L ti-tung rainbow (Shī).
- 1176 a—c. *d'ung / d'ung / t' u n g T together, join, assemble (Shī); agree, identical, same (Shī); partake in (Meng); harmony (Li); pitch-pipe (Chouli); libation cup (Shu). b. is Yin bone (B hia 10: 2), c. is Chou I (inscr. 70). Explanation of graph uncertain.

- d. *d'ung / d'ung / t'ung T bronze, copper (Tso, as part of place name).
- e—f. *d'ung / d'ung / t' un g T Eloeococca and kindred trees (Shī). f. is Chou II/III (inscr. 279, sense of name).
- g. *d'ung / d'ung / t ' u n g T tube (Lü).
 h. *d'ung / d'ung / t u n g (oblique tone) T to flow rapidly (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. respectful (Li).
- *d'ung | d'ung | t u n g L, K all (Shu, Ma Jung's version).
- j. *t'ung / t'ung / t'ung T, L, and *d'ung / d'ung / t'ung L, K stupid, ignorant (Shu); simple, sincere (Chuang).
- k. *t'ung / t'ung / t 'ung T, L pained, grieved (Shī).
- 1177 a. *tsung / tsung / tsung T Shuowen says: gather in the feet and fly (sc. a bird); but there are no text examples in support of this. Explanation of graph un-
- b. *tsung / tsung / tsung T, L fill up, obstruct (Chuang).
- c-d. *tsung / tsung / t sung T a kind of tree (palm?) (inser. 328). d. is Chou III/IV (inser. 328, char. enl. by rad. 137).
- e. *tsung | tsung | tsung T, L sheaf, bundle (Kuoyü); numerous (Chuang).
- f. *tsung | tsung | tsung T, L a kind of cauldron (Shuowen, no text ex.); loan for 糠 (Shī: this also in ode Lie tsu, acc. to the Mao comm., and not loan for 奏, as other comm. propose).
- 1178 a—b. *dz'ung / dz'ung / t s ' u n g T collect (Shu); thicket (Meng). b. is Chou (inscr. 393, sense of name, character enlarged by rad 75). The graph has ts' ü 'take' and a drawing of a bush.
- 1179 a. *sung / sung / sung T to escort (Shī); send (Tso); to present (Li). The graph has 'go' and 893 a. above, see that group.
- 1180 a-b. *lung / lung / lung, nung, neng T, L manipulate, play with (Shī); to play (Tso); be fond of (Tso). b. is Chou III/IV (inser. 311). The graph has 'two hands' and 'jade'.
- 1181 a. *mung / mung / meng T, L to cover (Shī); (covered:) ignorant (Yi); (go with covered eyes against:) to brave (Yi); (covered:) dark (Shu); deceive (Tso); disorderly (Shī, so the Mao comm.); loan for 1201 e. below (Sün). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *mung | mung | m e n g T, L cover (Yi Chou shu); dense, luxuriant (Shī).
- c. *mung | mung | m e n g T, L blind (Shī).
- d. *mung | mung | m e n g T, L small rain (Shī).
- *mung | mung | m e n g T, L midge, mosquito (Lie).
- *mung | mung | m e n g L, K full (sc. food vessel) (Shī).
- 1182 a—b. *kiung / kiwong / k u n g T join the hands, to present with both hands (inscr. Yin bone A 1: 12,4). b. is Yin bone (ibid.) The graph is a drawing.
- c-d. *kiung | kiwong | k u n g L, K join the hands (Yili), to present, offer (Shī); loan for l. below (Tso); *g'iung | g'iwong | k u n g — T together, all (Shu). d. is Chou II (inscr. 186, sense of l.). The meaning of the upper element is uncertain.
- e. *kiung | kiwong | k u n g T, L join the hands before the breast (Lunyü); to hold round with both hands (Tso).

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- f. *kjung / kjwong / k u n g T, L furnish (Meng); serve, offer (Li).
- g-j. *kiung / kiwong / k u n g K sincerely respectful (inscr. 136, in the laudatory name Kung wang of a Chou King). h. is Yin bone (A 2:25,6, sense of name), i. is Yin (inscr. 48, sense of name), j. is Chou II (inscr. 136).
- **k.** *kiung | kiwong | k u n g K sincerely respectful (only Han time text ex.); loan for f. above (Mo).
- *kung | kung | kung T, and *kông | kuong | kung T, and *kiung | kiwong | kung — K respectful, reverent (Shī). The oldest T fragment spells kung, though the word is placed in rime uong).
- m. *kiung / kiwong / k u n g T, L, and *kiuk / kiwok / k ü T, L manacles (Chouli).
- n. *kiung / kiwong / k u n g T, L, and *g'iung / g'iwong / k u n g T a kind of funeral chariot (Yili).
- o. *g'ung / yung / h u n g T inundation (Shi); great, greatly (Shu).
- p-q. *g'ung / yung / h u n g T, and *g'ŭng / yang / h i a n g T quarrel, fight (Meng). The second form is a vulgar corruption.
- *yung / yung / h u n g T, L burn (Shī).
- *g'ŭng / yång / h i a n g T lane, street (Shī).
- *kiuk / kiwok / k ü T, L big carriage drawn by horses (Chouli).
- 1183 a. *χiung / χiwong / h i u n g T bad, unlucky, nefast (Shī); to fear (Kuoyü). The original graph may have been a drawing of a pitfall.
- *xiung / xiwong / h i u n g T unlucky (Shu); to fear (Tso).
- *\(\chi_{\text{iung}} / \chi_{\text{iwong}} / \hat{\text{h i u n g}} \text{T}, L litigate, discord (Sh\(\text{i})\).

 *\(\chi_{\text{iung}} / \chi_{\text{iwong}} / \hat{\text{h i u n g}} \text{T breast (Ch'uts'\(\text{i})\); loan for \(\delta d\). shout, bawl (S\(\text{u}\)).
- e. *χiung / χiwong / h i u n g T breast (Meng).
- variant of the preceding (Tso).
- *xiung / xiwong / h i u n g T to rush, as water (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1184 a—b. *'iung / iwong / y u n g T city moat (only Han time text ex.). b. is Chou (inser. 380, sense of name). The graph has 'city' and 'flowing water'.

- c-g. *'iung / iwong / y u n g T harmonious notes of birds (Shī); harmonious tinkling of bells (Shī); harmonious, united (Shī); loan for id. obstruct, to obscure, becloud (Shī); loan for a. above (Shī). d. is Yin bone (A 2: 36,1, sense of name), e. is Chou I (inscr. 81, sense of name), f. is Chou I (inscr. 82, sense of name), g. is Chou II (inscr. 180). The element 'city' is here reduced to drawings of a 'wall'; g. is enlarged by the radical 66.
- *iung / iwong / y u n g T corrupted variant of c. above: harmonious, united (Shu); obstruct, dam up (Chouli); loan for k. below (Kuots'ê), for m. (Yili), for o. (Yi).
- *'iung / iwong / y u n g T, L obstruct, stop up (Tso).
- * jung / jwong / y u n g T p i y u n g a ceremonial hall in the palace (Shī).
- *'iung / iwong / y u n g T embrace, seize (Li); cover, conceal (Li).
- * jung / jwong / y u n g T ulcer (Meng).
- m-n. * jung / jwong / y u n g T, L cooked rice, prepared food (Shī). n. is Chou I (inscr. 112, sense of name); phonetic slightly abbreviated.
- *iung / iwong / y u n g T, L, and *iung / iung / w e n g L, K pitcher, jar (Yili).
- p. *ung / ung / weng T, L earther jar (Li); (bulbous:) swollen (Chuang).
- 1185 a—e. *diung | iwong | y u n g T use, employ (Shī); by (Shī); implements (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 9,6), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 23,5), d. is Yin (inser. 3), e. is Chou I (inscr. 54). From the archaic graph i. below it would seem that this is the primary graph of a'. below 'bell', applied by loan to the present word; but the Yin bone forms are not very convincing as drawings of a bell.
- f-g. *diung | iwong | y u n g (variant of k. below, Shuowen) brave. g. is Chou (inser. 337, sense of name).
- h-i. *diung / iwong / y u n g T, L suspension ring at top of bell (Chouli); loan for id. a measure of capacity (Li). i. is Chou I (inscr. 86, sense of a'. below).
- *diung | iwong | y u n g T, L grave figures (Meng). *diung | iwong | y u n g T brave (Shī).
- *djung | jwong | y u n g T, L to gush forth (as a spring) (Kungyang).
- m. *diung / iwong / y u n g T chrysalis of the silk worm (Sün).
- *djung / jwong / y u n g T, L jump, leap (Shī).
- *dziung / ziwong / s u n g T recite (Shī).
- * $t'ung \mid t'ung \mid t$ ' u n g T a measure of capacity, bushel (Lü).
- *t'ung | t'ung | t'ung T to be pained (Tso).
- r-s. *t'ung | t'ung | t'ung T penetrate, pass through (Yi); communicate with (Tso); have relations with (Tso); reaching everywhere, universal (Lunyü); all (Meng). s. is Chou II (inscr. 164).
- *d'ung / d'ung / t' u n g T tube (Hanfei).
- u-v. variant of l. above (Lü). v. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 327).
- **z.** *diung / iwong / y u n g T use, employ (Shu); put in practice (Shu); thus, therefore (Tso); merit, service (Shī); advantage (Tso); fatigue (Shī); ordinary (Yi), vulgar (Kuots'ê); loan for id. canal (Li); how (Tso); loan for z. below (Shī), for a'. (Shī).
- **y.** *diung | iwong | y u n g T hire (only Han time text ex.); *t'iung | \hat{t} 'iwong | ch'ung — T, L even, just, fair (Shi).
- z. *diung / iwong / y u n g T, L wall, to wall (Shī).
 a'. *diung / iwong / y u n g T, L big bell (Shī).
- 1186 a—c. *diung / iwong / y u n g T Shuowen says: make use of; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Chou (inscr. 398), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 332).

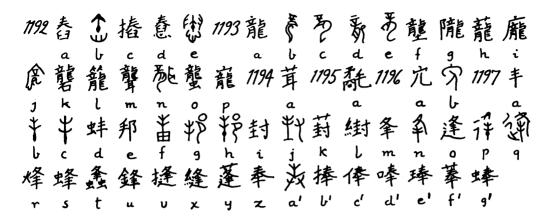
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In both these inscriptions it has the sense of 'wall', same word as 1185 z. above. c. is the same drawing as 郭 *kwâk 774 a—d. above 'city wall', but the rimes in the inscr. 332 shows that it stands here for the synonymous *djung. In a-b. there is an additional rad. 132 at the bottom, of uncertain interpretation.

- 1187 a. *djung / jwong / j u n g T contain, hold, admit (Shī); support, bear, endure (Tso); forbear (Lunyü); generous (Li); at ease, easy (Lunyü); manner, air, appearance (Shī); countenance, face (Li); adorn (Shī); ceremony master (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- *diung / iwong / j u n g T much water (Ch'uts'ī).
- *djung / jwong / j u n g T f u j u n g lotus (Ch'uts'ī).
- 1188a. *d'iung / d'iuong / c h u n g (oblique tone) T heavy (Shī); *<math>d'iung / d'iuong / d'iuch'ung — (even tone) T double (Shī); loan for t. below (Shī). Explanation of graph (see h, i. below) uncertain (does it contain π as phonetic?).
- *tiung | tsiwong | c h u n g K disappointed (Sün).
- *tiung | tiwong | c h u n g T, and *tung | tung | t u n g T milk (Mu t'ien tsī chuan); loan for id. noise of drum (Kuan).
- d. *tiung | tsiwong | c h u n g T, L seed, different kinds of grain (Shī); to sow (Shī); loan for id. short (sc. hair) (Tso); diligent (Chuang); loan for e. below (Chuang), for t. below (Chouli, one version).
- *t̂iung / tśiwong / c h u n g T, L tumour (Chouli); swell, swollen (Tso).
 *t̂iung / tśiwong / c h u n g T, L heel (Li); follow in the footsteps of (Tso); go to (Meng); frequently visit (Chuang); back-most part of a carriage shaft on which rests the cross-piece carrying the carriage box (Chouli).
- g—i. *tiung / tśiwong / c h u n g T a kind of wine vessel (Lie); an ancient measure (Tso); bell (Li); loan for id. accumulate (Tso), repeat (Chouli). h. is Chou II (inscr. 167, sense 'of bell'), i. is Chou III (inscr. 217, sense of 'bell').
- *t'iung | ts'iwong | c h ' u n g T, L crossroads, meeting streets (Tso); rush against (Tso); (a *rusher *:) assaulting engine (Shī).
- k. *diung / ziwong / c h u n g T, L swollen legs (Shī). The Mand. reading c h u n g, influenced by e. above, is irregular, we should expect a shung.
- *tung / tung / tung T manage, regulate (Tso).
- **m.** *d'ung / d'ung / t u n g (oblique tone) T move (Tso).
- n. *d'ung / d'ung / t u n g T, L great grief (Lunyü).

- o-q. *d'ung / d'ung / t' u n g (even tone) T boy, young man (Shī); young person (boy or girl) (Tso); servant (Yi); young animal without horns (esp. calf or lamb) (Shī); bald, without vegetation (Chuang). p. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense of m. above), q. is Chou II (inscr. 195). Meaning of the upper elements (above the phonetic) uncertain.
- r. *d'ung / d'ung / t'ung T, L young person, servant (Tso); ignorant (Kuoyū); respectful (Shi).
- *t'ung / t'ung / t'ung L inexperienced, ignorant (Chuang).
- *d'iung | d'iwong | c h' u n g T, L, and *d'ung | d'ung | t' u n g L, K grain sown early and ripening late (Chouli).
- u-v. variant of f. above in the sense of 'back-most part of carriage shaft' (inscr. 180). v. is Chou II (inscr. 180).
- x-z. *tiung / tsiwong / c h u n g T bell (Shī). y. is Chou II (inscr. 139), z. is Chou II (inscr. 146). Cf. g. above.
- a'. *Î'iung | tś'iwong | c h' u n g T pierce (Kuots'ê). b'. *Î'iung | tś'iwong | c h' u n g T, L, and *d'ŭng | d'àng | c h u a n g T hesitating, undecided (Yi).
- c'. *t'iung / ts'iwong / c h'ung T, L, and *d'ung / d'ung / t'ung T a kind of net (Shī).
- d'. same as k. above (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- e'. *d'ŭng | d'ång | c h ' u a n g (even tone) T a kind of flag (Hanfei).
- f'. *d'ŭng / d'ång / c h' u a n g (even tone) T, L, and *d'ŭng / d'ång / c h u a n g (oblique tone) K strike (Li).
- 1189 a. *tiung / tsiwong / c h u n g T father-in-law (Lü). The graph has 'woman' and 'father'.
- 1190 a. *dziung / ziwong / s u n g T Pinus (Shī). The graph has 'tree' and 'public' (wood used for public buildings?). Abbreviated phonetic in:
- b—c. *dziung / ziwong / s u n g T litigate (Shī); reprimand (Lunyü). c. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- d-e. *dziung / ziwong / s u n g T eulogy (Shī); indicium appearing on oracle bone or shell (Yi). e. is Chou II (inscr. 163, sense of name).
- f. *siông / siung / s u n g T, L high (Shī).
- 1191 a—c. *dz'iung / dz'iwong / ts' ung T follow (Chouli ap. L). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 37,6), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 44,6). The graph has two men in a row.
- d-g. *dz'iung / dz'iwong / t s ' u n g T follow (Shī); obey (Shu); attend to (business) (Yi); according to (Tso); from (Shī); *dz'iung / dz'iwong / t s u n g — (oblique tone) T, L follower, attendant (Shī); affinited collaterally (Li); *tsiung / tsiwong / t s u n g — L longitudinal (Shī); *ts'iung / ts'iwong / ts' u ng — L, K ts' u ng - j u ng leisurely (Shī); *tsung / tsung / tsung — L high hairdress (Li); loan for h. below (Li). e. is Yin (inser. 41), f. is Chou I (inser. 56), g. is Chou I (inser. 67).

 h. *tsiung | tsiwong | t s u n g — T, L let loose, let off (Shī); to be indulgent (Shī);
- admitted that, although (Shī); loan for *tsung / tsung / tsung L quickly (Li).
- *tsjung / tsjwong / tsung T, L, and *ts'jung / ts'jwong / ts'ung L, K a tree kindred to fir and cypress (Shī-tsī); loan for 崇 (Shī, so the Mao comm.).
- j. *siung / siwong / s u n g T, L incite, encourage (Kuoyü); scare, fear (Tso).
 k. *tsung / tsung / t s u n g T, L a pig a half or one year old (Shī).
- 1192 a-b. *siung / siwong / c h ' u n g T, L (the Mand. initial is irregular) to hull grain with a pestle (Shi); beating stick for beating time in music (Chouli). b. is pre-Han



(inscr. 429, sense of name). The graph shows a mortar, a pestle and two hands (these erroneously left out in the table above).

c. *sjung / sjwong / c h ' u n g — T, L to beat (Tso).

d—e. *\$iung | \$iwong | c h 'u n g — T, L, and *t'iung | î'iwong | c h 'u n g — T, L, and *t'iung | î'ang | c h 'u a n g — T, L stupid (Yili). e. is Chou II (inscr. 180). Phonetic abbreviated.

- 1193 a—e. *liung | liwong | l u n g T dragon (Shī); loan for id. grace, favour (Shī); for f. below (Meng); loan for *mlŭng | mång | m a n g L mixed black and white colour, variegated (Chouli). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 53,4), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 54,2), d. is Chou III/IV (inser. 295), e. is pre-Han (inser. 409, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- f. *ljung / ljwong / l u n g T, L mound (Li).

g. variant of the preceding (Sün).

- h. *liung / liwong / lung T, and *lung / lung / lung T name of a plant, of uncertain species (Kuan).
- i-j. *lung / lung / lung T, L well-fed (sc. horse) (Shī). j. is Yin bone (A 5: 12,3, sense of name).
- k. *lung / lung / l u n g T, L rub, polish (Kuoyü).
- 1. *lung / lung / lung T, L basket (Chouli); cage (Chuang); quiver (Chouli); loan for id. moist (Sün); *liung / liwong / lung T a kind of bamboo (Kuan).
- m-n. *lung / lung / lung T deaf (Tso). n. is pre-Han (inscr. 428, sense of name).
- o. *lung / lung / lung T, L hua-lung a kind of demon (Chuang).
- **p.** *t'liung | \hat{t} 'iwong | c h ' u n g T favour, affection (Tso); exalt (Meng).
- 1194 a. *njung / nżiwong / j u n g T, L' bushy (Tso); a kind of tree (Kuan). The modern character has 'grass' and 'ear', explanation uncertain.
- 1195 a. *njung / nziwong / j u n g T, L downy, full of fine hair or feathers (Shu). The modern character has 'hair' and 'pierce', explanation uncertain.
- 1196 a—b. *ńiung / ńżiwong / j u n g T, L supernumerary officials without definite tasks (Chouli). b. is Chou II (inscr. 158, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.



- 1197 a—c. *p'iung / p'iwong / f e n g T, L flourishing, beautiful (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 10,6, sense of i. below), c. is Chou (inscr. 362, sense of name). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- d. *b'ŭng / b'ång / p a n g T oyster, mussel (Lü).
- e—h. *pŭng / pång / p a n g T country, state (Shī). f. is Yin bone (A 4: 17,3, rad. 102 inst. of 163, variant recorded in Shuowen), g. is Chou I (inscr. 65), h. is Chou II (inscr. 174). In the modern character the phonetic has been corrupted into shou 'hand'.
- i—j. *piung | piwong | f e n g T, L mound, tumulus, raise a mound (Yi); to earth up (a plant) (Kuoyü); boundary wall, border, boundary (Tso); bank of a field (Tso); determine the boundaries of a fief, invest with a fief (Tso), fief (Tso); loan for id. great (Shī); to be mercenary, to line one's purse (Shī); loan for ᢓ (Li). j. is Chou II (inscr. 151). In the modern form the phonetic has been corrupted into k u e i 'sceptre'.
- k. *p'jung | p'jwong | f e n g T, L an edible plant (some kind of turnip?) (Shī).
- 1. *pung | pung | peng T hemp sandal (Shen t s ī).
- m—n. *b'iung / b'iwong / f e n g T, and *p'iung / p'iwong / f e n g T Shuowen says: knock against; but there are no text examples in support of this. n. is Chou I (inscr. 129, sense of name).
- o—q. *b'iung | b'iwong | f e n g T meet with (Shī); loan for id. large (Shu); loan for *b'ung | b'ung | p' e n g L sound of the drum (Shī). p. is Yin bone (B shang 10: 4). q. is Chou III/IV (inser. 332).
- r. p'iung / p'iwong / f e n g T beacon (Mo).
- s-t. *p'iung | p'iwong | f e n g T, L bee, wasp (Shī).
- u. *p'iung | p'iwong | f e n g T, L point of a weapon (Shu).
- v. *b'iung | b'iwong | f e n g L, K great (Chuang).
- x. *b'iung | b'iwong | f e n g T, L sew, seam (Shī).
- y. *b'ung | b'ung | p'eng T, L name of a plant, of uncertain species (Artemisia? Chrysanthemum coronarium? Conyza?) (Shī); luxuriant (foliage) (Shī); confused, disorderly (Chuang); loan for id. to blow (sc. the wind) (Chuang).
- **z—a'.** *b' iung | b' iwong | f e n g T, L, and *p' iung | p' iwong | f e n g L hold with both hands (Shī); to present (Shī); receive (Tso); serve (Tso). a'. is Chou II (inscr. 147, sense of i. above). The phonetic has fused together with the 'two hands' as upper part, and the modern graph has in addition shou 'hand' as lower part.
- b'. *p'iung / p'iwong f e n g T, L grasp with both hands (Chuang).
- c'. *b'iung | b'iwong | f e n g T (what is received:) salary (Kuots'ê).
- d'. *pung | pung | p e n g L, and *b'ung | b'ung | p e n g T, L (after Sü Miao) Shuowen says: laugh; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. numerous (sc. fruits) (Shī).
- e'. *pung | pung | peng T, L ornament on upper part of scabbard (Shī).
- f'. *pung / pung / p e n g T, L, and *b'ung / b'ung / p e n g T, L luxuriant (sc. foliage) (Shī), cf. d'. above.
- g'. *pŭng / pång / p a n g K mussel, oyster (Mo ap. T'ai p'ing yü law).
- 1198 a. *kŭng | kång | k i a n g T explain (Tso), discuss (Tso); practise (Yi). The graph has 'interlace, intertwine' and 'words'.
- 1199 a—b. *ts' ŭng / tṣ' ång / c h' u a n g K Shuowen says: window, thus taking it to be the primary form of l. below; but there are no text examples in support of this. If Shuowen is right, the original graph may have been a drawing of a window with shutter(?).

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- c-e. *ts'ung / ts'ung / ts' ung T bright, intelligent (Lü). e. is Chou II (inscr. 139). It is questionable whether this is really a above, reduced to a blot, as phonetic, and 'heart' as radical below, or it is simply a drawing, the primary form of g. below,
- *ts'ung / ts'ung / ts' ung T hear well (Shī); intelligent (Shī).
- g—h. *ts'ung / ts'ung / ts'ung T onion (Li); onion-green (Shī); loan for *ts'ŭng / tṣ'ang / ch' uang L ch' uang ling forage wagon (Tso).
- i-j. *tsung | tsung | ts u n g T bind together, unite (Shī); the whole (Shu); greenishblue silk (cf. g.) (Chouli).
- k. variant of the preceding (Sün).
- 1-m. *ts'ŭng / ts'ang / ch' u a n g T, L window opening, window (Chouli).
- 1200 a. *sŭng / sang / s h u a n g T a pair (Shī). The graph has 'two birds' and 'hand'.
- 1201 a—b. *mung / mang / mang L, K shaggy dog (Shī); particoloured (Tso.) b. is Chou (inser. 339, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- c. *mŭng / mång / m a n g T mixed, disorderly (Kuoyü).
 d. *mŭng / mång / m a n g T, L particoloured animal, variegated (Chouli).
 e. *mŭng / mång / m a n g T, L big, stout (Shī).
- 1202 a—c. *kuk / kuk / k u T valley (one of the T mss. has also a reading *giuk / iwok / y ü in this sense); loan for id. exhausted, without resources, impossible (Shī); nourish (Lao, so the Ho-shang-kung comm.). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 5,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 97, sense of part of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *giuk / iwok / y ü T desire, wish (Shī).
- e. *giuk / iwok / y ü T, L lust, passion (Lunyü).
- *giuk / iwok / y ü T, L bathe, wash (Lunyü).
- g. *gîuk / îwok / y ü T, L k ' ü y ü name of a bird (Tso).
 h. *giug / îu / y ü T, L ample, abundant (Shī); liberal, indulgent (Shu).
- 1203 a. *k'uk / k'uk / k 'u T lament, weep (Tso). The graph has 'mouth' doubled and 'dog'.
- 1204 a. *'uk / wu T house (Shī); roof (Tso). Explanation of graph uncertain. **b.** *'uk / 'uk / w u — T execute, kill (Yi ap. Cheng Hüan).

- *' $\check{u}k$ / ' $\mathring{a}k$ / w o T restrain (Ch'uts' \check{i}).
- *·ŭk / ·åk / w o T chuckle (Ch'uts'i).
- *' $\check{u}k$ / ' $\mathring{a}k$ / w o T, L tent (Tso).
- *·ŭk/·åk/wo T, L grasp, a handful (Shi); loan for e. above (Chouli).
- *uk/uk/wo T, L moisten (Shī); *ug/u/ou L soak (Chouli).
- *'ŭk / 'åk / w o T, L rich grease (Chouli).
- 1205 a. *t'uk / t'uk / t' u T, L bald (Kuliang). Explanation of graph uncertain. b. see group 540 above.
- 1206 a—c. *dz'uk / dz'uk / t s u T clan (Shī); group of families (Chouli); category, class (Shu). b. is Yin bone (A 7: 1,4), c. is Chou I (inscr. 71). The graph has 'banner' and 'arrow': clan, a military unit.
- d. *tsuk / tsuk / tsu T, L arrow-head (Ta Tai li).
- e. *ts'uk / ts'uk / ts' u T, L scab (Tso).
 f. *ts'uk / ts' uk / ts' u T, L bird's nest (Chouli); *ts'ug / ts' u / ts' o u T, L t'ai-ts'ou name of a pitch-pipe (Li).
- g. *sug | sou | Sou T, L, and *is'ug | ts'ou T to urge on a dog (Tso).
- 1207 a. *sŭk / såk / s h u o T, L a number of times, frequently (Li); to worry, annoy (Li); quick (Li); *ts' juk / ts' jwok / ts' u — L close-meshed (sc. net) (Meng). This is the same character as 123 r. above, see that group.
- **b.** *sug / squ / s o u T, L a measure (Yili).
- c. *sug / squ / s o u T, L marsh-land rich in game (Shī); loan for id. the hollow in a wheel hub (Chouli).
- 1208 a—d. *luk / luk / lu K Shuowen says: to carve wood; but there are no text examples in support of this. b. is Yin bone (A 6: 1,8, sense of h. below), c. is Chou I (inscr. 72, sense of name), d. is Yin bone (inscr. 84, sense of name). The graph may be the primary form of e. below, showing a spoon pouring spirits.
- *luk / luk / lu T, L to strain, pour off (Chouli).
 *luk / luk / lu T, L precious stone, precious (Lao). f.
- *luk / luk / lu T to look carefully (Ch'uts'i).
- *luk / luk / lu T blessing, prosperity, emoluments, dignity (Shī).
- i-j. *luk / luk / lu K wooded foot of mountain (variant of 1209 h. below, Shuowen) (inscr. Yin bone A 2: 23,1). j. is Yin bone (ibid.).
- k. *lįuk / lįwok / l ü T green (Shī); loan for l. below (Shī).
- *liuk / liwok / l ü T, L name of a plant of uncertain species (Shī ap. Ta hūe).
- m. *liuk | liwok | lu T (Pek. lu is irregular, we should expect a lü) to inscribe, to record (Kungyang); a record (Chouli); series, order (Kuoyü).
- **1209 a.—d.** *luk / luk / lu T deer (Shī); loan for id. square granary (Kuoyū); loan for h. below (Yi). b. is Yin bone (A 2: 34,4), c. is Yin bone (A 4: 47,7), d. is Chou I (inscr. 98). The graph is a drawing.
- *luk / luk / l u T, L shake (Chouli).
- *luk / luk / lu T, L to draw off water (from a pond etc.) (Li); to strain, to drip (Kuots'ê).
- *luk / luk / lu T net (Kuoyü).
- h. *luk / luk / lu T wooded foot of a mountain (Shī); forester (Kuoyü).

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- 1210 a-d. *puk / puk / pu T to divine by tortoise-shell or bone, prognostics (Shī). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 2,6), c. is Yin bone (A 1: 1,1), d. is Chou I (inser. 67). The graph shows the divination cracks in the shell or bone.
- *p'uk / p'uk / p' u T, L to beat (Shu); a stick (Tso). * $p'\check{u}k / p'\check{d}k / p$ ' o L, K in a natural state, simple, natural (Li); big (Ch'uts'ī).
- g. p'iu / p'iu f u T, and p'iu / p'iu f o u T, and p'iu / p'iu f o u T, and *b'ək / b'ək / p o — T fall prostrate (Kuots'ê).
- *p'iug / p'iu / f u T, L announce the death of somebody (Li).
- *p'iug / p'iu / f u T hasten to, go with a report to (Tso).
- 1211 a. *b'uk / b'uk / p u K Shuowen says: sullied, distasteful; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b**—**f.** *b'uk/b'uk/pu, p'u T, and * $b'\delta k/b'uok/pu$, p'u T (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) charioteer (Shī); servant (Shī); loan for id. attach to, belong to (Shī); conceal (Tso); *p'uk / p'uk / p' u — L a crowd (Chuang). c. is Yin (inscr. 25), d. is Chou I (inscr. 105, enlarged by rad. 53), e. is Chou I (inscr. 109), f. is Chou II (inscr. 150).
- g—h. *puk / puk / pu T, L a kind of tree (Shī); *b'uk / b'uk / pu L, K shrubby trees (Shī); *p'uk/p'uk/p u — L rough, unadorned (Tso); $*p'\check{u}k/p'\check{a}k/p$ o — T, L unworked wood (Shu), cf. f. above; robust, solid (Chouli). h. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323).
- *puk / puk / p u T, L support under box of carriage, resting on axle (Chouli). \mathbf{j} — \mathbf{l} . *p'uk/p'uk/p u — T, \mathbf{l} to beat (Shu); k. is Chou II (inscr. 147, rad. 62 inst. of 64), l. is Chou II (inscr. 184, rad. 62).
- m. p'uk / p'uk / p'uk / p'uk T, and p'uk / p'uk / p'o T clod of earth (Kuoyü).
- *p'ŭk / p'åk / p' o T, L unwrought precious stone (Meng).
- 1212 a—d. *muk / muk / m u T tree, wood (Shī). b. is Yin bone (B shang 13:8), c. is Yin (inser. 38), d. is Chou I (inser. 97). The graph is a drawing.
- *muk / muk / m u T wash the hair (Shī); put in order, prepare (Li).
- f. *muk / muk / m u T, L drizzle (Shī).
- 1213 a. *k'iuk / k'iwok / k' ü T bend, bent (Shī); crooked, unjust (Tso); small, minute (Li); frame for silkworms (Li). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1214 a. *g'iuk / g'iwok / k ü T, L department (Li); compressed, bent, curved (body) (Shī); curl, twist (sc. hair) (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain (Shī).

- b. *g'iuk / g'iwok / k ü T bend the body (Shī ap. L).
- c. *kiuk / kiwok / k ü T, L barrow (Tso).
- d. *kiuk / kiwok / k ü T tray (Kuoyü).
- 1215 a—b. *ngiuk | ngiwok | y ü T trial (at court) (Shī); prison (Shī). b. is Chou II (inscr. 151). The graph has two 'dogs' and 'speak'.
- c. *ngŭk / ngåk / y ü e T mountain, peak (Ŝhī).
- d. *ngŭk / ngåk / y ü e T name of a bird (Kuoyü).
- 1216 a—c. *ngiuk / ngiwok / y ü T jade (Shī); precious (Shī). b. is Yin (inser. 44), c. is Chou I (inser. 79). The graph must be some kind of drawing.
- d. *χiuk / χiwok / h ü T, L disconcerted (Chuang).
- 1217 a. *χiuk / χiwok / h ü T, L urge, stimulate (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1218 a. * $t'iuk / \hat{t}'iwok / c$ h' u T Shuowen says: hobbled pig; but there are no text examples in support of this. The graph (see i. below) shows a pig with a stroke on one leg.
- c. $t\bar{u}k/t\hat{u}k/c$ ho L beat, strike (Shi); castrate (Shu).
- d. variant of the preceding (Lü).
- e. $t \tilde{u} k / \hat{t} dk / c h o T$, L to drip (Chouli).
- 1. *tŭk / t̂åk / c h o T carve jade and other precious stones (Shī).
- g. $t\ddot{u}k / t\dot{d}k / cho$ T to blame (Ch'uts'i).
- h—i. *tjung | t̄iwong | c h u n g T, L mound, peak (Shī); great (Chouli). i. is Chou II (inser. 155).
- 1219 a—b. *tsiuk / tsiwok / tsu T foot (Shī); loan for id. enough, sufficient (Shī); for *tsiug / tsiu / tsü T to add, to heap (Kuan). b. is Chou II (inscr. 204). The graph has if 'foot' and a circle above of uncertain interpretation.
- c. *tsiuk / tsiwok / t s u T flatter (Ch'uts'i).
- d. *ts'iuk / ts'iwok / t s ' u T urge, press (Chuang).
- e. *tsŭk / tṣåk / c h o grasp (Chuang).

- 1220 a—b. *dziuk / ziwok / s u T rustic, vulgar (Meng); popular usage, custom (Li). b. is Chou II (inscr. 161, sense of name). The graph has 'man' and 'valley'.
- 1221 a. *siuk / siwok / s u T grain (rice or millet) in husk (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1222 a—f. *\$iuk | \$iwok | s h u T bind, tie together (Shī); bundle (Shī). b. is Yin bone (H 2: 25,6), c. is Chou I (inser. 66), d. is Chou II (inser. 132), e. is Chou II (inser. 150), f. is Chou II (inser. 175). The graph is a drawing of a bundle.
- g—h. *ts' iuk / ts' iwok / ts' u T to urge (inscr. 65), same word as 1219 d. above. h. is Chou I (inscr. 65).
- i—j. *suk / suk / su T rapid, quick (Lunyü); urge on (Shī); invite (Shī); loan for r. below (Ch'uts'ī); cognate to the preceding. j. is Chou III/IV (inser. 323).
- k. *suk | suk | su T, L stew of meat and vegetables (Yi).
- 1. *siung | siwong | s u n g T, and *sug | s 2 u | s o u T shake the bit of a horse to make him run (Kungyang).
- m. *siung / siwong / s u n g fear (Hanfei).
- n. *siung | siwong | s u n g T, L to lift up, raise (Kuoyü); loan for m. above (Shī).
- o. *sŭk / såk / s h u T Shuowen says: suck, inhale; but there are no text examples in support of this.
- p. *suk / suk / su T, L low shrubby trees (Shī).
- q. *suk / suk / su T, L vegetables (Shī); loan for id. worthless, mean (Shī).
- r. *suk / suk / s u T, L subdued, respectfully attentive (Li).
- s. *sug | squ | s o u T, L cough (Chouli).
- t. *sug / squ / sou T, L, and *siôg / siqu / sou T, L wash (Li).
- 1223 a. *ń iuk / ńź iwok / j u T disgrace (Shī); condescend (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *niuk / nziwok / j u T, L moist (Li); rich-tasting (Li).
- c. *ńiuk / ńżiwok / j u T, L variegated (Yili).
- d. *ńżuk / ńźwok / j u T, L straw bedding (Tso).
- e. $*nug / n \neq u / n o u T hoe (Kuan)$.
- f. *nug / ngu / nou T, L to hoe, to weed (Meng). Chuang has the same with rad. 167.
- 1224 a—c. *diuk / siwok / s h u T a caterpillar resembling the silkworm (Shī ap. L); loan for id. a sacrificial vessel (Kuan); place name (Tso). b. is Yin bone (A 1: 51,6, sense of name), c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 323, sense of i. below). The graph is a drawing, in c. enlarged by the rad. 'insect'.
- d. *diuk / ziwok / s h u L a caterpillar resembling a silkworm (Shī).
- e. $\hat{t}_{iuk} / t \hat{s}_{iwok} / c h u T torch$ (Li).
- **f.** \hat{t} iuk / t iwok / c h ' u T, L fat from a wolf's breast (Li).
- g. *t'iuk / tś'iwok / c h 'u T, L to butt (Yi); knock against (Tso).
- h. *d'iuk / d'iwok / c h u T, L check the foot, stop walking (Yi); stamp the foot (Sün).
- i. *d'uk / d'uk / tu T alone, only (Shī).
- j. *d'uk / d'uk / t u L, K envelop (Li).
- **k.** *d'uk/d'uk/t = T, L, and $*d_{i}uk/\dot{z}_{i}wok/s = T$, and $*\hat{t}_{i}uk/t\dot{s}_{i}wok/c = T$ bow-case (Li).
- 1. variant of the preceding (Kuots'ê).

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- m. *d'uk / d'uk / tu T, L skull (Chuang).
- * $t\check{u}k/\hat{t}dk/c$ ho K to peck (Kuots'ê); * $t\check{u}g/t\partial u/t$ ou T, L, and * $ti\hat{o}g/t\partial u/t$ *îigu* / c h o u — T, L beak (only Han time text ex.).
- * $t\check{u}k / \hat{t}dk / cho$ T castrate (Shu ap. Shuowen).
- *tŭk / tak / c h o T muddled, muddy (Shi). D.
- * $d'\check{u}k / d'\check{a}k / c$ h o T, L small bell (Chouli). q.
- *ts'uk / ts'uk / ch' o L, K to spear (sc. fish) (Chuang). *diuk / ziwok / shu T, L be joined to, attached to (Shī); belong to, be of the category of (Tso); *fiuk / tśiwok / c h u — T, L attach (Li), connect (Li); apply (Shī); touch (Tso); (applied to:) devotedly (Li); entrust to (Tso); give a charge to, order (Tso); draw upon oneself (sc. enmity) (Kuoyü); collect (Meng); enough, content (Tso). The radical is wei 'tail'.
- *tiuk / tiwok / c h u T cut (Kuoyü).
- * $tiuk / \hat{t}iwok / chu$ T, L shaft of an axe (Chouli).
- *tiuk | tiwok | c h u T cut out, eradicate, exterminate (Sün).
- *d'iuk | d'iwok | c h u L, K check the foot, stop walking (Li), same as h. above.
- 1225 a—c. $*k\check{u}k/k\mathring{u}k/k\ddot{u}e$ T horn (Shī); loan for id. compare and make equal (Li). b. is Yin bone (A 4: 53,3), c. is Chou II (inscr. 163, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- d. *kŭk / kåk / k ü e T, L rafter (acc. to some comm.: square rafter) (Shī); horizontal branch (Yi).
- * $g'\check{u}k / \gamma \mathring{a}k / h$ ü e T hard, stony (Hanfei).
- *g'uk / yuk / h u T, L a measure (Yili).
- 1226 a. $*k'\check{u}k/k'\check{a}k/k$ ' $\check{u}e$ T hollow shell, hollow (Lie); loan for g. below (Tso, one version). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- **b—c.** $*k'\check{u}k / k'\mathring{a}k / k'$ ü e T, L sincere, attentive, diligent (Li).
- d-f. *kŭk / kåk / k ü e T, L a pair of jades (Tso). e. is Chou II (inscr. 170, m. below abbrev. phonetic). f. is Chou II (inscr. 173, g. below abbrev. phonetic).
- g. $*\chi uk / \chi dk / h u e T$, L, and $*\chi uk / \chi uk / h u T$ vomit (Tso, one version).
- *kuk / kuk / ku T, L Broussonetia papyrifera (Shī).
- *kuk / kuk / ku grain (Shī); nourish, feed (Shī); baby (Sün); live, alive (Shī); emoluments (Shi); loan for id. good (Shi).
- *kuk / kuk / ku T, L nave of a wheel (Shī).

- **k.** *g'uk / yuk / h u T, L thin fabric, gauze (Kuots'ê).
- *g'uk / γuk / h u T a measure (Chouli); loan for id. fear, trouble (Meng); loan for *g'ŭk / γåk / h ü e L, and *k'ŭk / k'åk / k' ü e T, L poor, thin (Kuan), rough, rugged (Chuang); hind-leg (Yili).
- m—o. *kug/kəu/kou— K, and ?/nəu/nou— T, L to suckle (Ch'u dialect word, acc. to Tso). n. is Chou I/II (inscr. 215, sense of name), o. is Chou II/III (inscr. 262, sense of name).
- **p.** *k u g / k u / k o u T draw a bow to the full (Meng).
- **q.** *k'ug/k'2u/k' o u T, L new-born nestling (Chuang).
- 1227 a. *ngŭk / ngåk / y ü e T mountain, peak (Shu). The graph has 'hill' and 'mountain'.
- 1228 a. *pŭk / påk / p o T, L cut, flay, peel (Shī); lay bare (Chouli); *p'uk / p'uk / p u L strike (Shī). The graph has 'carve' and 'knife'.
- 1229 a. *tsug / ts 2u / ts o u T bring forward (Shu); exhibit, display (Shī); perform (music) (Shī); loan for c. below (Yili), for 走 (Shī). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- b. *ts'ug | ts'zu | ts' o u T, L come together, unite (Kuots'ê).
- c. *ts'ug | ts' \(2u \) | ts' \(0 u \) T, L the fine lines in the skin (Yili).
- 1230 a. *b'ug / b'au / p' o u T, L collect, assemble (Shī); restrict, diminish (Yi). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- 1231 a—e. *mug / mgu / m o u T cyclical character. b. is Yin bone (E 122: 1), c. is Yin bone (A 3: 4,1), d. is Yin (inscr. 26), e. is Chou I (inscr. 55). The graph is evidently a drawing of some kind of weapon, akin to the dagger-axe.
- 1. *miôg | mọu | m o u T flourishing, luxuriant (Shī), beautiful (Shī); loan for the (Tso). Arch. *miôg (proved by Shī rimes) should give Anc. miou, so mọu is irregular.
- 1232 a. *t̄ iug / tṣ iu / c h u T, L horse with white left hind leg (Shī). The graph has 'horse' and 'two hands', explanation uncertain.
- 1233 a—c. *p'iug | p'iu | f u T, L to hatch (written k. below in Ta Tai li, Hia siao cheng); loan for id. confidence (Shī), sincere (Shu). b. is Chou I (inscr. 67, sense of d.), c. is Chou II (inscr. 182, sense of d.). The graph has 'claw, hand' and 'child'.
- d—e. *p'iug / p'iu / f u T, L prisoner of war, booty (Tso). e. is Yin bone (D 6).
 f. *p'iug / p'iu / f u T, L hemp in fruit (Erya, no early text ex.); loan for i. below (Meng).
- g. p'iug / p'iu / f u T, L outer wall (Tso).
- h. *p'iug | p'iu | f u L (after Sü), and *p'iōg | p'iou | f o u L (after Kuo), and *p'wəg | p'uoi | p ' e i L (after Li) great (Chuang).

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- i. *p'iug / p'iu / f u T, and *b'iog / b'iäu / p'iao T die of starvation (Meng).
- j. p'iug/p'iu/fu L, K, and $b'i\partial g/b'i\partial u/fou$ T, L a kind of bird-net (Shī).
- k. *p'iug | p'iu | f u L raft (Lunyü); *b'iôg | b'iau | f o u T, L drum-stick (Li).
- 1—m. *b'iôg / b'izu / f o u T, L to float (Shi). m. is Chou (inscr. 356, sense of name).
- n. $b'i\partial g / b'i\partial u / f$ o u T, L Ephemerida (Shī).
- o. *b'ôg / b'au / p'ao T, and *b'ug / b'au / p'ou L, K collect (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- 1234 a—b. *tŭg / tou K Shuowen says: wrangle, thus taking it to be the primary form of 1235 c. below; but there are no text examples of this. b. is Yin bone (A 2: 9,4, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- 1235 a. *d'ŭg / d'zu / t o u T Shuowen says: wine vessel; but there are no text examples in support of this. The original graph must have been drawing.
- **b.** $t \tilde{u} k / \hat{t} dk / c h o T$, L hew, chop, carve (Shi).
- c. *tug / tou T quarrel, wrangle (Meng).

* * *

In the following groups I have placed words the Archaic readings of which I have been unable to reconstruct for lack of Shī rime or hie sheng connections. In most cases therefore also the explanation of the graphs is obscure. These words I arrange according to the Anc. Chin. (T) rimes.

- 1236 a. $s\hat{a}$ / so T final particle (Ch'utsī); in later times applied to a word sia / sie K a few, some.
- b. luâ/lo T, L plant fruit (as opp. to tree fruit (Chouli).
- c. sa/sha T, and $\check{a}i/yai$ T, L breaking voice (Lao).
- 1237 a—b. kji / ki T, L, and g'ji / ki T, L to pour out (Chouli); broth of boiled meat (Tso); loan for g'ji / ki T, L together with (Chou III/IV inser. 327).
- c—h. i/yi T, L ritual vase (Shu); loan for id. rule, norm, law, regular (Shī). d. is Yin (A 5: 1,3), e. is Yin (inser. 1), f. is Yin (inser. 2), g. is Chou I (inser. 54), h. is Chou II (inser. 140).
- i—j. $\hat{t}i$ / c h $\bar{\imath}$ T, L embroidery (Chouli, one version ap. Cheng Hüan). j. is Chou II (inscr. 133). The graph is a drawing.
- **k.** $\hat{t}'i/ch'i$ T, L dolichos cloth (Shi).
- 1. $d\dot{z}'i/sh\bar{i}$ T, L posthumous name (Li).
- m—p. dz'i/t s \bar{i} T self (Sh \bar{i}); origin, source (Sh \bar{i}); from (Sh \bar{i}). n. is Yin bone (A 1: 30,5), o. is Chou I (inser. 54), p. is Chou I (inser. 55). The graph is said to be a drawing of a nose(!), and occurs in this sense as radical in \clubsuit .
- q. dz'i / s h i T spittle (of a dragon) (Kuoyü).
- r. b'ji / p i T, L indignant (Shī).
- s—t. g'jwi/k'uei T, L demon with dragon's body and only one foot (Kuoyü); N. Pr. (Shu). t. is Yin (inscr. 22, sense of name). The graph is a drawing.
- u. χjwi / h u e i T, L staring, rude, overbearing, vulgar (Chuang).
- v. nźwi / j u e i T, L hanging bands of cap (Li).
- x. swi / suei T walk slowly (Shī ap. T and Yüp'ien).

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- y-z. pjwi / p ' e i T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) reins (Shī). z. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 326). The graph has a drawing of an animal in the middle and the two strings (reins) on the sides. In the modern character the drawing of the animal has been misunderstood and corrupted into 'carriage' and 'mouth'.
- a'. b'jwi / p'i, pi T, L (the Pek. aspirate is irregular) overthrow, destroy (Shu).

1238 a. *kjie* / k i — T, L bridle, halter (Tso).

- b—c. d'ie/chī—T, L Shuowen says: to crawl, as feline beasts on prey or as reptiles; but there are no text examples in support of this; loan for id. disperse (Tso). c. is extracted from the archaic graph for 766 i. above (Chou I, 98). The graph is a drawing.
- d. tsie / c h i L goblet (Chuang).
- e. $d\hat{z}'ie/sh\bar{i}$ L luck (Chuang).
- f-i. sie/s hī T pig, swine (Shī), boar (Tso), g, is Yin bone (A 3: 33.3), h, is Yin (inscr. 32), i. is Chou (inscr. 360). The graph is a drawing.
- nźwię / juei L, K, and nźwi / juei L, K hang down (Tso).
- k. nźwig / juei T, and nźwi / j u e i T ovary of a flower, fruit (Ch'uts'ī).

1239 a. zjwei / h u e i — T, L vegetation, plants (Shī).

1240 a. $\chi \dot{a}i / h a i - T laugh (Ch'uts'i)$.

- b. $ts'\hat{a}i/ts'ai$ T, L suspicion (Tso), to doubt (Tso).
- c-d. mai / mai T buy (Chouli). d. is Chou (inser. 346, sense of name).
- mai / m a i T sell (Chouli).
- yăi / hie T hang-hie moisture of the dew (Ch'uts'i).
- yăi / h i e T, L some kind of Allium (Li).
- kwāi / k u a i T oppose, at variance (Tso).

1241 a. kiei / k i — T calculate (Tso).

- b-c. kiei / k i T connect, continue (Shī). c. is Chou III/IV (inscr. 319). The graph shows three silk threads and other elements of uncertain interpretation.
- d-g. yiei / hi T final particle (Shi). e. is Yin bone (A 2:11,3, sense of name), f. is Chou I (inser. 66, sense of name), g. is Chou II (inser. 189, sense of name).
- h. \(\gamma \text{iei} \) / h i T, and \(ngiei \) / y i T angry looks, dissatisfied, distressed (Meng).
 i. \(\chi \text{iei} \) / h i T, L vinegar, minced food in vinegar (Li).
- j-k. t'iei / t 'i T, L absolve, dismiss (Shu); intermit, discontinue (Shī).

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siei / s i — T small, minute (Tso).
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1244 a. $k\hat{a}u / k a o - T$ lamb (Shī). The graph has 'sheep' and 'fire'.

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b. kuok / k u — T, and *tśjak / c h o — T husk of grain (Lü).
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1245 a. ieu / y a o — T, L retired, despondent (Chuang).

m. liei / li — T, L subordinate, menial (Tso).

n. liei / li — T callus (Lü).

o. liei / li — T, L wood-worm (Meng); luâ / lo — itch (Tso).

p-q. liei / li - T, and ljig / li - T cut (Sün).

r. liei / li — T, L, and lie / li — T a herb the roots of which are made into brushes (Li).

s. liei / li — T, L noxious influences (Chuang).

¹²⁴² a. 'iwo / y " — T, L informal and intimate feast (Shī, so the Mao comm.); to drink together in informal, standing position (Kuoyü); satiate (Tso); to give, bestow (Shu, sü).

b. $\hat{t}'iwo / c h' u - L$ Ailanthus glandulosa (Shī).

¹²⁴³ a. χiu/h ü — T, L mad with drink (Shu). The graph has 'spirits' and 'bad, unlucky'.

b. $iu/y \ddot{u}$ — T, L defective (Sün); lazy, negligent (Shangtsī).

c-d. $\sin / \sinh u$ T to keep guard at border (Shī), to guard (Tso). d. is Chou I (inscr. 81). The graph has 'man' and 'dagger-axe'.

 $k\hat{a}u/kuo$ — T, L bright (Shī). The graph has 'sun' over 'tree'. $\chi\hat{a}u/h$ a o — T, L to clear away, to weed (Shī).

d.

e. $\hat{a}u$ / a o — T old woman (Kuots'ê).

f. $n\hat{a}u / n a o - T$ brain (Li).

g. variant of the preceding (Chouli).

h. $t'\hat{a}u/t$ ' a o — T, L t' a o - t' i e glutton (Tso). The character has 'cry out' and 'eat, food'.

nau / n a o — T, L clamour (Shī).

nau / n a o — T, L disorderly (Shī, so the Mao comm.).

k. pau / pao — T, L leopard (Shī).

b. 'ieu / y a o — T dark (Kuan). The character has 'sun' below 'tree'.

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- c. 'lieu / l i a o T to measure (Kuoyü); to stroke (Chuang). The character has 'rice' and 'bushel'.
- d. lieu / liao L, K select (Shu, so acc. to Shuowen).

1246 a. $t \ge u / t$ o u — T l u n g - t o u name of a constellation (Kuoyü).

- b. lau/lou T narrow (Lunyü); in straitened circumstances, mean (Shu); uncultivated, vulgar (Tso).
- c. igu / y u T a kind of monkey (Ch'uts'ï). The character has 'dog' and 'cave, hole'.

1247 a—b. $i\ddot{a}m / y e n$ — T beautiful (Shi).

- c. t'iem / t'ien T to disgrace. The character has 'heart' and 天, here in the sense of 'to brand on the forehead'.
- 1248 a. t'uân / t'uan L, K t'ing-t'uan trampled field (Shī). The character has 'field' and 'heavy'.
- b. $d'\check{a}n/c$ h a n L, K a seam coming open, rip open (Li).
- c. $\gamma w \tilde{a} n / h u a n T$, L deceit, deceiving tricks (Shu).

1249 a. ts'iwän / ts' ü a n — T, L orange-coloured silk (Li).

1250 a. kien / kien - T silk cocoon (Tso).

- b. kien / kien robe stuffed with silk floss (Tso ap Shuowen).
- c. ts'ien / t s' i e n T, L beautiful dimples in smiling (Shī).
- d. ts'ien / ts'ien T, L pall over a hearse (Li).
- e. nien / nien T, L sunlight, heat (Shī). The character has 'sun' and 'appear, visible, see'.
- f. kiwen / k ü a n T, L millipede (Li ap. Shuowen); loan for id. purify (Shī); brilliant (Tso).
- g—h. γiwen / h ü a n T a fierce animal (Erya, no text ex.); h. is pre-Han (inscr. 449, sense of name).
- 1251 a. ngiễn / y i n T, L insincere (Shu); stupid (Kuoyü). The character has 'slave' and four 'mouths'.
- b—e. $ng\underline{ien}/y$ in T, L repress oneself, force oneself to (Shī, so acc. to Cheng Hüan, but acc. to others merely a particle). d. is Yin (inscr. 18, sense of name), e. is Chou (inscr. 378, sense of name).
- f-g. '¿ĕn / y i n T seal (Kuots'ê). g. is Chou II (inscr. 180, sense here uncertain). h. tśṣĕn / c h e n L shake (Chouli).



- i. lien/lin T a kind of rush (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. accumulate (lin-shī) heaped stones (Mo).
- j—k. liĕn / lin K Shuowen says: fire; but there are no text examples in support of this. k. is Yin bone (O 192, sense of name). The graph has 'door' and 'fire'.
- 1—n. iuen/yin T (Mand. yin is irregular, we should expect a yün) govern (Shu), governor, director (Tso); true, regular (Li). m. is Yin (A 1:11,5), n. is Chou I (inscr. 69). Explanation of graph uncertain.
- o. nźwen / j u n T intercalary month (Yi).
- p. nźjužn / j u n T soak, moisten (Yi); enrich, make beautiful (Lunyü).
- q—s. miwen / m in diligent, active (Shī); hasten, quickly (Lunyü). r. is Chou I (inser. 65), s. is Chou II (inser. 156). The reading Anc. Chin. miwen (Mand. min) of this word is very curious. It has as phonetic to the left mweg, and rimes in the -2g class in the Shī. The graph must have served for a -2g word in Arch. Chinese, and then been transferred to a synonymous -en word.
- 1252 a. k'eng / k'eng T, L sound of metallic instruments (bells etc.) (Li). The character has 'metal' and 'hard'.
- b—c. χweng / h u n g T noise (only Han time text ex.); c. is pre-Han (inscr. 399, sense of name).
- d. meng / min T, L (Pek. min is irregular, we should expect a meng) toad (Chouli); loan for mien / min L exert oneself (Shī). The original graph was probably a drawing.
- 1253 a. p'iung / f e n g T, L gifts (esp. of carriages and horses) in aid of burial (Ch'unts'iu).
- 1254 a. lap/la break (Kungyang; some versions have m and possibly the reading of this has been erroneously transferred to the present char.).
- b. ts'ăp / ts'ăp / c h 'a T, L to gather, collect (Li; Cheng Hüan reads it χiəp in this sense); to insert (Yili); to bring down (sc. hands to the earth). The character has 'hand' and 'reach'.
- 1255 a—b. d'iep / t i e T, L double, accumulate (only Han time text ex.); loan for id. to fear (Shī).
- c—d. siep/sie T, L harmonious, accommodating (Shu); in accordance with (Shī). d. is Chou II/III (inscr. 258).
- e. niep/nie T, L (after Sü) exhausted, weary (Chuang).
- 1256 a. ngiet / n i e T, L in risk of collapse, unsettled (Shu).
- **b.** t'iet / t'ie T iron (Shu).
- c. d'iet / t'i e T, L, and t'iet / t'i e L, K black horse (so the Mao comm.) or: reddish-black horse (so Shuowen) (Shī).
- d—e. siet / s i e T, L detail, trifle (Tso); consider insignificant, despise (Shu); pure, consider pure (Shī). e. is a vulgar variant.
- f. kiwet / k ü e T, L buckle (Shī).
- 1257 a. iet / y i T, L overflow (Hiaoking), inundate (Li); spread out (Meng); loan for id. a handful (Yili). The character has 'water' and 'increase'. Abbreviated phonetic in next.
- b. iet/yi T an ancient weight (Meng).

- c. iět / y i T a particle (Shī ap. Shuowen).
- d. tsiet / c h ī T, L raise, lift up (Shu, so the Ma Jung comm.). The character has 'rise' and 'horse'.
- e. siet / si T all, completely (Shī); exhaust (Tso).
- 1. siet / si T, L, and siet / sê T si so cricket (Shī).
- g. piet / pi T, L piercing wind (Shī); fresh spring welling up (Shī).
- h—l. siuet/s ü T cyclical character (Shu). i. is Yin bone (A 1: 50,4), j. is Yin bone (A 3: 6,2), k. is Chou II (inscr. 134), l. is Chou II (inscr. 166). The graph seems to be a drawing of a weapon akin to the dagger-axe.
- m. χįuět / h ü T, L reckless (Kungyang).
- 1258 a. $\gamma \hat{a}k / h$ o T, L to become dry (Li). The character has 'water' and 'solid'. b—d. $\hat{t}'iak / ch'$ o T, L run over, pass over, go over (e. g. steps of a staircase) (Kungyang ap. Shuowen). c. is Yin bone (B hia 14:18), d. is extracted from the archaic graph for 通 (Chou II, inscr. 164). The graph has 'foot' and 'street'.
- e. tsiak / c h o T, L string attached to arrow (Meng).
- **1259 a.** $\chi vk / h$ o T, L sudden (Chuang).
- **b.** g'ink/ki T, L wooden sandal (Chuang).
- **1260 a.** $\gamma \varepsilon k / h$ o T, L kernel (Chouli).
- b. nek/ni T Shuowen says: to lie sick; but there are no text examples whatever in support of this. T alternatively takes the character to be a variant of ** *dz'iang / dz'iang / c h' u a n g bed.
- c. tšiāk / c h ī T one single (Kungyang). The character has 'hand and 'bird'.
- d. yiek/hi T, L sorcerer (Kuoyü). The character has 'sorcerer' and 'see, appear'.
- e. miek / m i L cover on elbow-rest in front of carriage (Li.)
- f. riwek / h u T, L, and rwnk / h u o T sound of ripping, bursting (Chuang).

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The mechanism of the Chinese script is well elucidated by the reconstructed Archaic readings. The phonetic series which from the point of view of the modern pronunciation appear very unreasonable — 弱 jo phonetic in 獨 n i, and 合 h o phonetic in 給 k e i and so on — become more rational and clear already in the light of the Ancient Chinese of Suei and early T'ang time, and infinitely more so in that of the Archaic Chinese of Chou time.

But even so, there remains a measure of phonetic variety inside each phonetic series of the script which may appear strange. Why should a *kiwn be phonetic in a $*\chi iwn$ (group 458), a *ngian phonetic in a *ngat (group 252)? How could the constructors of new characters be satisfied with so poor congruence in sound?

The reasons for this are easily recognized in a study of our dictionary above. They are mainly two, which we shall touch upon very briefly.

COGNATE WORDS

The Chinese words represented by separate characters are not all primary words in the sense that each one of them is an independent word with no genetic connection with other words. On the contrary, in Chinese as in other languages, there are certain fundamental word stems, which by variations give rise to several words. Just as in English sing and song are two aspects of the same stem, so in Chinese the words 若 and 諾, for instance, are closely connected, being two aspects of the same stem: the former, mand. jo (Arch. **ijak) means 'to agree with, be similar to, like, as'; the latter, mand. no (Arch. *nâk), means 'to agree, say yes'. If we have to analyse the latter character, it is wrong to say that 言 is radical and 若 phonetic. But it is equally wrong to say that it is a huei vi, composite ideogram: to 言 speak in 若 an agreeing way. It is not an ordinary composite ideogram in the same way as 好 (woman + child = love) or 明 (sun + moon = bright). In fact, 若 is the fundamental character for the whole notion of 'to agree'; and since the word stem in question has been varied in two aspects: * $n\hat{a}k$ (n o) 'to agree, say yes' and * $n\hat{a}k$ (j o) 'to agree, to be like', the ancient scribes differentiated the graph by adding an elucidating 言 in the former case to the primary 若.

The question of word families touched upon here has been treated extensively in my paper Word Families in Chinese (BMFEA 1934), and I shall not repeat here what was said there. But in the dictionary I have pointed out, occasionally, the fact that two or more words within one phonetic series are really cognate, variations of the same word stem. This has not been carried through in a complete and systematic way but only as examples, for the purpose of our present argumentation.

The important fact is that thanks to these variations inside one and the same stem, there arose necessarily a considerable phonetic fluctuation already under one and the same character, and then, if an elucidating extra radical was added, in a »series». Thus 見 was read both *kian to see' and *g'ian' to be visible'—two stem variations; 若 was read both *niak' to agree' and *nāk' to say yes' (in the latter variation enlarged by 言)—two stem variations. In this way a great number of sound alternations, representing word families of Archaic Chinese, unavoidably appeared in the script series. Let us choose of few examples. In the initials there is an extremely rich system of alternations:

Alternation of unaspirated surd and aspirated sonant: *kian 'to see': same character *g'ian 'to be visible' (see above); 閉 *kăn 'interval': same character *g'ăn (interstice in time:) 'leisure'; 奇 *kia 'odd': same character *g'ia 'strange'; 朝 *tiog 'morning': same character *d'iog 'morning ceremony, audience'; 中 *tiông 'middle: 仲 d'iông 'the middle one of brothers' (enlarged by rad. 9); 子 *tsiog 'son': 字 *dz'iog 'to beget' (enlarged by rad. 40).

Alternation of aspirated sonant and aspirated surd: 大 * $d'\hat{a}d$ 'great: same character * $t'\hat{a}d$ 'very great'; 被 *b'ia 'be covered by, coverlet': same character *p'ia cover oneself with'; 奉 *b'iung 'lift with both hands': 摔 p'iung 'lift with both hands' (enlarged by rad. 64).

Alternation of unaspirated surd and aspirated surd: 学*pwin 'half': 判 *p'win 'divide' (enlarged by rad. 18).

Alternation of unaspirated sonant and unanspirated surd: 或 *'giwak 'territory': 國 kwak 'territory, state' (enlarged by rad. 31).

Alternation of unaspirated sonant and aspirated surd: $\Re *gian$ 'to flow over, go to excess': $\Re *k'ian$ 'to err'; $\boxplus *di\hat{o}g$ 'out from': $\oiint *t'i\hat{o}g$ 'draw out' (enlarged by rad. 64).

There are, indeed, a very great number of such alternations in the initials, of which only a few more can be adduced as examples:

 $s \sim \delta$: 小 *siog 'small': 少 *siog 'little, a few'.

 $ts \sim s$: 蚤 * $ts \hat{o}g$ 'flea': $s \hat{o}g$ 掻 'scratch' (enlarged by rad. 64).

 $d' \sim \hat{t}$: 召 *d'iog 'to call, summon': 招 * \hat{t} iog 'to call, summon' (enlarged by rad. 64).

 $\hat{t} \sim s$: 常 * $\hat{t}i\delta g$ 'broom': 棉 * $s\delta g$ 'to sweep' (enlarged by rad. 64).

 $d' \sim dz$: 食 *d'iək 'eat': same character *dziəg 'food'.

 $\chi m \sim m$: $\not \equiv \chi m \partial k$ 'black': $\not \equiv \star m \partial k$ 'ink' (enlarged by rad. 32).

 $n \sim ng$: 兒 nieg 'son, child': 倪 *ngieg 'young and weak' (enlarged by rad 9).

In the final consonants there are similar alternations:

Alternation of tenuis and media:

告 $*k\delta k$ 'tell': same character $*k\delta g$ 'tell'.

聚 * âk 'bad': same character * âg 'find bad, hate'.

發 piwāt 'throw out': 殷 piwād 'throw away' (enlarged by rad. 53).

Alternation of nasal and oral:

廣 *kwâng 'wide': 擴 *k'wâk 'to widen' (enlarged by rad. 64); 掠 *gliang 'to rob': same character *gliak 'to rob'; 菀 *'iwăn 'luxuriant': same character *'iwət 'luxuriant'; 616 g. above *'iam 'grasp': same character *'iap 'grasp'.

Alternation $n \sim r$: m * d'an 'alligator': same character * d'ar 'alligator'; m * sinn 'to wash': same character * sinn 'to wash'; m * b'inn 'female': same character * b'inn 'female'.

In regard to the medial vowels there were several important alternations: Presence or absence of medial i:

*nâk 'say yes': niak 'agree' — see above.

生 *sěng 'to bear, be born, live': 性 *sjěng 'life, innate disposition' (enlarged by rad. 61); 乾 *kân 'dry, heat': same character *g'jan 'heaven, bright'; 趣 *ts'ju 'to run': same character *ts'u 'to cause to run'; 印 *ngâng' high': 仰 *ngiang 'to lift the face' (enlarged by rad. 9).

Presence or absence of medial i:

差 *ts'a 'divergence': same character *tṣ'ia 'of different length'.

Presence or absence of medial w:

熱 *ńiat 'hot': 爇 ńiwat 'to burn' (enlarged by rad. 140).

Alternation of w and i:

数 *pwd 'to walk lame': same character *pia 'to lean to one side'.

In regard to the principal vowels there are various interesting alternations, of which only a few examples can be adduced here:

 $a \sim a$: 安 'an 'peace': 晏 'an 'peace' (enlarged by rad. 72).

 $a \sim \check{a}$: 惡 'ak 'bad': 亞 ' $\check{a}g$ 'inferior'.

 $\partial \sim a$: 分 piw n 'divide': 頌 pwan 'divide' (enlarged by rad. 181).

ə~ ă: 衰 *tṣ'iwār 'reduce, graduate': same character *ts'wər 'graduated clothes'.

 $a \sim \varepsilon$: 合 *g'ap 'unite': 治 g' εp 'unite' (enlarged by rad. 85); 齊 *dz' $i \Rightarrow r$ 'equal': 賃 *dz' ϵr 'equals' (enlarged by rad. 9).

 $\partial \sim \check{e}$: 是 $d\check{i}\check{e}g$ 'this, that': same character enlarged by rad 40 * $d\check{i}\partial k$ 'this, that'.

 $o \sim \dot{a}$: $\pm *t'o$ 'earth, soil': 社 * \dot{d} ia 'sacred pole and altar of the soil (enlarged by rad. 113).

These examples are sufficient to show that the system of cognate words, variations of the same word stems, was so elaborate and rich that a considerable sound variation under the head of one fundamental character (with or without additional radicals) was inevitable. And this fact determined also quite naturally the measure of phonetic congruence in p h o n e t i c l o a n s and in the h i e s h e n g characters arising out of the loans. If one word $\mp *k dn$ 'shield' was cognate to a *g'dn 'to shield', and the latter therefore was written by the same character, enlarged by rad. 64: $\ddagger *g'dn$, what was there against using this same character $\mp *k dn$ as pure p h o n e t i c in another compound character (h i e s h e n g) $\ddagger *g'dn$ 'drought'? If one words $\Pi *ng dng$ 'high' was cognate to a *ng ang 'lift the face' and the latter therefore was written by the same character enlarged by

rad. 9: 仰, then a 倉 *ts'âng 'granary' could equally well serve as phonetic in a 搶 *ts'iang 'seize', which was not cognate to it but merely had this same degree of phonetic similarity: the discrepancy in sound between the phonetic (*ts'âng) and its script derivate (*ts'iang) would not be greater than between *ngâng 'high' and *ngiang 'lift the face'.

In other words: all the rich sound variations between cognate words in a script series, which we have examplified above, can equally well appear between phonetic and derivate in the hie sheng characters (those consisting of radical + phonetic).

SHIFTING OF SOUND IN A SERIES

The phenomenon of cognate words treated above is undoubtedly the principal cause of the considerable sound variation inside a script series. But a contributing cause is the gradual widening of the sound sphere of a *phonetic*. It must be remembered that all the characters were not invented at one and the same time, on the contrary, the thousands of hie sheng, phonetic compounds, must have been created during centuries as a result of frequent kia tsie phonetic loans. by adding elucidating radicals. In this slow process the sound value of a *phonetic was step by step shifted and enlarged. A # *kiwon was first used for phonetically very similar words like *giwan and *g'wan; and then for somewhat more distant words with fricative initial, e. g. * *xiwon (radical 140). By this time the Chinese scribes felt the fundamental script element to be a representative not only of the syllable *kiwan but of a fairly wide phonetic sphere, the bearer of a phonetic group $*kiwn \sim giwn \sim *g'wn \sim \chi iwn$. This once well established mentally, it was easy and tempting to advance further in widening the sphere: an element that could represent * $\chi i w n$ could equally well be made to represent μ *xiwər, just as well as H was both *siən and *siər. By this the sphere of our phonetic in question was enlarged to comprise $*kiwən \sim giwən \sim giwən \sim \chi iwən \sim \chi iwər$. The fact that a *kiwon is phonetic in a *xiwor, rather incomprehensible at first sight, is explainable — in part at least — by this gradual shifting process. We find many striking examples of this in the script series.

Series 168: fundamental character *twdn; gradual shifting: *twdn $\sim t$ 'wdn $\sim \hat{t}$ 'wan $\sim d$ iwan $\sim \hat{t}$ iwar $\sim d$ iwar.

Series 222: fundamental character *mian; gradual shifting: * $mian \sim mwan \sim miwan \sim miwan \sim mwar$.

Series 252: fundamental character * $ngi\bar{a}n$; gradual shifting: * $ngi\bar{a}n \sim ngiat \sim ngdt$.

Series 464: fundamental character *diwn; gradual shifting: * $diwn \sim \hat{t}iwn \sim twn \sim twn \sim twn \sim twn \sim twn \sim twn \sim twn$.

A great many of the phonetic series furnish striking examples of this shifting phenomenon.

* *

In the following radical index a reduction has been made in the characters inserted in order to condense the index and facilitate reference. The characters omitted are such as can be found quickly indirectly. Those left out are the characters which:

- a. are obviously and easily divided into one »radical» and one »phonetic», and which at the same time:
- b. have a phonetic that is a well-known character current in texts. Thus a word like 房 is not entered because anybody with the slightest knowledge of Chinese will recognize at once that it has the radical 63 'door' and the phonetic 方. In order to find the word you have to subtract the radical 63 and look up 方, which in our index stands in its regular place (rad. 70); it is stated there that in the dictionary it is treated in series 740, where 房 occurs as well. In the same way 盤 obviously consists of rad. 108, which has to be subtracted, and a phonetic 般. The latter is found in our index under rad. 137, four strokes, and there reference is made to our series 182 of the dictionary, where the former word is found as well.

On the contrary, a word like R is not omitted but appears in its regular place (rad. 113, nine strokes) because its phonetic (the right part), though very common as phonetic in hie sheng characters, is not a common word, current in texts. Therefore you can look up R both under itself as a whole (rad. 113, nine strokes) and under its phonetic (rad. 102, four stroke), **as you like it **.

一394丸163予83響585件302倍933儡577全234盖109刃456剿537 丁833 丹150事 971 人388 套651 般33 两736 牝656划7 七400 主 129 介 327/ 佩 95/ 偁 894 兀 487 俞 125 韧 279 力 928 三648 二564仁388來944傑633元257萬183程160列291加15 下 35 万 945 互 54 仄 924 使 975 偃 253 光 706八 281 家1218 初 87 助 467 艾722 久993五 58以976组 46俟1144 兄765天1032最 325别292勒917 不999 毛780云460从1191便921備984先478公1173最325利519勁831 可247 之962井819付136侯113傅102克1011号1241冥841到302勇1185 丑1076 2 641 豆 164 分453信 384傷 720兆1145兵 759話, 780刷 298勑 944 丙757 死 4 至881 合823 伦468 倾828 光1183 共1182 署 802 到1132 副 933 世339年806亞805代918侵611 会613 包1171 具121 制335 副12.17 丘994乎 55 些1236代307侄831僅480克903其952》899刺272務1109 且 46 色 543 任 667 係 876 倭 208 兒 873 業 1211 冰 899 到 831 勞 1135 日976 囱1199 亡742伏935保1057保208凭900輩603凌898則906勤339 **並840 乖1240亦800休1070倝140僭660兕556冋842几602削1149勢330** 盟1235乘895交1166余82候113俩507兔63升632凱548例534勤480 亥 937伦 4 佾 397僎 433% 487冉 632厘 708剟 295 41064 乙505京755伊138倫470與433克229册845 剖999勺1120 个349九992克755何138倉703件235統660冊845凶1183到1244勿503 丰1197 乞 517亨 716位 539 俊1077 儇 256兢 888 冏 763 山 510 刹1228 包1113 中1007 乳 135 事 833 作 806 俊1077 徽 637 图 763 函 643 剿 285 四 313 4187 乾 140毫 773 任 838 修1077 俱 644入 695 异 97 副 507 例 1199 串159 亂180重148侃141倩1250價389内695胃1079刀1131劉114匈1183

Radicals 1-20

彩1017凡383即993叉1112台976否999唉938嘏33圖4埋48變56 匏III3午60卻776岁1046史975告1039哭1903器1090 場780壽494 **1987半181 鄉714 夏492 司 972和 8 啜 295當 725土 63 煤 633套1090** と515年1239 艮 934号1041命762咎58器536圭879堯1164拳1197 L 566年874厂145及681召1131杏999高734家1162圬97報1058 化19卒490厄844夏661回542音999昭672磬1131圯1237塱923久1237 半1060協639月798叔1031后112周1083售1091噩718在943学843登468. 北909典476厘879叕 295吉393咎1068易1090環256均391塍893菱898 卓1126厚114取131各766呶1244啄1218磐1038里404塞908复1034 □741南650原958受1085何715哈1940唯575器1951毕566基480娄1177 匹408博771於979段33合675谷555贵983嚴607坐12壓374夏36 麻 858 牧 181 名 826 届 18 喬 1138 磐 714 坤 421 墨 904 鏡 468 而 679 1/1210 厥 301 变1097 吏 975 咺1649善 905臺 730 垂 31 鹽 11 變 1937 匠 729下 920 厥 607叟 1097同 1176年 688單 147第 1140 叁 1032 壄 83 匡739占618厭616楚979召76成671容4642 480里483墜526夕796 医589自1081属340截4601妥59品669喪705 垣14)獎1211外382 叢1178至58 等788喜955四518均299墙72792360 医 630卦 879 叹 30 军 788 离 877 囚 1094 座 740 銀 416 多 罪 579 4 557 區 122,卯1114 左887 古 49 吞361 哈1238噢1236图 420堅 368壘 577夜 800 **匯601**危1238 左488 可 1 吠348 哉943 架1134 团 485 培 999 壤 600 夤 450 匮540危 29 公992句108 君459架 15嗣9792固 49埶330 印1251去642分229合776等1 嗇926圍 别 董480士970 마587啊695員227嘆152图425坞672壯727太317 十606卷326又995只865尚695南643蒙3團354、485壹127天361千365即399反362右995呈835唐700嘉15團790埜83壹395夭11418

Radicals 20-37

夫101纪581绪11朝102岁253寺961尸561屯427工1172帝877度801 矢92收 189婺1109毂122家 32年229尹1251并788巧1041師559庫74 央 312如 94嫩 584聲 979容 1187封1197尺 794鞍 468左 5席 797庶 804 表 551练 554嫉 294孽 178宰 965剪 102尺 216山 193巫 105带 315腐 3 交 630妥 354娱1144宁 84重 的歌的月1914岸139 邑1090幕803度987 奄 614枚 727婚877它 4寧 837尉 525届 510 丞 896号 1090機 920廛 204 李 696秒1158编651元1196率 837專 231屈 496間697差 5 幸 696公1189嫠 979宅 780监 831岁 727居 49岳1227 奇 1炉 795媵 893安 146寇 111尌 127层 429峻 468已 953平 825廟 1160 奈318年795篇727于1099宿1029尊430届561岛1116已977开239曆727 奉1197妾 635赢 38完 257寒 143尋 662屎 561崩 886巳 967年 364勵 480 奔 438纳 622媛 829宏 887寐 531對 511屋1204為 470巴 39幸 696 奥167妻592嬪389雯992寅450 展12591扁470肥960章810廷835 契 279委 357嬰 814宋1004富 933小1149屑1256崔 575巷1182并824延 203 奏1929姜711變178公405實398少1149届1256嵩1012員953幷824建249 奠363威574 宛360寝山木1031展201節 11巽433幹140 **莱480麥184子964宕701 夏165尚785犀595辔178** 奧1045新139 子283定833瞎 58 京787屏824 巾482幺1115 弁220 奪 274娉 839 孔1174 官 157 寡 42 桑1151 孱 208川 462 市 679 幻1248 并 893 爽913娭938存432宜别審665尟210履562巛422市501幼1115弄1180 學1038娅960字491 家1031 寫799 尤996展 633州1086市963丝1115 弇 615 奮473隻1933早1933宗1003 東1151^征139歷193元749布102幽III5 置790 興1937婆 25孝1168客 766 寰 256 尼1201 属1138 至 831希 549幾 547鄭 1182 妖1141 孟761 宦 188 矃 902 就1093 唇1924 巢1169 帛1087 奴94% 18张434害314寸431 帥499度746式564 少1052

Radicals 37-56

式 918聲 784徽1163俊 468楼 387钱 943手1101推 575擇 790敕 917罕 34 徽 584包、11991尚 507代 620才 943捷 636擂 238敝 341幹 140 忽11991等66战 927投1254捉 664篷 781敦 464 弓 901形 808心 6631 叕 2951 泉 1151 規 7扫 304堂 795 粮 657 敢 607斤 443 另1165彦 199必 405字 464.憲 250妾 155批 654措 798墅 609敞 725乐 792 引 371 彪 1106忍 456倫 470慈 302或 929投 130挾 1318掮 389散 156辦 727 弘887或929志962惠、533]睪790威1031折287揲633摸1152散286折795 弗 500彬 474忌 953真 919懋1109戛 504抑 915插 631璨 485敬 813斬 611 引 406彭 750忽、503愛 508買 256截 920承 896揖 688攉 17敦1162其 869 市 501清 11款 480戰 688拜 328揚 720攜 880 該1129新 382 弢1046 第591役851念670感671願 11截310柑606總1191學178款1245新1235 **获560征871沈656陽730懿395截310把4堰253** 曾167番 45 弦366待961忧约恒1034震600戟785拚220損435歧864數123 珥366後115.急、681意9571篇880戴943抹920搏771改936数1207方740 弱1193律502姒1941温426戀178戲 22括308搖1141歿104擊 833於254 强713徒 62思973愁1285赣,1015户 53拾687辙 43攸1077数 790蔟 740 载1926得 905 15 621 憑 899 戈 7 肥 967将 299 擊 330 教 1109 敷 102 施 4 踊 359從1191 恙 7321董 480成 303 戾 532投 468撰 398溦 584麓 979荐1080 御 60恒881慧527戊1231启588捕102摘87改116截79旅443 采1908復1034恭1182慶753成818所91拳936推1117敗320 旆501 彘 334微 584恐1172愁1251戌1257局 842搭 994撤 286截 793文 475旁 740 彗 537徭1141悉1257愁1251凡1243扁 246挨 938撲1311敖1130班190旄1137 東524徹286恕 94慮、69戌1013扇 212掇295提256数1167 稀509徵891息925憂1071我 9.扈 53堅368繳1162数1167斗116旃150 舜1937德 919 牝 959憩 329 戒 990 編470擊 854較 1951米 1945 旌 70

Radicals 56-70

龙513唇457暇33有995枚54K杖893楊730量1107跃631殤720氮612 族1206台 552勢 330朋 886柿 554桀 284檔 933 禁1208駅 313 延 480 前 1明760暴113L服934柿554桓164楚 88樓 224數1527鐸 790毛1137 旋336昌724噗144朏530耕632栞139楂46棵790敏651殯389毫1129 旅1145昔 798 簪 515朔 769林 655栽 943楙1109棋 688獸 995 殳130整.979 旒1104易 850曆 858朕 893桃 656亲 382聚1109栗 609 婚 1 是 924 望 749析 857梨 519 榮 843榮 843止 961段 179 產 1137 旗952昊 924日 304朝1143妍 239梨 519糒 984麓1909正 833殺319麓1195 旛195/11 924申 385擊 743杵 86梁 738 蕲 140嶷 289此 358殷 448 續148 当 961 史 540 果1244样 965榑 102 聚1068步 73 散1236氏 867 瀬 89 吴1042曲1213本1212杏1245條1077穀1226東577武104歲832民457 遊526季376曳338本440秒7158栖1096屋1144櫛399堂739段987氏590 曆321春463更745末277東1175極1096橋1129樓795堂725段589年302 易720呎1257未531松1190梦471栗1129撥1141歲346毀356氓742 无106星812曷313术497粜633根509樂1125欒178歷858殿429 无515是866量266札280柒623業640樗1242 歸570毄854气517 既515昭1131曹1053杀319标792森644缴43尺634 毅516氣517 配 18 晉 378書 45 東 868 桩 792 棠 725 樝 46次 555 卢 269

時961替1241朱128某948掉774桶183灰443夕269毋107水576日4040目141普1241朱10枳1025椰774樊263欸301歹269毋947永764旦149晏146最325朵10杆268棘911檠330叔1031列1041每947汜626旬392晝1075替660村1041東185桔999標1151款162死558毒1016求1066超992晚1250曾884杏749柔1105棗1050樸1211欲12025又154號1021汇742早1049昝588會321李980柳1114株363橢11款1223死492 次94星253呆755棘385杇97桺1114棒1218樹127欸938吟453比566开97旱139晶820朅313束1222括302柳347機920欲672929305~405污97昆417普72 杂318栗403栗535橐795\$152肆504跑56656百75号730月306果351桑704样688橘507欺952殔509篦915谷677

Radicals 70-85

没492泽1015华46混 692鳥 794鹤 920片 218龙 276旅 75瑪 938男 649 沛 501 泽 831 温 级海 466焚 474營 843牒 633犯 634率 498瓖 600毗 422 汨 304浸 661滅 294% 389火草 464毫 1255/扁 1082狄 856 旬 362 沙 16沧 520溢1257雁 11無 103雙1157牙 37狂 739王 739 沐1212後 468深1010漥 642閃1251爚1119 - 狀 727段 492瓦 20甾 969 沃1141浦 102滕 893淪1119焦1148爨 177牛 998狄1246玖 546瓿 999甾 969 派 792涂 82滞 315/蓋1119 勞 843 年 1110 稅 303珮 951 甄 1251 畐 933 源 792流1104滿 183灘 152場 720爪1111牝 544狟 144班 190甍 902畏 573 法 649類 988漏 120變 178類 264至 657牡1063羧 468現 241蘇 387哟 392 表 316 年 657 集 1070 埋 483 单 811 年 1056 获 1155 英 23 處底 252 畚 439 治 229深 66漠 144 火 353 寞 1151 爰 255 牧 1037 猜 1240琢 1218 泉 237泊 672荣 12.37灰 950熒 843年 894奉 366联 616琴 651甘 606雷 1114 波 95淮 601滤1106 災 940熊 674奚 876朔 65猶 1096琛 666 甚 658 畜 1018 沱 4篇 470渴 799灾 940熏 461爲 27牾 58獄1215珠1208甞 725畟922 沙1341淳441潜660炙791熙960高180犂519旅1151瑕33 治 976涸1258涡 507炎 617滕 893爵1121堙 831磷 387瑟411生 812 粤 839 注879涿1218澈286炊30频828 犇438獢507瑤1144生484畢407 洛766淼1161潘195炭151、肇682父102掉464猥256堂1226產194異954 秦401凌898鴻134威294烽682 犀596獵637瑣13甥812畯468 **渔410湯720潸156烜164熱330爻1167鞴984獅359瑩843 逾 930済 694 潦1151 烏 61 熯 144 爽 733 犛 979 獲 784 璊 183 用 1185 畫 847** 津 381 湮 483 澤 740 烝 896 燎1151 角 359 袋 246 獸1100瑾 480 角1185 畷 295 澳338渫339澉688烖943熸ω 摄2獶||52璞|2|| 南102當725 活 302淵 367澡1134 烹 751 較 617 爿 727 擘 1091 獻 252 瑞 466 汧239海933駅313俊468数617牀727舉1091 環256田362疃1248 洹14溴771激1162焉200燐387牆727 玄36.璺359由1079赐720 泊1937溼 693 濩 784 烽1197 燕 243 犬 479 兹 966 瓊 167 甲 629 暢 120

Radicals 85-102

畿 547白 782属 69眷 926矣 976标 175秋1092弩 672第 554馨 660糾 1064 **畾** 577百 781墊 10711港 286知 863県 528科 8家 526第 591億 771約112.0 疆 710包 714鳌1241张1010矧 560票1157秭554蘇1243第 220簸 25素 68 臺 1255卓 1054叠 52睪 790矩 95祭 337林 858翰 1006筍 392簿 771紞 656 单1054 睦1039短119侵611秦 380窟1006年 586第 336索 770 正 90帛 782自 1036景 256陽 720禁 655机 497窯 1141筋 445簾 78紘 887 正 408皇 708旬 391眾 8396變 784稟 668稟 648 黨 1144 筑 1019 籔 1307細 1241 建 636管 599值 919睢1237 福 933桂1032盛1199答 676翰1017紀 4 疑 956皋1040相 731睫 636石 795禄1208稱 894愛1199策 868籥1119累 577 疏 90单1040省 812頭 419研 239禍 18稺 595競 833筆 502 絲 974 疎 90缴11621 656睿 346研 237楊 720稽 552竅1162等 173米 598絮 94 眉 517献 276寿 1260鶴 720穀1226截 176矣 846粤 305短 881 皮 25盾 4650新1208石至 831 / 2 483 臺 1129 黨 1027 筮 336 粥 1024 終 12 881 罗 293瞀 1109岩 673榮 843無 67竊 309箝 606粟1221絜 279 疗1073皿 761 取 273 購 507码 720禮 597榜1035 算 174拳 387絶 296 疫 851 盈 815 師 947 瞞 183 碧 789 豫1119 類 828 立 694 箰 399 粲 154 絏 338 底 867 益 642 助 1158 瞭 1151 碟 795 禺 124 穨 544 竝 840節 399 維 575 綬 661 疾494盍642昌1062瞿96磊545禹99穫784竟752範636截387給776 寫 720 盖 405 盲 1069 暄 389 磬 832 禹 23 章 723 簋 486 奠 472 經 831 源 481 显 426見 860 矍 788 磨 858 禽 651 穴 409 童1188 第1019釋 790錄 265 療1151盜1133眠590矛1109譻577禾8孕332颯680篡174糴1134紛372 監 6095590矜 369石薄771 秃1905 突489 競754 篡 174糶1194綏 354 笑605 盘1208 真 375 示553 私 557 褒 666 竹1019 篲 527 綻12.48 登883蓝49智260矢560校323私780杂666竺1019箓1151系876绵225 發 975鹽 49 1 196失 402 祝 1025東 758 窒 831 笑 1150 競 1260 紅 1064 縣 225

Radicals 102—120

缀 295繩 892羅 6翟 1124 聊 622股 51胎 503 星 743 舌 288 若 777葱 1199 緊 368線 1958麗 26號 257耿 809勝 554智 503城 727舌 302苑 260蔥 1199 矮 35/鐸 790羇 1翰 140耽 65/肺 501腎 368臨 669舍 48 范 696莨 33 綸 470聚 854羁 1238翳 589聲 892肩 240腹 1034 舒 83兹 966葬 702 翼 954耶1114 肽 887 籽 776自1237 繁 588 繯 256 緇 969絲1241羊 732耀1124聒 302肴1167脚 776臭1088舛 233茸1194萬 267 緇 969纂 174羌 712割 356聖 835角 1020腸 780桌 285舜 469荔1241葉 633 終1908編 389美 568 聘839胃 593羸 4馳 985舞 103 荁 164获1031 緝 688類 529章 271老1055聚 131胤451腦1941臺1186章 282答 676获1031 **震 979聚 577牂 727耆 552聨 914胥 90-肥 546雾 994** 荒742蒐1098 **纀 339處 1016段 51考1041聰,1199胡 49脆 566** 丹1084存 438高1139 羔1244者 45聽 835胜 4 濱 1129 至 413 般 182 茝 960威 1236 **縓1949年1107**着1076孝1137聶638月1079膊771至414船229葡984簑 12 缚771名1141美732考108職920岁90491135童939 莽709蒲102 經426雲 577臺 464而 982肄 509月 928勝205白 672期 480莅 520蒞 520 **綠595鐳836羲 2**岩168肆509脈848腺1151臾126 菱898蒯534 蘇川山 贏川灰 238 肇川46 脈 848 臘 920 哲 631 色 927 蒙 1181 蓬 898 總1199网744羹747 点1028脊852服389舁89 華州篾311 未578 能885 胍 637 台1078 州1059 菹 46 藝 330 總1199图742 續 33年139羽 98 耜 976 內1033齊639廳351與89芒742萬165董480 類828罪513弱(38耕808月882裁943鬱)78舂1192 蜀132萑166藥519 緊589罰308習690結798肯882屑455 舉75芮695苔672蔵202 織920罷26易1069 肖1149股468臣377與889芾501萍825楼1151 繚1151罵40翊912耳981 肘1073豚428区960舅1067芟610蘆933薨1129 紫1238豐山翌912 11.132月1008 1至831 臥 9 舊1067 苗1159 葘969 莲1238 编 507罹 24 介 675 耶 47 肥 582 脩 1077 赵 368 荥 1255 菜 1208 莽 1237

Radicals 120—140

薦477度198蝕 98蠢1941衰 47視553討1073聲839豕1838貸918贊1950 薀426烷992蜂1197蠖784衰355規875計497講507豕1918貿1114贊153 薄771愿870蠢1197蠢463袁256舰848設290替660参526買1240赞153 薤1240虚 46毁 995蠕 238袞 418覡1260詈 879絲178彖171 贳 339顧 816 蘋194季 55 \$ 464 \$ 289 衮 418 想 789 訴 792 識 920 表 516 貴 540 薨902届69堆575蠲1250施4親382許60譯790象728貳564赤793 藻1169虚 78蜜405霉874夏1230觐480訟1190雠1091豢226贼907报216 章1139處 85堰 253蝹 836裁 943覽 609詹 619護 784歲 803賈 38粒1009 藟 577處 59蝶 633蠶 660窩 333覺 1038話 302諲 743豪 1129賁 437赫 779 薛289號1041斔196端880傑633角1995經831課5777般33縣89 薛289號783蝸18蠻178捷1034蝌1064談938變178豫83縣89走119 爾1250處 78蝦 33 聚1079解 861 該 354 寶 167 廣 389 赳1064 藪1207號1061蝨1109血410褏1079衛1257部672讀1033第1238賈1240越303 朝1017號787登1109畔447襄600解821涿1218 豹1244賣1023起164 夏900哲28與1034盡914襄730解821論470谷1202新239賦104越868 蕲443虫1009螢843行748褻330觴730諜633豆118貌1171賢368足1219 蘊 426. 41064 螭 23行 197 嶷1057觼1256謁 313豈 548 狸 978質 493路 766 擇 790 至 740融1009价 497襲 689觿 880 諡1237度 22 稅 566費 734 跫1172 頁 725跃 239 蘭1251虺572螣893衡7481町38言251等843豊597貝320鰛1253践468 藁598蚤1112螽1002 西594計1241零143豎118貞834賴272跳632 蓋 836 蚩 962 蟲1009 衣 550要1142 訇1252隸1259豐1014 負1000 賸 893路 999 蛇 4蠅892表1153覃646剂1064講1198豒591 貞 13 賻102 联 633 尼57蚜939赢14衣550轰1260訓492謠1144豔1947貫159簽343蹇143 虚1118 蛩1172蛹352神692見241託780謫877 責868寶1059蹢877

Radicals 140—157

蹴 286 截 1926 是 1958 选 396 维 714 釋 790 鏊 1109 閑 192 陶 1047 雄 887 霍 775 轍 286送1179瑟 206 野 83錢1257閔 475隊 526雁 186霞 33 身384蝶387延946滾1151酉1096量737鐏771閱672厘483雇53霜731 昭1006轐1211速868邋637酋1096釐979銍1253閼270隋11雉560靈836 射1006轘256逆788遺540酉C514 鏑877閷319隉1256雍1184霸779 整 854色 543. 适 507 酎 1073 金 652. 磐 660 闌 185 突 989. 雁 890 車 74轡1937退519遴387歅656釜109鐍507闃860隔989雜691青819 連到還經絡到1163鐫935闡483陰川雖575靜819 軌992辛 382逢1197邀1169四山243到1158鋰256闖 659隆1015篇 880 **靶626辜 49造1051遽803吨 4蛇4鐵1256關187際787雚158非579** 軍 458辟 853逐1022溴 224醇 451 鉥497鐸 790 闞 607隤 544離 23 靡 17 載 943 拜 219 逕 831 逢 259 竣 468 鉞 303 鑿 831 陳 373 雙 1200 整766学289送468 醇464鉛289鑊784阜1108隧586雖1184面223 輝458辨219逵989邑683疃656鈃808鏞69防928隨 11艘784配9.44 **輕 831 麗 468進 379 那 47 藍 995 街 608 籍 880 降 1015 隱 449** 輔1250辩319過 18 郑1197 鹂 23 銛 621 鐏 771 陉 831 雨 100 靳 278 輟 995 遐 33那 350 醫 958 鋒 1197 鑾 178 陣 373 東 509 雪 997 鞏 1172 輪 470辰 455 道1048卻 776 鹽1341 髮山 除 82.線 976 萼 97 鞠1017 董 915 辱 1923 逼 933 郄 776 醳 790 舒 299 長 79.1 陟 916 隸 18.41 肅 577 蔣 999 雷577賴1017 輔969晨455遙1141郭774釁46錦652門441陷672佳575電385轉771 輯 688 辴455遅595部 999 采195 鍛995閒 191 陳373隻1260電772 鞹774 較1034 遂526图 253 采942 錄1208間 191 陸1032 崔1117 霾775 韓 242

Radicals 157-177

雙784賴 692食921香717騰893鬌 11魚79 梟1070鹵71黑904鼻521 類544創981馨838騎507巖637魯70鴇1060鹽609點656 業 633 類 831 飲 654 馬 40 驛 790 鬥 1934 窟 79 鴻1179 鹿1909 篁 795 建 571 頃 960 供1942 駅 80 驫 1156 園 1935 縣 419 鵙 860 麀 1079 类 529 6 354 5 114 **鱒109. 笤843處 66 距1147** 韭1065頗375餐154驅1114高1129鬲855鳞387鶇140 重102711110985 鶴川麻川県834龢8 音653風695鎖437駿468超850常45息137緊589、壓17 觀69.5餐1944顆33梨1070兒569鳳695鶇1151黄707鼓50 經960萬1109髯622鬼522萬930萬1038 頃828 鼓438 須133飛580 賽143擊302魏569鳩656鶯178乘93 頌1190 首1109階1257髮1109虧 23鴈186 黎519鼠92

Radicals 177—214

CHINESE MARBLE SCULPTURES OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

BY

OSVALD SIRÉN

When we connect the traditional periods of Chinese history, named after the imperial dynasties, with the successive stages in the evolution of Chinese art, it should be remembered, that this is done merely for the sake of convenience. There is no strict or complete correspondence between the successive periods of Chinese art-history and those of the political reigns, yet it is evident that the advent of a new imperial dynasty in some cases marked the opening of a new cultural era, or fresh sources of spiritual inspiration which also found expression in art. But the manifestation of new artistic ideals requires as a rule more time than a political conquest or revolution; they mature gradually, they reach their culmination for a while and then decay, which means a loss of their inherent significance or a transformation from within by absorption of new cultural or spiritual influences.

It may thus, for instance, be claimed that what we call the Transition period in the evolution of Chinese sculpture coincided approximately with the reigns of the Northern Ch'i and Northern Chou as well as the Sui dynasty (c. 550—618), but its particular style did not find full expression until the beginning of the 570ies, and its best and most significant creations were produced within little more than a decade, i. e. before 585. After this date the style becomes more schematic, the sculptures lose something of their original beauty and refinement. There may be exceptions to the rule, but it must be admitted that the bulk of the still existing monuments prove the above mentioned general trend in the stylistic evolution as well as its subdivisions.

A full discussion of the whole problem and all the materials belonging to this particular phase of the Transition period would carry us beyond the limits of the present article. It would require an investigation of the various local centres of sculptural activity which existed at the time and where the stylistic features of the period were developed in different ways. The production of religious sculpture was, as a matter of fact, quite abundant in the northern provinces and several important centres in Shantung, Hopei, Honan, Shansi and Shensi may still to some extent be recognized or reconstructed. They had all their special characteristics due to local traditions, to the quality of the stone material, and also to the more or less marked currents of Indian influence. Yet, the sculptures produced at these various centres have all certain fundamental features of type and style in common, they are all clearly marked as products of one and the same



period. No one familiar with the materials in question will hesitate in regard to the approximate date of these monuments, but their local distribution and arrangement in definite series or groups offers more intricate problems some of which will be discussed in the following.

Before we proceed to our special task we like, however, to point out the general historical fact, that the somewhat uneven distribution of the sculptures over the northern provinces was closely connected with political conditions then prevailing in this part of the country. They are all works inspired by the Buddhist religion, and their production was largely dependent on the support or the lack of support that this religion found in official quarters. It should be remembered, that northern China was at the time divided into two contending states, the Northern Chou and the Northern Ch'i, and whereas Buddhism flourished under imperial protection in the Ch'i state, it was despised and sometimes suppressed by the Confucian rulers of the Chou state. Thus, there are relatively few and unimportant monuments which are provided with inscriptions of the Northern Chou dynasty, while those which carry inscriptions with reign-names of the Northern Ch'i dynasty are numerous. The same applies to the uninscribed sculptures whose places of origin are known; the far greater number of these come from places situated within the confines of the then existing Northern Ch'i state, which included the main parts of the present provinces of Shantung, Hopei, Honan and eastern Shansi, while western Shansi and the whole of Shensi formed parts of the Northern Chou state. This was at the time which interests us here in particular ruled over by the emperor Wu Ti (561-577) whose hostility towards Buddhism was no less marked than his successful application of Confucian principles of government. There was little room for Buddhist art in his empire, a fact which is borne out by the scarcity of sculptures with inscriptions of his reign.

Quite different were the conditions which prevailed in the neighbouring state of Northern Ch'i. There the imperial authority rested in the hands of a ruler who was less concerned with the interest of the state than with his own pleasures and religious practices. One of emperor Wen Kung's (565-75) personal ambitions was to lead the life of a mendicant monk and to go around with the begging bowl asking support for the monastic institutions. No wonder that Buddhist art and learning enjoyed great favours, while the defence of the country was neglected with the result that the state soon succumbed to its rival, the Northern Chou (577). However regrettable this may have been from the political view-point, it must be admitted, that the religious impetus then alive in the country of Ch'i contributed to the development of the fine arts and found expression in a very rich production of Buddhist sculpture. The numerous monasteries, sanctuaries and rock-temples, which existed at the time, were decorated with sculptures which at least in part stood on a high level of artistic perfection. This applies particularly to those made in the western section of the Northern Ch'i state, in the neighbourhood of its capital Yeh (the present Lin-chang) which was situated a few

miles north of Chang-te-ho not very far from the border between Hopei and Honan.¹) Several of the local schools of sculpture which existed in this part of the country at the very end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, i. e. in the Wu P'ing period (570—75), produced works which must be counted among the noblest specimens of religious art that have survived in China, and it is to a few of these that we would like to draw attention, some of them being practically unknown, others known by a few specialists but not as yet placed in their proper position in the history of Chinese art.

* * *

If one proceeds straight towards the North from the site of the ancient capital of the Northern Ch'i state, following the present railway line through Shun-te-fu, Cheng-ting, Ting-chou, and Pao-ting, one passes through a country which at certain places, particularly to the West of the line, is rich in a very fine quality of micaceous marble which always had proved a most suitable material for artistic productions. The best specimens of this stone possess the same merits of texture and surface beauty as the famous Greek island marbles and lend themselves to artistic refinements that hardly can be obtained in ordinary limestone or sandstone. The sculptures which were executed in this region are thus, as a rule, superior from a technical viewpoint to contemporary works made in other parts of the country, and they sometimes reach a level which is hardly inferior to that of classic Greek art at a corresponding state of evolution. But besides such prominent works of art there was indeed also produced a large amount of ordinary stone-masons' work with little or no artistic importance. The production was rich and varied, and reached apparently a point of culmination at the end of the Ch'i dynasty.

We cannot enter here into a discussion of all the materials which have come from this region or still may be found at the places of production, but will concentrate our attention on a few characteristic specimens which however may serve to convey an idea of the prevailing types and the artistic importance of certain local schools or workshops which still may be traced even though we are no longer able to estimate their full importance or delimit their extension in time and place.

The first statue to which we wish to draw attention is not a new discovery, but it may be presented in a new light as a member of a group. It is the large standing Buddha in the possession of Mr. D. Kelekian in New York, which we reproduced on plate 256 in our work on *Chinese Sculpture*, published fifteen years ago. The reproduction did not however render justice to the whole monument;



¹⁾ Mr. J. Menzies who for many years lived at Chang-te-ho writes: *Yeh, the capital, is now a deserted place. There were two companion cities. One, the old on the East, is now called San T'ai, after Ts'ao Ts'ao's old capital whose site it continued. The other was West of it about 5 li, and is called Ch'ang Wu ch'eng. It has an earth wall which still stands; San T'ai has remains of high terraces. *Both are on the north bank of the Chang river, 15 li East of the railway bridge.

it was made from an old photograph taken in China, while the statue still was covered by dark pigments, and it did not include the whole pedestal which in this case is important, because of its ornamentation and inscription.

The figure is complete with the exception of the hands (which probably were placed in the abhaya and varada mudra), and it may be safely assumed that it represents an Amitabha Buddha. (Pl. I. a.) The strongly built, somewhat pillar-like body is completely enveloped in the sanghati, which falls from the shoulders down to the feet in thin folds, straight at the sides and curving over the front. At the lower hem one may observe the peculiar mussel-like patterns, arranged in pairs, which return on most statues of this period. The limbs and torso are scarcely indicated, yet the mantle is not draped over a flat frame, as is commonly the case in the archaic sculptures, but over a substantial body characterized by a somewhat bulky massivity. In other words, the statue is not *linear* in the same sense as the archaic sculptures; it possesses tridimensional form, but this is as yet rather undifferentiated and covered by or submitted to the linear play of some long sweeping folds, thus exhibiting characteristics which make it altogether a typical example of the transition stage in the stylistic evolution.

The pedestal which serves as a support for the statue consists of a square base and a round upper portion, the latter being moulded in the usual shape of an inverted lotus flower which, however, is raised over the square base by a decorated rim or frieze of winding lotus stalks, flowers, leaves, buds and seed cases. The quadrangular base is likewise decorated with reliefs on three sides; the motif on the front is composed of a cintamāni adored by two kneeling figures and guarded by two lions, while the two sides are covered by rows of gnome-like figures (a kind of yakshas) seated under low arches. (Pl. II. c.) All these reliefs on the pedestal are executed in a rather bold fashion without much insistence on detail. The fourth side of the square base is covered by an inscription containing the date and the names of the people who in one way or other were connected with the erection of this statue, but unfortunately no indication of the place where it originally stood. According to this, the statue was erected in *the 6th year of Wu P'ing era of the Great Ch'i dynasty, cyclically called chi-wei, on the 8th day of the 4th month (May 3, 575) by two men who were adjutants on the board of armaments in Jen-chou, called Sung Ssu-ching and Chao Pao, for his Imperial Majesty, the Imperial family, the prime minister, their fathers and mothers, and all living beings most respectfully, of white stone, in order that they all may receive the benefits of the Noble Way and thus become illuminated. The promoters (or patrons) of the statue were the pacifier of the South, general Po Jen with his good wife Chu, and the pacifier of Po (i. e. Liao-ch'eng in Shantung), general Han Ning(?) with his mother and his wife Sun. The master presiding at the unveiling (i. e. sgiving light by opening its eyes) was the abbot Tao-hsun and his mother Yuan, and the lay disciple of Buddha Hsü Wen-cheng with his wives Chin and Wang, and the female lay devotees Hsü Chang-erh and Hsü Tsui(?)-erh ».

Judging from this inscription, the statue was instituted by two military officials in Jen-chou, a place in northern Anhui, which for some time was under the administration of the Northern Ch'i, who by this act of devotion may have expressed their loyalty to the Ch'i government. They made it under the protection of two prominent generals, and the unveiling took place in the presence of an abbot and certain other members of the Buddhist community. But we are not told where it was made or erected; the place name indicates simply the home or region of activity of the two officials. The question can thus not be decided on epigraphical grounds. If we are to form some conjecture as to the original place of the statue, we must base it on observations of style and material. But before attempting anything of the kind, it may be well to direct the attention on two other statues which in all probability once formed a group with this Buddha.

They have hitherto remained entirely unknown and stood, when I saw them in 1939, in the store room of Messrs. C. T. Loo and Co. in New York. (Pl. I. b-c.) No information as to their place of origin or the like is available, but their material, ornamentation, and style of execution offer sufficient proofs for the conclusion, that they were made in conjunction with the above mentioned Buddha statue and once stood in the same temple. They represent the two Bodhisattvas, Avalokiteśvara (Kuanyin) and Mahastamaprabta (Ta Shih-chih), who usually accompanied Amitabha Buddha as rulers of the Western paradise. The figures are of the same shape and material as the Buddha, though somewhat smaller (180 cm. high, while the Buddha, reaches the height of c. 210 cm.) and dressed in the traditional Bodhisattva attire: a closely fitting plaited dhoti tied around the hips, a plain upper garment that lies like a jerkin over the breast and shoulders and is bordered by an ornamental necklace, long scarves falling down over the arms, and heavy jewel chains held together on the waist by means of large round buckles. The broad and strong heads are crowned by diadems which are decorated, in the one case, with a small Buddha figure (now partly broken) and, in the other instance, with a cintamāni, the symbol of spiritual enlightenment, between garlands and lion masks. By these decorative motifs the Bodhisattvas are definitely characterized as Kuanyin and Ta Shih-chih, which also serves to support our supposition that the central Buddha represents Amitabha.

The figures are just as strongly built and well unified in shape as the Buddha; their quite undifferentiated bodies covered by closely fitting garments are almost pillar-like, but the surface is enlivened by a flow of flat folds cut at the lower hem in undulating patterns which tend to become pairs of spiralling mussels. This ornament is not so far developed as on somewhat later specimens, yet quite discernible, and noticeable as a characteristic mark of an early phase in the transition style. Another ornamental motif which should be noticed, because of its constant recurrence on sculptures of this period, consists of the oval plaques, or medallions with pearl boarders, which appear on the necklaces and the long scarves that hang down over the dhōtis. They belong to the most common elements in the ornamental display

on the Pei Ch'i sculptures and may be seen on the garments just as well as in framing borders around other motifs.

Of particular interest to us in this connection is furthermore the form and ornamentation of the pedestals which correspond very closely to that of the pedestal under the Buddha statue. They are composed of broad square bases, a high circular rim or frieze decorated with winding lotus stems, and the large inverted lotus-flowers into which the statues are pegged. The ornamentation on the frieze is essentially the same as on the corresponding part of the Buddha's pedestal, it is executed in the same bold fashion, which also applies to the supporting lotus flower. The types of the Bodhisattvas may seem somewhat less severe, more benign than the Buddha's head, but the form and features are quite similar. When I saw the statues, they were furthermore still in part covered by the same kind of pigments that formerly were found on the Buddha statue, a coating which seemed rather out of place on the beautiful white marble.

This material may not be exactly the same as the highly micaceous marble of which the statues which come from Ting-chou and Chü-yang are made, but it is akin to it and points also towards western Hopei as their region of origin. A more definite local indication is in this case hardly possible to offer. It may however be added, that the very strong types and pillar-like frames together with the forceful manner of execution remind us of sculptures made at this time in northern Honan, as for instance at Nan Hsiang-t'ang, a stylistic correspondence that make us inclined to suppose that they come from the southern part of the region here under consideration. They may thus have been made somewhere in the neighbourhood of the ancient Yeh, the Northern Ch'i capital, a place where influences from the local schools in northern Honan as well as from those further north, in Hopei, may have been felt. We know no other sculptures which show exactly the same peculiarities of style and technique as these three figures which form a group of their own. Yet, quite similar types and features of stylisation may be observed in a number of statues which consequently must have been made about the same time, some of them being Buddhas of imposing size.

One of these which still remains at its original place, though in a somewhat dilapidated condition, is the statue that may be seen in the open field at the Shih-chu village in Ting-hsin-hsien northwest of Pao-ting-fu. (Pl. II. b.) The temple building which once sheltered the statue is now destroyed, but not very far from it is still to be seen a tall marble pillar supporting a small square sanctuary made of stone, though after the model of the usual wooden structures. This remarkable monument, after which the village is named, has been made the subject of a very thorough study by Mr. Lin Tun-tseng (in *The Bulletin of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture*, vol. V. 2) in which he proves, that the pillar was erected between 568 and 570 as a monument over a mass of people who had been killed here during certain revolutionary battles which had taken place in 525 and 528. At that time there was also a temple, subsequently destroyed and

rebuilt several times, the last records being of the Ming and early Ch'ing period, when the temple was known as Sha-ch'iu-ssu. Some thirty years ago the last remains of the buildings were destroyed; only piles of earth are now to be seen beside the pillar (now only 7 feet but originally more than twice the height) and two marble statues, the one (standing quite close to the pillar) representing a minor seated Buddha on a high pedestal, the other which stands at some distance, the above mentioned large Buddha. None of the records refer to these sculptures. and the author expresses the opinion that both are products of the Ming period. This is however quite impossible on stylistic grounds; they are evidently of much earlier date. The large standing Buddha is a characteristic specimen of the Northern Ch'i period, and this can also be said of the pedestal of the seated statue, whereas the figure itself may have been made over in the 12th or 13th century. A definite judgment on this point is difficult without a re-examination of the original, which was impossible during my last stay in China, because of the political disturbances in that part of the country. We must consequently leave out the seated figure and turn our attention on the large standing Buddha which we are able to communicate in reproduction.

The figure stands exactly in the same posture as the Buddha described above and may likewise be interpreted as an Amitabha. The hands, which are missing, have evidently been placed in the abhaya and varada mudras. The head which is somewhat damaged is very large in proportion to the broad and heavy body which however is modelled to some extent under the soft garments; the thinner undergarment is tied with a ribbon under the bare chest, while the mantle or sanghati of heavier material falls over the shoulders and arms forming long curving folds over the front of the figure and a pair of spiralling mussels at the lower hem close to the sides. The manner of draping is essentially the same as on the Buddha of 575, though perhaps executed with more feeling for the fluency and softness of the material. The stone is of a different quality and has yielded more easily to the sculptor's chisel. It is, as a matter of fact, the same kind of rather soft micaceous marble that we find in the numerous sculptures from Chü-yang and Ting-chou which will occupy us presently. Whether it actually was made at some of those places and transported the rather long way to Ting-hsin-hsien, or locally by stone masons of corresponding training, is difficult to tell, but it may in a general way be classified as a ramification from the Chü-yang — Ting-chou school. Considering its very pronounced features of style and the historical data quoted above referring to the memorial pillar and the temple erected at the same spot about 570, we would be inclined to date it approximately about the same time or shortly after 570.

Before we revert to the sculptures known to have come from the above mentioned places in western Hopei, or still to be seen there, we may however consider a very large and important statue which is said to have stood at a place a little further towards the Southwest. It is now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, but



according to the records of the late Mr. Crofts, who secured it some 15 years ago in China, it stood in *the Pu-lu temple at Li-ts'uan(?) of Ping-ting-chou *, a place to the West of Cheng-ting on the Shansi side of the border-line between the present provinces of Hopei and Shansi. It is also reported, that this large Buddha was accompanied by two Bodhisattvas which however were so far destroyed that they were considered useless for the museum. If this statue was made locally it proves again that the mannerisms of style as well as the material spread over a rather large area, though the possibility of its transportation from some place further East can by no means be excluded.

The statue which measures 268 cm. in height represents an Amitabha Buddha in exactly the same position as those previously described (with hands missing). (Pl. II, a.) The sculptural treatment is however somewhat further progressed, the modelling more sensitive and thorough. The body is still heavy and completely covered by the mantle, which falls from the shoulders over the arms and forms a series of thin linear folds over the front, but the torso and the waist are slightly indicated under the soft material. We receive a more definite impression of the human form than in any of the preceding examples. The sensitiveness of the modelling may be particularly observed on the bare chest, in the face and half-closed eyes, and in the thin lips which reveal a reflection of interior life. The face is ensouled by an introspective beauty which hardly can be discovered on the stern faces of the earlier Buddhas. In the execution of the fold design the artist has avoided the hollowed-out lines and taken recourse to quite thin string-like creases which contribute to emphasize the flowing rhythm into which the figure is enveloped. The hem of the undergarment forms the meandering pattern in which the spiralling mussels have become more definite and regular than they were on the previous specimens.

The figure stands on a pedestal composed of an inverted lotus flower supported by a rim and placed on a broad plinth. The rim is here relatively low and has no ornamentation, only a great number of inscribed names of donors. The main inscription is carved on the front of the square plinth which however has been damaged at the corners. The first character is almost missing, but the second is evidently »Kuang» which gives the clue to the proper reading of the date, as pointed out by Mr. J. Menzies in Toronto who kindly helped in deciphering the inscription. The nien hao may thus be read: Cheng Kuang, which was the last reign name of the Northern Ch'i dynasty; there is no other nien hao with Kuang that possibly could fit the case. Then follow the numbers of the year, month, and day, i. e. 1st year, 8 month, 15 day of Cheng Kuang, which corresponds to September 12th, 577, and the statement that this statue of »Omito» was made for the benefit of the whole country together with statues of the Bodhisattvas Kuanyin and Ta Shih-chih. The inscription offers thus besides the date an interesting confirmation of the iconographic subject, i. e. Amitabha Buddha, and the fact that the Buddha was accompanied by the two traditional Bodhisattvas. It is only to

be regretted that these, which existed at least in part when the Buddha was taken away from its original place, were not allowed to accompany the central figure notwithstanding their mutilated condition. If any fragments of the side figures still exist, they have remained unknown, but the chances are that they have been completely lost. If they were of the same class as the great Buddha, they must have been noble works of art, and we might possibly form some idea as to their characteristics of style and decorative appearance from certain other Bodhisattva statues of the same period which still survive. They are all works from the end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty and illustrate the same stage in the stylistic development as this Buddha statue.

The most appealing and decoratively beautiful among these are the two minor Bodhisattvas which now belong to Mr. Grenville Winthrope in New York and Mrs. W. Dearth in Fontainebleau, respectively, but which originally may have formed a pair. (Pl. III. a. b.) The height of the figures is only about 90 cm. not counting the pedestals, which in both cases seem to be foreign to the statues (the one being new, the other - under Mrs. Dearth's statue - old and inscribed with the date 571, but too large for the figure). They are both slim upright figures of unusual refinement. The upper parts of the bodies are mainly bare, only the shoulders are covered by thin scarves tied in a knot on the chest from where they fall down in long slips. The dhoti is tied as usual with a belt over the hips and falls down in straight plaited folds which are cut at the lower hem in the meandering ear-like patterns that we have noticed before. The linear stylisation is exquisitly delicate and pure and the decorative effect heightened not only with colours and gold but also with ornaments in thin plaster relief (i. e. on Mrs. Dearth's statue), yet it is less the surface treatment than the actual shaping and modelling of the figures which here impress us. In spite of the fact that the bodies are stylized according to a general formula (suggesting an elongated ellipse), it cannot be denied that they also reflect a budding sentiment for feminine beauty and grace. The waist and the hips serve to accentuate the proportions as well as the broad shoulders and neck, and the naked parts have a tactile beauty which is entirely unknown in earlier Chinese sculptures. It may be admitted that the beauty of these youthful frames is far removed from the world of men, yet it reveals an endeavour to make the divine harmony of these beings perceptible also in their human forms. The sculptor seems even to have allowed himself a certain amount of freedom in the rendering of the mudras or postures of the hands, as may be seen in Mr. Winthrope's statue: the Bodhisattva keeps the left hand lifted in varada mudra, but the right one which is lowered is turned inward instead of outward (in the regular abhaya mudra) and both gestures are performed with a gracefulness that almost militates against their religious significance. But the figures are quite impersonal without any trace of individual characterisation, their types full and round with thin lips and wide, curving eyebrows which remind us of the corresponding features in the large Buddha figure in Toronto. There is

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the same air of impenetrable mystery in all these faces; they seem to express the same inspiration, the same attitude towards the traditional sacred symbols. These Bodhisattvas are indeed related to the large Buddha of 577, in spite of many obvious differences; they are, so to say, born of the same spirit, executed in the same material and subjected to a similar degree of linear stylisation. We would consequently be inclined to date them approximately in the same year, even though the motifs have conduced to a somewhat freer display of the sculptor's art and sentiments than the more hieratic Buddha statue.

The same type of formal beauty and decorative stylisation on a larger scale may be observed in the Bodhisattva statue which formerly belonged to General Munthe in Peiping and then passed into the collection of Baron Kawasaki in Kobe, which however also has been dissolved. (Pl. III. c.) The figure itself is over 2 m. high and the pedestal c. 40 cm. The Bodhisattva attire is the same as in the minor figures mentioned above, the upper part of the body being bare, except for a thin scarf over the shoulders and the jewel-chain which is looped on the waist, while the lower part is covered by the dhōti. The folds are very thin, and the garment fits tightly over the hips and legs, thus contributing to the beautifully unified elliptic shape which dominates the whole figure and receives further accentuation through the long curving lines of the jewel-chains falling over the shoulders and the legs. The volumes of all the forms are perfectly realized, yet without much insistence on the functional differentiations, the modelling being very sensitive but at the same time synthetic or unifying. The arms are broken but may indeed have been placed in similar positions as we observed in Mr. Winthrope's statue, and as the diadem is ornamented with a kind of vase (or possibly a radiating cintamāni), it seems most probable that the statue represents the Bodhisattva Mahastamaprabta (Ta Shih-chih).

In this case the figure is still supported by its original pedestal consisting as usual of a square plinth and an inverted lotus flower placed on a rim. The proportions and the modelling of the lotus petals are rather akin to what may be observed on the Toronto statue, if not slightly more advanced, the relief of the petals and the dividing lines being a little more accentuated. It is possible that the figure was executed a few years later, after the close of the Ch'i dynasty, it is the most mature and perfect specimen of the style that we have studied in the previous examples. There is no inscription to verify the date or to indicate its place of origin, but according to a somewhat vague tradition, it was brought to Peiping from a place in western Hopei, and by its style and material it is indeed closely akin to the products of the Ting-chou school.

A more definite statement was received from the Yamanaka Comp. in regard to the place of origin of the large Buddha statue which for over 15 years (1921—36) stood in their courtyard in Peiping, but which is now said to have passed into other hands, unknown to me. (Pl. IV. a.) It came from "a ruined temple in Tingchou". The original pedestal is preserved but has no inscription. The shape and

construction of it are essentially the same as in the previous examples, but it is uncommonly broad in proportion to the figure, the inverted lotus flower is very low and the ornamented frieze or rim under it rather high. The design of winding stems with leaves and flowers is similar to that of the frieze of the Buddha statue of 575, but the execution is freer with deeper contrasts of light and shade. The artists who were at work on these two statues followed apparently the same tradition, but their technical training must have been different, and there was also some difference in the materials, the Ting-chou marble being of a more crystalline quality.

The observations made on the pedestal may be carried further on the statue itself which is remarkable by its size (reaching a height of about 3 meters) and preservation. It stands in the usual position of the large Amitabha Buddhas with the one arm lifted and the other lowered; the hands which are now missing were, no doubt, placed in the abhaya and varada mudra. The draping of the long mantle over the shoulders and arms is more supple and sensitive than in the statue of 575 revealing a high degree of technical skill and freedom, yet it spreads out at the feet in a fashion that reminds us of stylistic traditions of somewhat earlier times. By this spreading of the mantlefolds at the sides of the legs an impression of relative flatness is produced (somewhat similar to the arrangement that may be seen on statues from the early part of the 6th century), but the modelling of the limbs is nevertheless quite discernible under the garment which together with the very definite stylisation of the lower hems in regular series of spiralling ear-mussels bespeaks of a relatively advanced stage in the evolution of the transition style. These somewhat contradictory criteria in the shape and the stylisation of the statue make it difficult to propose a definite date for its execution. Yet, this cannot have been very far removed from 575; if it was made before this year, the statue was more advanced, particularly in its fold design, than other works of the time; if on the other hand, it was executed a few years later (which after all seems more probable to us), the sculptor may for some reason or other have reverted to a somewhat earlier model for its general shape. It is, as said above, a work af admirable skill and technical adroitness executed on a scale which contributes to make it look a little empty. It does not express the same degree of introspective concentration and force as may be found in the Buddha statues described before. mask is rather flat with sharply cut features, yet the figure is very impressive as a whole.

Continuing our review of the standing Buddhas (presumably all representing Amitabha), which on stylistic grounds may be classified in the earlier part of the Transition period, we like to recall a somewhat smaller statue which some ten years ago stood in the galleries of M. Wannieck in Paris but now has passed into other hands. (Pl. IV. b.) It is of a rather heavy type with a broad face; the figure is practically covered by the wide mantle, only a minor part of the neck being bare. The undifferentiated rectangular shape and the mode of draping with a somewhat



irregular ear-mussel design at the lower hem give us reason to consider this statue as relatively early, probably not executed later than 575, and because of its material, the white micaceous marble, it may be placed in the Ting-chou group.

Other representatives of this group may still be seen in the little museum of the above named provincial town, the foremost being a seated Buddha to which we will return presently, the other a standing Buddha figure which is now in a very mutilated condition. (Pl. IV. d.) It has neither head, nor arms, and large patches of the surface have flaked off in consequence of exposure to rain and frost, but it is nevertheless worth recording as a local document which supports our classification of some more important works. The stylisation of the folds in thin creases is still discernible and also portions of the spiralling ornaments at the lower hem over the feet. They indicate a relatively early date. It should also be noticed that the figure is completely wrapped in the mantle which reaches to the very neck and forms a mass of thin curving folds over the chest. The forms of the torso and the legs are clearly modelled but they are tightly wrapped in the covering garments.

A rather similar combination of sculptural volume and abundance of linear folds may be observed in the larger Buddha statue (without head, feet, and hands) which formed part of the Eumorfopulos collection and now is exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum. (Pl. IV. e.) The original height of the figure must have been over two meters, and its place was (according to local information) in one of the pagodas in Chü-yang, the little town some 20 li westward from Ting-chou where so many beautiful fragments of white marble sculptures in transition style have come to light. The corrosion of the stone, particularly on the front of the figure, together with its mutilation produce an impression of plumpness, yet the beautiful arrangement of the thin sweeping folds on the back reveal a high degree of technical refinement. The draping and stylisation of the mantle are essentially the same as on the minor statue in Ting-chou, though carried out on a larger scale with more detail and emphasis. It seems as if the sculptor had tried to follow quite closely certain Indian models of the Gupta period which exhibit this peculiar fold treatment developed to the last degree. We know the type through several prominent examples in the museums in Calcutta and Mathura dating from the 5th and early 6th centuries. The correspondence is obvious not only in the stylisation of the mantle folds but also in the modelling of the muscular or fleshy parts, the torso and the legs, which in the Eumorfopulos statue are emphasized in a manner more akin to that of Indian Gupta art than to the manner which is characteristic of the Chinese statues of this period. The statue is thus one of the best examples of a definite Indian influence which must have reached China shortly after the middle of the 6th century and evidently became an important element in the formation of the style of the Transition period. We may well grant that this style was fundamentally the result of a natural growth or a gradual maturing of sculptural art, suscitated by observations of nature, but the decorative formula of stylisation which prevailed more or less in the best sculptures of the period and which is most clearly discernible in the mantle folds, was of Indian origin. It must have become known through the importation of certain models in Gupta style, as for instance reproductions of the famous sandal wood statue said to have been made by King Udayana when Sakyamuni was preaching to his mother in heaven. The type is known through several copies in Japanese temples of which at least one was imported in the tenth century from China. It is impossible to tell when the model first became known in the Far East, but to judge from the Buddha statues mentioned above (and some minor bronze statuettes), it cannot have been later than about the middle of the sixth century.

* *

All the statues which we have discussed in the preceding pages represent standing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which, in spite of considerable differences, due to local and individual features, may be considered as examples of a relatively early stage in the transition style. They were probably all executed in the 570ies, and most of them about the middle of this decade. Before we proceed to examine a few more specimens of a similar type which on stylistic grounds may be placed a little later, it seems appropriate to pay attention to some seated figures and minor sculptures which most probably were executed about the same time. They are generally of a more intimate kind, partly due to the smaller size and partly to the fact, that the seated crosslegged posture necessitated a more thorough study of the torso and limbs than the standing figures covered by long mantles. And whereas these represented as a rule Amitabha Buddha, the minor seated figures are all representations of Sakyamuni Buddha conceived as a more youthful human being.

A very good example of these is still to be seen in the small museum at Tingchou. (Pl. V. d.) The figure is headless and without hands but otherwise well preserved. It seems quite obvious that the hands were placed in the abhaya and buhmisparsa mudra, the latter being employed only for Sakyamuni. The mantle of quite thin and supple material lies tightly over the arms, the torso and the legs; it does not conceal the forms but serves rather to emphasize their tactile beauty which now dominates more than ever since the pigments have been scraped off and the surface of the crystalline marble has deepened by age. The sculptured base on which the figure is placed, is a characteristic work of the 12th century and may once have formed part of a sutra-pillar.

A smaller version of a similar figure (measuring only about 50 cm) may be seen in the National Museum in Stockholm, but this too was formerly in Ting-chou. (Pl. V. c.) The position of the arms is the same as in the previous instance, which characterizes the figure as Śakyamuni, but the mantle is, relatively speaking, a little wider, with more folds, covering also the main part of the breast, which may indicate that the statue is slightly earlier in date. Both these figures are as a mat-



ter of fact executed with a degree of technical skill and refinement that we hardly can expect before the very end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty (577). The artist who made them seems to have realized very keenly the tactile beauty of a youthful body wrapped in a soft material; the sensitiveness of his modelling becomes most obvious in such parts as the naked feet. The surface effect of the white marble which has deepened in tone with the centuries reminds us of Greek island sculptures from the end of the fifth century B. C. The similarity of the materials employed may indeed also have caused a certain correspondence in the technical methods.

In connection with these two Buddha figures should be mentioned the torso of a Bodhisattva in the lalitasana posture, now in the East Asiatic department of the Berlin museums. (Pl. V. a.) Judging by the position of the right leg, which is placed crosswise over the (now missing) left leg, and the arm which rests with the elbow on the leg, the Bodhisattva must have been a meditating Maitreya or a Sakyamuni before attaining buddhahood. The slight forward inclination of the body was probably further accentuated in the head, a movement which even now, in spite of the mutilation of the figure, adds something to its interest. The very light garments cover only the shoulders and the sides of the torse, while the front from the neck to below the waist is bare and framed by a long jewel chain. The arrangement is not unlike what we have seen on the standing Bodhisattva in Mr. Winthrope's collection, though carried out in a still bolder fashion with the main accent on the naked parts. We have good reason to suppose that this Bodhisattva also originates from Ting-chou and that it was made about the same time as the seated Buddhas.

A still finer representative of the same school and type of sculpture may however be seen in Mr. Winthrope's collection. (Pl. V. b.) It is also a Sakyamuni Buddha, but placed on a high pedestal and provided with a leaf-shaped halo. The whole statue which is perfectly preserved in every detail measures only 64 cm. from the foot of the pedestal to the top of the halo. The creamy white surface of the stone is revealed in the face, the neck, the hands, and the foot (parts which once may have been gilded), whereas the rest of the figure is covered by pigments. The hands which are placed in the abhaya and the bhumisparsa mudra, prove definitely that the figure represents Sakyamuni, after he has attained Buddhahood, though as a tender, almost child-like being whose transparent beauty is emphasized by the contrast between the luminously white face and neck, and the deep reddish colouring of the garments. There is thus an approach to naturalism in the general effect, but the modelling of the naked parts is not properly speaking naturalistic; it may rather be described as a sensitive transformation of the plastic effect into a very smooth and ivory-like texture. The artist has not discarded the traditional sacred formula, but revealed in the eyes, the mouth, the hands, and the foot a reaction to natural beauty which surpasses all that we in this respect are used to find in Chinese sculpture.

Very significant for the stylistic character and period of this little Buddha statue is the decoration of the socle on which it is placed. The upper part is as usual in the shape of a lotus-flower, but this is supported by a high plinth divided by banded columns into sections which are decorated with lion masks, motifs which occur quite frequently on sculptures of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. The somewhat broader base of the socle is finished by a moulded rim of lotus petals, a motif which is repeated on the halo where it appears as an open lotus flower around the head.

The original place of this remarkable statue is not known, but we have little doubt that it is a product of the Ting-chou school. The stylistic connection with the two above mentioned seated Buddhas is obvious, though they are somewhat later in date than this exquisite figure which together with its pedestal is one of the most characteristic examples of the style and refinement reached by the best masters of the Ting-chou school about 575 or a little earlier.

This opinion could be supported by a closer examination of a number of minor sculptures in the same material which at least in part come from Ting-chou and in some instances are provided with dated inscriptions. Most of these are in the shape of relatively small votive stelae, apparently made for private chapels or as votive offerings of individuals or families of limited means. The simplest may well be classified as purely artisan's work, whereas the best are comparable to works of such perfection as the above-mentioned Śakyamuni statue. It seems thus hardly necessary to enumerate here all these stelae, or fragments of such, that have come to our notice; we can refer the student to the reproductions and descriptions of some of them in our book *Chinese Sculpture from the Vth to the XIVth Century*, plates 244—54, and will here only point out one or two additional examples.

In order to realize the connection between this particular group and the Buddha statue in Mr. Winthrope's collection it may be well to recall the fragments reproduced on plates 249—50 in the above-mentioned book, representing one Buddha head, three Bodhisattva busts, and a dvarapala (now in the museum in Philadelphia). (Pl. VI. a-b.) They are all more or less mutilated, yet revealing in the heads a definite spirit or mode of characterisation. We find in them the youthful charm of the above-mentioned Buddha statue rendered with the same sensitive accents of plastic modelling. The Bodhisattvas are indeed somewhat younger smiling sisters of the more meditative Sakyamuni. They all reflect something of the same introspective beauty and mystic spiritual bliss. In the dvarapala figure, which is turning and bending rather vehemently, the sculptor has given a surprisingly strong and free interpretation of form in movement.

These figure fragments are evidently parts of a minor stell the general appearance of which may be deduced from several still existing specimens of fairly uniform type. They consist usually of a rather high and deep dais or platform decorated with guardians and lions in high relief, the main figures being placed



in front of a high arched background slab, which however in many instances is dissolved into a kind of pictorial composition consisting of one or two trees intended to produce with their branches and foliage the impression of an arbour around the sacred figures. In front of the trees, attached to the leaves and branches, are rows of soaring apsaras, while a couple of nagas, or other heavenly beings, are supporting an altar with the cintamāni (the sacred jewel of spiritual illumination) at the very top. Long jewel chains carried by the apsaras increase the ornamental splendour and the pictorial play of light and shade in the upper heavenly regions. The figures on the dais may be arranged in more than one way, but it should be noticed that they are as a rule only Bodhisattvas. The simplest arrangement consists of one standing or seated figure in the centre, between the trunks, and two somewhat smaller Bodhisattvas at the sides, as may be seen on the stela in the Prince Li Household Museum in Seoul, and on another specimen belonging to Mr. W. J. G. van Meurs in Amsterdam which hitherto has remained unknown. (Pl. VI. c.) Quite prominent in both examples are the fierce dragons or nagas which are winding around the trees as if they were trying to reach the Bodhisattvas or the apsaras on the branches above. — In other examples, such as the stela in the Freer Gallery, (Pl. 245 in Chinese Sculpture) which is dated 562, the Bodhisattva in the centre has been doubled, the nagas are less prominent, and the side figures are reduced to two minor bhikshus, but the general compositional features are nevertheless quite similar. This applies also to the decoration on the front of the dais which in all these examples is composed of a cintamani (supported by one or two yakshas), two seated lions, and two standing guardians at the corners of the platform, and it may be noticed that the posture and movement of the dvarapalas are quite the same as in the little guardian figure mentioned above.

The dated specimens among the minor marble stelae of the type here under discussion range from 558 to 570 (the last one being a fragmentary example in Mr. Takenouchi's collection in Tokyo) which seems to indicate that they were most popular in the 560ties. Yet it is of course not excluded that some undated specimens may have been executed a year or two later, i. e. after 570. In any case, it seems evident that the stela of which some fragments are preserved in the Philadelphia museum, belonged to the most mature and presumably latest in this group. The date of it can hardly have been much before 570, and it seems indeed to have been a product of one of the best workshops in the Ting-chou region. This conclusion may be drawn from the quality of the stone and the workmanship, and it was also indicated by the dealer who brought out these fragments from China in 1922.

Our digression from the main road of the great marble sculptures into the field of the minor stelae may thus also have served to strengthen our argument as to the date of the Śakyamuni statue in Mr. Winthrope's collection which we considered as a product of the Ting-chou school shortly before 575. We have now found that the sculptors of this school reached a high degree of technical virtuosity al-

ready in the 560ties, and that this sometimes induced them to creations which indeed are of a more pictorial than purely sculptural character. In some of these small marble stelae with their foliage, climbing dragons and soaring apsaras, more or less detached from the background, the makers may indeed be said to have transgressed the natural limits of marble sculpture and tried to reproduce effects of painting or of large tabernacles executed in wood or bronze. Models on a large scale may have existed, though they are now destroyed. But when they concentrated all their skill on single figures of more or less traditional type, they were well within the limits of sculptural art and displayed the greatest refinement not only in the stylisation of the folds but also in the modelling of the hands and feet and the facial types. This is beautifully illustrated by the Buddha statue in Mr. Winthrope's collection in which the rendering of sculptural form is perfectly combined with technical virtuosity in the execution of the details.

It is only too well known to need any explanation that these Chinese sculptors did not study the human figure for its own sake as a motif of artistic interpretation; it was to them only a symbol to be used in a religious sense, but it is obvious that they did not lack a certain feeling for its living beauty and expression. We have noticed it in the modelling of some of the Bodhisattvas of female appearance, to some extent also in the stylisation of the garments, and it penetrates time and again in the animation of the heads. Several detached heads of Bodhisattvas might be quoted to illustrate the faculty of these masters to suggest in a very restrained form an inner animation, a beauty that might be called human, if it were not so completely dominated by perfect harmony and self-contained peace. One such head of relatively early date, rather broad and heavy in type, belongs to the Rhode Island School of Design, another less conventionalized and sculpturally further developed Bodhisattva head was a few years ago exhibited in the gallery of Maison Rocca in Paris, but has since passed into some private collection. (Pl. VIII. b). It may have been executed at the very end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty or shortly after; the technical execution is here of the finest quality. It carries the suggestion of an interior beauty that may be sensed rather than analysed.

It goes without saying that the works produced at this period in many local workshops by no means all were of the highest artistic quality, a fact which was noticed in our description of the minor stelae, but which also may be illustrated by some minor single figures. The statue of a standing Kuanyin Bodhisattva (height 70 cm.) in the National Museum in Stockholm (Pl. IV. c.) is thus in style and design a typical example of these Ting-chou sculptures, and it has the advantage of being perfectly preserved (even the original painting on the halo is still partly discernible), but it is lacking in the graceful elegance and refinement that endowed some of the larger Bodhisattva statues with an inimitable charm and animation.

In connection with this Bodhisattva may be recorded the series consisting of a



seated Buddha, two standing Bodhisattvas and two bhikshus, all of minor size, in the University Museum in Philadelphia. They may have formed parts of a votive stela but are now detached, each one on a separate pedestal. By their shapes and the stylisation of the tightly fitting garments around the somewhat elliptic bodies, they correspond to some of the larger figures previously mentioned, but the execution is not so refined in the details of the garments and the like which no doubt originally were brought out by pigments of colours and gold as on most of these sculptures.

The same type of bhikshus, representing Ananda and Kasyapa, executed on a much larger scale (height 125 cm.) may be seen in the two statues now in the Louvre, formerly Vignier. (Pl. 327 in Chinese Sculpture) They are still completely covered by pigments, the mantles being painted in large patches of green and reddish brown, but the material seems to be a friable whitish marble. Only minor spots of it are visible, and one may thus feel some hesitation as to its quality and origin, but the probabilities are that these statues also belong to the West Hopei group, though they may well have been executed a little later than the sculptures considered in the previous pages. Their shapes are characterized by elliptic outlines and relative flatness, features which become most prominent in the large sculptures made at the beginning of the Sui dynasty, i. e. during the first years of the 580ties. The execution is more superficial than in the best works of the Ting-chou school from the end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, as may be observed for instance in the flat hands, but the bold and striking realism in the carving of the strong heads adds a note of individual life and expression that we have not seen in earlier works.

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It may not be possible to draw a definite line of demarcation between the sculptures made at the very end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty (about 577) and those executed three or four years later after the first Sui emperor, Kao Tsu (reign name K'ai Huang), had established his sway over the united empire (581). Yet, certain modifications become gradually noticeable. The observation of nature seems indeed to have increased as well as the mastery of the sculptural form, but at the same time something was lost of the intimacy and charm which spread like the smile of an opening bud over the youthful Bodhisattvas from the end of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. The formal beauty becomes more obvious; the sculptors seem to be more self-conscious than before. They have mastered all the technical difficulties and stand more independent in relation to the Indian models which often exercised a restraining influence on the earlier sculptors. The best works produced at the beginning of the Sui dynasty stand on a very high level as products of sculptural art. But with the increasing technical skill followed apparently a tendency towards mass-production. A greater number of relatively indifferent, though very

decorative statues were now produced, i. e. religious images made according to certain more or less perfect formulae without the accents of spiritual or emotional animation that ennobled some of the earlier works. Such was the general trend of evolution, if we consider the whole mass of sculptures made in the Sui dynasty, but there were indeed exceptions, and, as said above, it is not always easy to decide whether a certain specimen was made a year before or after 581.

This applies for instance to a statue of somewhat less than life size which stands in the National Museum in Stockholm. The head and hands are missing, but otherwise it is well preserved and made of the same kind of micaceous marble as all the sculptures originating from the Ting-chou region. Stylistically it is perhaps a little further developed than the specimens hitherto examined, a fact which becomes evident in the naturalistic treatment of the garment which evidently is based on close observations of an actual model. (Pl. VIII. a.)

One may hesitate whether the motif is a somewhat youthful standing Buddha whose hands were placed in the abhaya and the varada mudra, or a bhikshu who may have kept some objects in his hands, but as the latter would be more difficult to explain, we are inclined to accept the hypothesis that it represented a Buddha in a monk's garment. The sanghati of rather heavy though soft material is tied by means of a cord over the left shoulder, the lower end of the cord being fastened by a clasp or buckle in the mantle which from this point turns over, forming thus double layers of folds which spread out in a fan-like pattern. The long side-folds of the mantle are straight and pleated, the deepest groves or shadows are formed below the arms and between the legs, and the straight lines are ending at the hem in the spiralling wave- or ear-patterns. The whole arrangement is carried out with an exactness that bespeaks of observations on a model, yet the lines are stylised according to a unifying rhythm which gently sweeps over the youthful body dominating it and, at the same time, accentuating its slim forms.

A work of this type may indeed by its material and the manner in which the garments are rendered lead our thoughts towards Greek sculptures from the end of the fifth century B. C. and perhaps most particularly towards some of the Ionian maidens in the Acropolis museum; they show — mutatis mutandis — a similar combination of a restrained, yet suggestive modelling of the forms with a definite linear stylisation which endows them with inimitable decorative beauty. To insist here on the obvious differences is hardly necessary; they resulted from the fact that the Greek sculptors were more intimately acquainted with the human form as such, while the Chinese merely suggested it as a symbolic frame for a certain state in the development of spiritual beings. Their artistic feeling found expression more exclusively in the stylisation of the forms and the garments, and it is consequently in the latter that we find the key to the evolution of style.

Considering these elements in the present example we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that it was made shortly after the close of the Norther Ch'i dynasty, though it reveals an intimacy and refinement of technical execution which gradu-



ally disappear in the works of the Sui period. It retains the best qualities of the somewhat earlier sculptures but is at the same time a little further progressed as a sculptural creation. The other examples to be mentioned here can hardly be said to stand on the same level as works of art, even though some of them are very impressive from a decorative point of view.

A whole series of these statues — four bodhisattvas and two bhikshus — may be seen in Mr. Granville Winthrope's collection in New York. They have no doubt originally formed part of one or two groups with larger Buddha figures in the centre, but whether these are preserved or not, is an open question. We would however like to draw attention to a rather mutilated Buddha statue which in regard to size and stylistic development possibly might fit such a place. (Pl. VII. d.) It forms part of the Munthe collection, now on exhibition in the museum in Los Angeles, and is without feet and hands besides being defaced by the restoration of its nose. Its present height is about 160 cm. but with feet and pedestal it may well have reached over 2 meters. It is very simple; the folds of the sanghati which clings tightly to the shoulders and leaves the main part of the chest bare are indicated mainly with incised lines, only on the left shoulder and at the ends of the scarf (tied around the waist) has the artist represented successive layers of thin material revealing his technical skill which also is apparent in the beautiful surface treatment of the naked parts. In this respect it is comparable with the headless seated Buddhas from Ting-chou and may indeed originate from the same place. Characteristic of this figure is furthermore the long somewhat rectangular facial type with strongly accentuated features, the sharp curves of the eyebrows and eyelids, the straight nose (renewed according to its old form), and the pronounced wave-line of the full upper lip which more than anything else contributes to the expression of haughty self-contentment.

The same features and expression may be observed in the four stately Bodhisattva statues in the collection of Mr. Winthrope, which in spite of minor differences may be considered as parts of one homogeneous series. (Pl. VII. a-b, c and e.) Two of these Bodhisattvas measure 103 cm. in height, one 105 cm., and the fourth only 100 cm., i. e. without the pedestals which are modern. The figures are quite tall, of rather slender proportions, their bearing is stiff as they stand with shoulders and heads thrown back, which produces a convex front line over the torso. The chests are bare, the dhoti is laid in long pleated folds accompanied by the scarves and ribbons which fall down from the shoulders and the waist likewise in straight or slightly curving lines, which all contribute to the impression of a somewhat rigid dignity. The long faces which are full and strong, characterized by similar features and expression as we noticed in the Buddha statue, are crowned by high diadems. Two of these are decorated with motifs which give a clue to the representations, i. e. the Amitabha Buddha of Kuanyin and the cintamani of Ta Shih-chih, (Pl. VII. c and e) but the two others have only round medallions in the diadems, a rather indefinite ornament which may be used for various Bodhisattvas as for instance Pu-hsien and Wen-shu. No further attributes are available for the identification of these Bodhisattvas since all the hands are missing. Otherwise the figures are well preserved and still in part covered with old pigments.

The original position of these four Bodhisattvas may be differently conjectured, but we are inclined to assume that they were arranged in two groups, each consisting of a central Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, and one of the Buddhas may possibly have been the statue (without feet) which is preserved in the Munthe collection in Los Angeles. If such was the case, they may all have been made in one of the Ting-chou workshops, though by different sculptors than those who were responsible for the somewhat earlier works. But the place of origin is in this case not very obvious or definite.

One of these groups included besides the Buddha and two Bodhisattvas also two bhikshus of somewhat smaller size. (Pl. VII. a—b.) Two of them, both youthful monks in erect position, are also preserved in the same collection. They are interesting, because of their close stylistic association with the Bodhisattvas, and obviously products of the same workshop, though relatively indifferent as works of art. They show no attempt at characterisation and hold no objects or attributes since their hands are broken. The wide mantles are draped in the usual fashion and painted in squares to indicate their manufacture of variously coloured patches. But the material is the same as in the Bodhisattva statues and also the technical methods of execution.

Another local group of similar material but somewhat different style is formed by a standing Buddha and two Bodhisattvas which now are spread in different parts of the world. Their place of origin is unknown, but the quality of the marble points towards western Hopei, whereas the shapes and the somewhat mechanical stylisation of the garments indicate a local workshop in which current models were reproduced without much individual feeling or sense of beauty. The Buddha statue belonged formerly to the Doucet collection but is now in some other private collection in Paris. (Pl. VII. e.) It may represent an Amitabha; the hands which are broken were apparently placed in the abhaya and varada mudra, the pedestal is new. The figure measures 140 cm. in height and is completely covered by the mantle which falls in almost symmetrical folds over the shoulders and arms forming a kind of stiff apron-like coating over the torso and the legs. In the hem of the undergarment, which becomes visible at the feet, one may observe the traditional ear-mussels in pairs. The short neck and rather indifferent round head add to the impression of a somewhat ponderous frame.

The two Bodhisattvas represent, to judge by the ornaments in their diadems, Kuanyin and Ta Shih-chih, the former stands in the East Asiatic Museum in Cologne, (Pl. VIII. f.) the latter which for many years belonged to a collection in Paris, stands now like so many of these statues in Mr. Winthrope's house. (Pl. VIII. d.) They measure 90 cm. in height and have lost their hands but are otherwise well preserved; the one in Mr. Winthrope's collection still shows traces of old



colouring on the glossy white marble. The Bodhisattva attire is rather more simple than usual; the *dhoti* falls quite low from the hips, the torso is bare with the exception of a scarf over the shoulders tied in a knot below the chest, while long scarves float from the arms down to the feet thus accentuating the curving contours of the typical elliptic formula. But here too, as on the Buddha statue, the garments are lacking in suppleness in spite of the multiplication of the folds, and look more or less like coats of leather on the full bodies. The stylisation of the hem of the undergarment is exactly the same as on the Buddha statue, the correspondence being so close that there can be no doubt as to their common origin. But to define this exactly in regard to time and place is not so easy, because the shape and style of these figures seem rather earlier than their execution, which may imply that they are archaistic works made at a somewhat later period than the models would indicate. The relative lack of intrinsic artistic quality might cause such a supposition.

In order to obtain an impression of how the form and style of the Transition period were developed at the beginning of the Sui dynasty, which marks the last stage within this period, we may finally pay some attention to the very large and well known Buddha statue which lately was presented by Mssrs. C. T. Loo and Co. to the British government. (Pl. VIII. c.) The figure has been repeatedly discussed and reproduced, since it formed part of the Exhibition of Chinese Art in the Burlington House in 1936, where it impressed the visitors by its extraordinary size, (nearly 6 meters in height), its beautiful material (the smooth micaceous marble), and its definite patterns of decorative stylisation. It is by far the largest figure that ever has been transported from China to the Western world and has the advantage of being completely preserved (with the exception of the hands) together with its original pedestal. This which consists, as usual, of a square plinth and an inverted lotus flower, has a long inscription including a great number of donors' names and beginning with the following historical information: »In the Great Sui dynasty, K'ai Huang's reign, the fifth year, cyclically called i-88ŭ, third month, eighteenth day, this image of white jade (stone) of Mi-to (i. e. Amitabha) was erected together with two Bodhisattva statues in the Ch'ing-kuang temple in the Han-tsui village.» — The four first characters are now destroyed, but their interpolation as *Great Sui, K'ai Huang, is justified by the fact, that the only fifth year which was called i-88ŭ in this period was of the K'ai Huang reign, the statue being stylistically impossible sixty years earlier or later. The date corresponds thus to April 23:d, 585, which is in perfect harmony with its style, and it represents like all the previously mentioned large Buddhas an Amitabha. The village where it was erected is now called Hsiang-pei and is situated in Wan-hsien, to the south-west of Pao-ting-fu. From here it was transported in 1918 to the Fang-shun-chia station and thence taken by train to Peiping, which shows that even such enormous sculptures could be transported considerable distances by mule-carts or the like. Its actual place of manufacture may have been close to its place of erection in Wan-hsien, or a

little further South in T'ang-hsien, where other marble sculpture still may be seen, a place not very far from Chü-yang and Ting-chou which, as said before, were the two main centres of sculptural activity in this neighbourhood. The artistic field of activity included evidently a number of local workshops which however were fairly homogeneous in regard to style and workmanship.

The enormous size of this figure has contributed to give it an aspect of more rigid stylisation than we find in the smaller statues. The mantle is draped symmetrically over the shoulders covering the arms and forming a series of curving string-like folds over the body and the legs. We have seen such folds before on some of the other large statues, but they appear now rather more emphasized and the linear accentuation becomes still more definite in the lower hems of the garments where the spiralling pattern (or *ear-mussels*) is brought out with almost mechanical regularity. The decorative effect is thus more dependent on the linear stylisation than on the actual modelling of the forms which are largely covered by the wide mantle. Yet the tactile beauty of parts such as the bare chest, the shoulders and the head is very remarkable. The technical execution is altogether on a high level; the chiselling is finished with a sharp-pointed instrument and the surface with abrasives, which make it admirably smooth, almost ivory-like, particularly in parts where the tone of the marble has matured by age. It is evident that the excellent technical methods of earlier times were developed to the fullest extent at the beginning of the Sui dynasty, albeit the sculptures may have lost something in regard to religious significance and artistic animation.

It is however not possible to render justice to the sculptures of the Sui dynasty by only two or three examples, but these may serve to illustrate some of the general tendencies of the time. Our scope has been merely to discuss the evolution of style within a certain provincial school or group during the most momentous years of the Transition period. We started our study with a Buddha statue dated in the year 575, and we are ending it with another, still larger Buddha of the year 585. Between these two dates may be ranged, as we have seen, a great number of characteristic sculptures of varying size and importance, originating from some local workshops in south-western Hopei. A few of the minor sculptures described above may have been executed two or three years before 575, but we have no reason to suppose that anyone of them was made earlier than 570. It was about this year that the rather definite style which prevailed during the Transition period was achieved or formulated at least in its essential features. Sculpture in China was then freed from the stylistic elements of the Archaic period, which had lingered on — gradually modified — in the somewhat earlier works, and brought into full expression possibly with the support of fresh currents of Indian influence.

In order to fully appreciate the importance of the marble statues from western Hopei made during this short period of ten or fifteen years, it would indeed be necessary to study them in relation to the sculptures of the preceeding and the succeeding period and also in comparison with contemporary works made in other



parts of the country. But these questions which range over a large material must be left over for another occasion. It may however be admitted that the statues discussed in the previous pages form a group of singular importance and may serve to prove the high artistic standard of religious sculpture of China when at its best. They stand on a level of decorative beauty and technical perfection that hardly ever was surpassed by any other kind of religious sculpture in the Far East.

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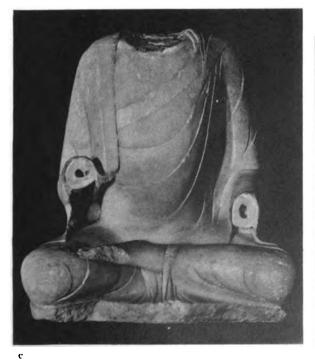


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